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RABINDRANATH TAGORE

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VISVA-BHARATI

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Department of Islamic Studies.

Dr. Julius Germanus, Professor of Islamic Studies at the Oriental Institute of the Royal Hungarian University, Budapest who has been recently elected to the Nizam Islamic Chair for Islamic Studies, has drawn up the following programme of work for the academic session 1930-31. (July—March).

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No. 3

MODERN MOVEMENTS IN ISLAM

By JULIUS GERMANUS, Ph.D., Nizam Professor of
Islamic Studies, Santiniketan.

Turkey.

II

From the barren deserts of Arabia which brought forth the rigid tenets of Wahhábism we may turn our eyes towards Turkey. The same forces which were at work in Arabia contributed to the mighty change in the empire of the Ottomans. The growth of nationalism in Turkey has proceeded along entirely different lines from the exclusive trend of Arabia. While the new-born nationalism in Arabia has crystallised in a reactionary movement, and gone back to a primitive interpretation of the Holy Word, the Turks opened their doors wide to the influence of Europe. The reasons are apparent. According to anthropo-geographers Turkey extends over a territory which is a connecting link between Asia and Europe. All the empires which centred around the Sea of Marmara shared in this dual nature. There never existed any strict boundary line of culture between South-East Europe and Anatolia. The Greeks had colonised the Asiatic shores very early, and Asiatic influences had permeated the culture of Greece from the remotest times. The innumerable small islands in the Aegean archipelago, a broken up and submerged continent, still seem to act as a bridge between Asia and Europe in the South.

Besides the powerful influence of geographical situation we must take into consideration the character of the Turks as it developed through numberless centuries. The Turks were also a nomadic people like the Arabs of the peninsula, but while

the latter never could unite to form a state, the Turks were *par excellence* the state-builders of history. While the Arabs adhered to their strict tribal organisation which suppressed all traces of individual initiative, the Turks have always shown a sturdy individualism which produced great personalities and organisers who gathered enterprising spirits around them, and ever and anon built great empires out of the most heterogeneous elements. The fiction of a common blood-ancestry, which was jealously preserved and maintained in spite of contradicting facts, formed the basis of Arab society. The ideal of the Turkish race on the other hand was the supremacy of the state-organisation based on the acceptance of a common rule irrespective of racial heterogeneity.

This difference in the character of the two races is clearly reflected in their cultural history. The life of Arabs in the peninsula which had but one outlet towards the North, permitted only a very restricted absorption of foreign influences. Its main elements were Semitic. The Turks roamed over a much wider territory. They were the carriers of cultural influences across an immense continent, from one end of Asia to the other. They were good assimilators and absorbed readily whatever they found suitable for their own purpose. In their role of state-builders they naturally looked at the practical side of things. Abstract speculation for speculation's sake was not the thing they cherished or cared for. They have not had leisure for this. They were pre-eminently an active people, and activity *ab ovo* prevented every kind of dogmatism. Instead of vague speculations practical methods took hold of their mind and helped them towards a sound eclectic positivism. While the Arabs were born formalists and the Persians born idealists, the Turks were born organisers and administrators. These peculiarities of their character find expression in the structure of the three respective languages : the mathematical rigidity of Arabic, the volatile richness and beauty of Persian, and the lucidity of Turkish.

The natural gifts of a people to a great extent determine the trend of its future history. The Turks were never fanatical, their natural disposition which made them the leaders of

so many races, and the representatives of so many cultures *a priori* prevented such an one-sided attitude. The Turks became Shamanites, Christians, Buddhists and Muslims in turn, and in the case of each religion for the time being they were staunch adherents and obeyed all the injunctions faithfully, but none of these creeds appear to have become part and parcel of their inner nature. In all religions they discovered and emphasised that special quality which was in harmonious accord with their innate racial character. They knew how to obey and how to command. They inherited a sense of discipline which in the sphere of thought readily lent itself to the methodical acceptance of doctrines. As Shamanites they served in the conquering hordes of Attila, of Bayan, the Avar, and carried the banner of victory from the wall of China to Central Europe under Djingiz Khán. As Muslims they took up the sign of the Crescent and posted it on the church of Hagia Sophia and of the Holy Virgin at Buda. They occupied a larger territory than any other army, covered a wider area than any other culture, but they never interfered forcibly with the social or religious life of the subjugated races. They were tolerant to such an extent that they adopted the art, customs and language of their subjects, and utilised everything that was useful and shed much of their own which became antiquated. This liberal spirit finally proved detrimental to their own interest for in spite of a unique military organisation, the subjected peoples never became absorbed by them and never ceased to continue their individual life. The Turks have ruled over many countries and governed their peoples but never amalgamated them. In Russia when after centuries of Tatar rule, the Russians threw off their yoke, only scanty vestiges of Turkish influence remained in the Russian character; in South-Eastern Europe, only a few minarets bear witness to the glorious history of Islam in those parts which were also abundantly fertilised with Turkish blood. Even in Muslim countries, in Arabia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia and India sumptuous buildings are the only tangible evidence of a magnificent past in which Turkish lords wielded the sceptre of command.

Intrepid and merciless on the battlefield, they were humble in the abode of the learned. They adopted the religion of the Arabic Prophet, and learnt to master the niceties of the Persian language and imbibed its spirit to such an extent that they lost their own language in the process. Their artistic and expressive language gave way to an elegant, sonorous but artificial literary idiom, which pleased the ear of the pedant and the dilettante, but was incomprehensible to the common people. The Turk was an aristocrat, proud of rank and social status, and nothing was dearer to him than refinement in the mode of living and in language. This aristocratic spirit was essentially the spirit of the soldier, of the knight, whose highest ambition was to serve his lord, and to assume all the outward distinctions characteristic of lords. In his fidelity, in his *esprit de corps* he never hesitated to subordinate his own personality to the cause or to the head of his community.

"Rule and govern" was the watchword of the Turks, and this spirit created a dynastic atmosphere so paramount that it obscured the interest of the people. The Islamic religion which the Turks adopted in its Persianised form was a great incentive to lead them onward on the road of glory. Where Turks had conquered before out of the mere lust of conquest, now they could do so in the fulfilment of a noble inspiration. The conquests of the Turkish race received a moral sanction : the propagation of the faith and conversion of pagan unbelievers. As obedient servants of an idea or duty imposed on them they executed this task so unselfishly, with such a disregard of their own interests that while the *dár-ul-Islám* was being extended by them across India and Central Europe they lost their own individuality and nationality.

The monotheistic idea of Islam regarding Godhead agreed very well with an undisputed unitary form of government in worldly affairs. Moreover, Islam did not recognise any differences between nationalities ; the word *ummah* meant the indivisible commonalty of all Muslims belonging to different branches (*shu'úb*) of language, race, or colour. The Turks had a similar conception regarding the empire, in which under Turkish government many non-Turkish elements could be conglomerated.

The notion of a Caliph in Islam as executor of the Holy Law could easily be translated into that of *Sultan*, the head of the army and of government. Henceforth the Turkish people became a branch of Islamic *ummah* and the conquered Christian peoples were the "flock" (*ra'ya*) under the protection of the Sultan, but the Turkish people themselves lost their consciousness of Turkish nationality. They ceased to consider themselves superior in any way as the ruling caste of Turks; as Muslims they were equal to all their co-religionists. The fact that their ebullient valour and restless activity were exploited to further Islamic ideas prevented the growth of Turkish nationalism.

The dynasty of the Ottomans which had grown out of the primitive conditions of a village community into the aspirations of all Turkish knights errant: the aspirations to conquer, to govern, and to rule, was driven into the fold of Islam by the geographic and ethnic situation of Anatolia. The *Kay-khan* Turks who were called Ottomans after their brave leader, Sultan *Osmán*, were thrust into Anatolia by the wave of Tatars in the middle of the 13th century, and were converted to Islam at that time through the example of their Seldjukian kinsmen. Knight Ertogrul, the founder of the house of Osman was probably one of the first converts. Islam gave them the moral support to extend their power over the Byzantine Greeks, to consolidate the territory over which they had sway, and to transplant their seat to the Balkans, and established a powerful state in Europe long before they had a strong foothold in Anatolia. The dynasty of Osman strengthened its prestige by adopting Islam which connected it with time-honoured traditions, and secured to it an opening which the superstitious belief in Shamanism would have denied. Soon after the death of their first Muslim Sultan (Osman died in 1326) the name of the Ottomans as the new warrior-representatives of Islam became awe-inspiring in Europe. There had been frightful onslaughts of Turkish hordes on Europe before the advent of the Ottomans. The pagan Petsenegs, the Cumaniens and the Tartars intruded as far as the basin of the Danube, but after their success on the battlefield they settled down peacefully, were converted to

Christianity, and became racially submerged in the surrounding population. The Ottoman Turks, however, through their adoption of Islam gained a cultural frame which preserved them as a distinct racial and political entity, sharply marked out from others.

The state-system of the Ottoman was a combination of their Central-Asiatic Turkish spirit and that of Islam. The dynasty made its position secure by creating a distinct class of followers who were the slaves of the ruler. Most members of this class were of foreign blood and extraction; taken prisoners as children they had been converted to Islam and trained to serve their lord. These Christian children forgot their parents, and denied their nationality; and were completely cut off from any other allegiance than subservience to the Sultan. It was with such orphans that the irresistible army of Yanissaries was formed. It was these renegades who controlled the government (*asháb-i-kalem*) and the army (*asháb-i-seyf*).

They ruled over the people who were called "Turks," a word which gradually came to mean: *boers*, and they directed the campaigns against the world of unbelievers. The *bailos* of Venice vividly describe the twofold character of the Ottoman state-system. The religious functions and the administration of justice were kept in the hands of pure-blooded Turks, while the executive power and the control over the administrative institutions belonged to Muslimized Christians. Although religion was exploited in the interest of dynastic autocracy, still it was not Islamic theology that was the ruling principle in the Ottoman state but the unquestionable authority of the Sultan. The democracy of the Caliphate, as conceived in the golden age of Islam when the Caliph was elected by a shake of the hand (*bay'at*) and accepted by public opinion, was very different from the rule of the Sultan who was over-lord and master of his slaves, his ministers and his army. Anybody from the common people could be elevated to the highest rank or dismissed from an important post at the whimsical pleasure of the Sultan. Even the appellation of the subjects of the Sultan was: "slave" (*kul*).

This autocratic organization of state power rendered its "slaves" immune to disintegrating influences, by the focussing

of human interest in personal ambitions. No other social organization was tolerated besides that of Islam, which, owing to the religious loyalty to the defender of the faith which it enjoined prevented the growth of nationalistic ideas. There was no Turkish nation, only a Muslim *ummah* and the state of the Ottoman dynasty (*devlet-i-osmaniye*). The loyalty of the Turks to their rulers was proverbial. The steppe knew nothing more potent than a personality, and all steppe-inhabiting peoples were welded into a nation not on the principle of ethnic homogeneity but by the cohesive force of the compelling personality of a single leader. The organization of the Ottoman state had at its centre the personal influence of the ruler. When the king was an active, warlike and just ruler like Bayezid the Thunderbolt, Mehemed II, Selim I, or Suleyman the Magnificent, the Ottoman state-power and the countries over which it ruled were mighty and prosperous; the system functioned at its best. But when the ruler was a puppet in the hands of his harem or his ministers the whole empire suffered; this was the great drawback of the system. Since the middle of the 17th century, a degenerate spirit permeated the seraglio and infected the machinery of administration with corruption. The armies of the Ottomans remained no longer undefeated, because the commissariate was controlled by corrupted pashas who were more interested in profiteering, and the army was officered by commanders who were more concerned with their personal loot and the safety of their harems than with the efficient conduct of a campaign. The Sultans discontinued the ancient custom of going to battle themselves, and idling away their life among the women of the harem, entrusted the army to the care of pashas who began to indulge more and more in booty-seeking raids than in regular warfare. Women, leisure, and bragging became the chief objectives of life of the Ottoman leaders. The common people remained uncorrupted for a long time. The reverses on the battle-field humiliated them, but a still lingering confidence in the valour of Turkish armies helped to stay the collapse of the Empire. "The Muslim army cannot be beaten, but it requires a commander and not a bandit at its head"—was the

opinion of the common people. But conditions were growing more and more unfavourable for the emergence of such a leader.

After the relief of Vienna by Prince Sobieski and the total discomfiture of the Ottoman army (1683), the mighty edifice of the Turkish Empire began to crumble down with unchecked rapidity. The old machinery of administration did not work any more. The system of government broke down altogether and no new system was established in its place. The Christian armies of the Habsburgs advanced from point to point, and regained most of their lost provinces. People in Europe began to say : "Islam has lost its power, and has proved inferior to Christianity, and the time has come for the Cross to take revenge upon the Crescent." The causes and events which led to the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire had however no connection whatever with Islam or Christianity. As we have already indicated the real factors were to be sought for in the social conditions and in the men concerned, and not in their religions. For example, the liberation of Hungary from the Ottoman yoke was welcome to the Hungarians only so long as the Catholic Habsburgs did not start persecuting the Protestants with so much zeal and religious intolerance that the "liberated Christian brethren" fled to the countries of Islam where the Sultans granted them hospitable refuge.

A deep slumber seemed to envelope Turkey for nearly a century. Province after province was lost, but nothing happened. Gradually a new problem arose. Old national feelings revived in the liberated provinces. The 18th century saw the birth of nationalism, and the word "patriot" was coined by Frenchmen in a strictly nationalistic sense. The *ra'yas* of the Ottoman empire awoke to national consciousness, and they began to clamour for rights. Foreign Powers secretly or openly sympathised with the movement, for they all hoped to gain something in the chaos likely to be created in Turkey. The social and economic struggles of the *ra'yas*, accompanied by political intrigues, were further reinforced by cultural motives as well. The spread of learning and new movements in literature gave a great impetus to the growth of self-consciousness among subject races. Everybody was on the move : Greeks, Serbians,

Wallachians; only the Turks seemed to have remained passive spectators of this mighty onrush of nationalism. The Turkish Government clung helplessly to old-world methods of intimidation, and naively pinned its faith to providence. It could not understand the drift of recent events in European history which tended to the development of national states with parliamentary representation in supercession of absolute monarchies. The French Revolution was a great call to arms followed by a series of revolutionary outbreaks in Germany, Poland and Hungary, which suppressed on the battlefields and in prisons lived in the memory of the European peoples. The United States entered the arena with its republican government, and Spanish imperialism was eliminated from South America with a passionate hatred. These might have served as warnings to Turkish statesmen. But history is taught to school-boys only as a gentle pastime and treated as it were a telephone-directory with long lists of names and numbers rather than a philosophic study.

The situation became precarious. Sins of centuries could not be atoned for in decades. Moreover, nobody was even prepared to own his sins. A confession of guilt would have led to a complete overthrow of the hereditary principle of government. A different course was adopted : to introduce reforms piecemeal under the pressure of the ambitious foreign powers. At last the Crimean war broke out. The European powers were at cross purposes. Their mutual antagonism saved Turkey for the time being, but the extravagances of the Sultan and the relapse into a blind belief in *kismet* sealed its fate for the future.

For Turkey the Crimean war was a memorable event. It was the last European war which had its romance ; it was an expedition full of enthusiasm and expectations, and in spite of big reverses it did not shatter the power of any of the combating parties. It may be regarded as the war of liberalism, and the victory of the ideals of the revolutionary movements of 1848 over conservatism and absolutism. In this war autocratic Turkey stood on the side of liberal progressivism against absolutistic Russian autocracy. This novel position of Turkey necessarily led to a more sympathetic attitude towards the liberal tendencies of political life in Europe.

We can trace the beginning of Turkish rejuvenation to the liberalising Western influences, the door for which was first opened by the Crimean war. Turks fought side by side with the French and the English; they began to understand one another, and while the French soldiers admired the unsurpassed bravery of the Turkish army, Turkish officers appreciated the marvellous progress of the military technique of Europe.

Overwhelmed with an unquestioning admiration of everything European, the Turks started imitating blindly. It was the French whom they idolised above every other nation. Turkish students were sent to France, and French teachers were invited to take charge of Turkish schools. Works of French literature were translated into the Turkish language, and European literary forms introduced into Turkish literature. From Europe, too, Turkey had her first lesson in patriotism, the greatest motive power in modern history, and discovering its value as a national asset, soon made a cult of it. Up till now the Turks had been contented to be simply Muslims, blood-drops in the *ummah-i-Muhammadiya*, without distinctive national traits, or a separate national consciousness. Outside the Holy Cities there was not an inch of earth which they had a right to revere. A Turk was born to die on the battle-field, a "martyr on the way to God." Contact with Europe changed all this, and bred a new outlook among the Turks. They saw the superiority of the European nations, as evidenced by their wealth and their culture, and sorrowfully compared it with their own misery and backwardness. Nationalism, the watchword of Europe, cast its magic influence on the mind of those honest and romantic Turks who came into touch with it. And slowly Turkey turned her eyes from the East towards the West. Sultan Abdul Medjid began to build sumptuous palaces in European style, which showed little influence of Asiatic traditions, and at a very heavy cost managed to Europeanise to a great extent the outward aspect of his capital.

The greatest and deepest change was however effected in the realm of spiritual life. The Turkish mode of thinking was a Persianised form borrowed from the Islamic East; the literary standards were those of Persia. All the poets and writers of

Turkey were more or less blind imitators of Persian models. Even the Turkish language itself gradually lost its individuality; it had absorbed so many Persian and Arabic words that in order to understand it properly a deeper knowledge of these two languages was necessary than that of Turkish itself. Although the language of the common people developed along natural lines, the literary idiom grew into a high-flowing, sonorous and artificial means of expression, flexible and impressive but very often driven to extremes of incomprehensibility, and was used more like a musical instrument than a vehicle of thought. There were two social classes in the Ottoman empire; the subject people and the ruling caste, and parallel with these two classes two distinct languages grew up as well.

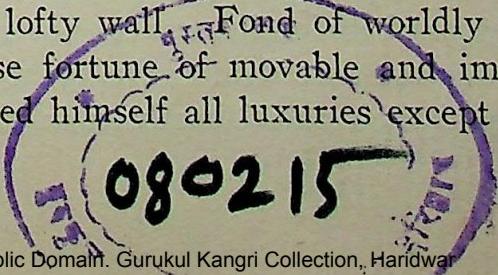
Slowly all this was changed; a new school of writers sprang up, inspired directly or indirectly by European ideals. Persian literature lacks the harmonious structure of a well-proportioned work of art. It is full of the neat conceits and subtle fancies of many European poets of the middle ages. The Persian school delights in the soft tones and small details, which may be enjoyed apart from the whole of which they form parts, like pearls and precious stones taken out of a necklace. Each couplet of a *kasida*, each metaphor of a *ghazel* has a beauty of its own but has no reference to a whole. The Oriental enjoys the play of colour on the leaves of a single tree, the European looks at a landscape as a whole in which forests and fields are but specks of light and shade in the variegated pattern. In science too the Persian habit is to observe minutely and describe accurately things as they are, while the European mind is eager to discover the significance of things in relation to one another. We may say that the observation of the Persian is static, as it remains stationary around the one point in question, while the observation of the European is dynamic because it passes beyond the immediate object to its connexions. European literature is more concerned with conveying thoughts, and giving expression to sentiments; it does not care for piling up polished words for the sake of the polish alone.

The aesthetic ideals of European literature however caught the imagination of such Ottoman writers as Shinási,

Sezayı, Námik Kemál, Ekrem, etc., who broke with the models of the Persian School, and began to write in the European style. They were also greatly impressed by the patriotic tendencies of European literature, and strove to combine aesthetic pleasure with a social aim : to serve the people. They were interested not in literature pure and simple, not in Goethe's *Lust zum fabulieren*, but in literature as a means for serving patriotic ends, for the elevation of the people from its spiritual and social bondage. The spirit was entirely different from that underlying the composing of the Arabic *kasida*, which as its name implies, also had an aim, namely the winning of a reward from a generous patron of rhymes. Patriotism was an altogether new concept in Ottoman lands. It was unknown before Námik Kemál found a word for it : *watan*, which in this sense had never been used before. The definition of *watan* as fatherland, the country where the Turkish tongue was spoken, where Turkish peasants sowed their fields, the country for which precious Turkish blood had been shed, slowly took root in the hearts of the Ottomans. But the issues did not become clear in a day. The decline of the power of the Ottoman was still confounded with the decline of Islam in general, and the interest of the Ottomans was continued to be identified with the interest of Islam as a whole. The heroic achievements of the Turkish armies under the command of their Sultans were eulogised as fulfilments of the sacred duties of Islam, and in the exhortations tendered to the Turkish people, the mighty figures of Islamic history, the conquest of the Saracens, the thrilling stories of the Moors were extolled to serve as models for imitation in the struggle for a better future for the overtaxed, decimated and exploited Turkish people. The counterposition of Islam vs. Christianity in the works of Námik Kemál was a natural reaction to the attitude which Russia, as the patron of Oriental Christianity, very often illegitimately assumed in favour of the national aspirations of the Balkanic peoples. Turkish nationalism was supposed to have its origin in the blood of martyrs shed for the sake of Islam and for the dynasty. This blood claimed recognition, this blood clamoured for its rights !

The political party of young Turks grew out of the same movement. It professed strict adherence to the dynasty and to the Islamic religion. The name: "Young Turks" was not of Turkish origin. No educated person would have tolerated being called a "Turk," whether old or young. The proper name for the ruling class was "osmanly," but as most of the partisans of representative government were soon obliged to take refuge in France, and as they gradually became known in France, the appellation of *jeune Turc* came to mean the liberal-minded youth who wished to replace the autocratic form of government by a parliamentary system. The leader of the group was Ahmed Midhat, a shrewd but straightforward politician, who would not have shrunk from violence if necessity demanded.

A clash of interest between the seraglio and the people ended with the suppression of the representatives of the latter. The dream of an Ottoman parliamentary government was shattered by the new Sultan Abdul Hamid. A regime of nervous rope-dancing began in the effort to satisfy the demands of rival intriguing European Powers, in the constant attempt to play off one Power against another, to preserve intact the appearance of an imperial authority, and to keep order in the provinces of the empire. The wires of this grand puppet-theatre were concentrated in the hands of the Sultan himself, a historic figure worth close psychological study. A combination of an inexorable despot and a cowardly intriguer, a shrewd observer of human weakness and a clever artist to play with it, an able organiser of an Argus-eyed police-system and at the same time a victim to fears of his own creations, he foresaw that parliamentary reforms would inevitably remove authority from his hands. He based his policy on a balance of nationalities as a secure foundation for his own rule and dynasty. Frightened by the dethronement of his predecessors, he imprisoned his brothers and nephews, and lived aloof from the people in the modest palace of Yildiz Kyoshk outside the town and fortressed by a lofty wall. Fond of worldly treasures, he amassed an immense fortune of movable and immovable properties and yet denied himself all luxuries except the pleasures



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of a harem, and did not indulge in any human vanities. His own usual dress was a simple and almost shabby frock-coat; on the day of Selamlik (Friday)-prayer, among the gorgeous robes of his cringing pashas he appeared almost like an ascetic in the unpretentious clothes of an *efendi*. He interdicted all technical inventions like the electric light, telephone, and motor-cars, and proscribed all foreign political and scientific literature from entering his country. But he himself maintained an extensive translation office of his own in which any European book he took a fancy to was translated into Turkish within a few days and read to him by his secretaries. The collection of this private manuscript library, compiled by some dozen competent translators and writers, numbers several thousands of volumes, and has now been incorporated in the University Library of Constantinople. In sleepless nights when no light was allowed to burn in Constantinople from the fear of secret signals to revolutionaries, the window of the Sultan's bedroom was ablaze, behind which the padishah sat up on his simple couch and listened to the blood-curdling stories of the French revolution read out to him from behind a screen.

The Young Turks, who wrote the history of his régime and studied his private life after his fall, failed to do justice to Abdul Hamid the politician. It is true that he neglected to strengthen the Turkish elements of his empire at the cost of the *ra'yas*, but he fostered far-reaching imperialistic plans. He was not only the Sultan of the Turkish nation, but the Caliph of the faithful, and his eyes were fixed on a policy which had been the guiding motive of his dynasty for centuries: the advancement of Islam. In opposition to the intrigues of the European Powers he thought of rallying those forces which seemed best able to counteract the effect of European aggression. In opposition to Pan-Slavism which seemed to him to be the most threatening ogre of his empire, he initiated a new movement of "Pan-Islamism." Pan-Slavism was the watchword of Russian imperialism; it completely neglected the welfare of the Russian people who groaned under ignorance, poverty and oppression at home, and yet were forced to make great sacrifices abroad for the liberation of their racial brethren in the Balkans. During

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the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 the Russian soldiers gained the alarming experience that most of the "oppressed Bulgarian Christians" lived in better conditions and in comparatively easier circumstances than they themselves. But Imperial Russia wanted an exit to the seas, and this economic necessity led to a policy of expansion which was deliberately based on the delusion that racial affinity must needs create common interest. Very few of the Russian politicians were capable of discerning the insurmountable cultural and social differences and the clash of economic interests which separated the different peoples speaking a Slavic language. In these peculiar circumstances, Abdul Hamid looked for a counter-movement to the growing menace of Pan-Slavism in Pan-Islamism which in its possibilities was not at all a *quantité négligeable*. (The German Emperor William II had prided himself on being the friend of 300 millions of Muslims.) But the actual strategy of the counter-stroke was fatally marred by a most unsystematic handling of the situation by the Sultan. After the crucial battle of Mukden in Manchuria when the defeated Russian armies fled before the victorious but equally exhausted Japanese, and revolutionary movements in Pittsburgh compelled the intimidated Russian autocracy to conclude peace, Japan with a keen outlook for the future was anxious to secure allies among the discontented Muslim subjects of the Tsar. An unofficial movement was started to undermine the foundations of the Russian empire. The cry: the East for the Eastern peoples, was raised for uniting the Muslim Tartars, the Indians, the Persians, and the Turks against their common enemy, the Russian imperialists. The idea of a Pan-Asiatic organization under the leadership of the Mikado was slowly emerging as a political factor of importance in the struggle against Russian supremacy. An Inter-Islamic Congress at Tokio was being planned and discussed, and Ottoman public opinion eagerly looked forward to this new movement. Turkish newspapers which laboured under a strict censorship in political matters, were allowed to expatiate upon the subject, and the idea matured to the extent of selecting a delegate to be sent to Tokio as the representative of the Caliph. Mahmud Es'ad,

Professor of Law at the University of Constantinople, was unanimously accepted as the fittest person for this honourable task. Then weeks and months passed away in inaction and the whole movement ebbed away. Was it merely a dream of Abdul Hamid or of his private *mullah* the dervish Abul'l-Khudá, that suggested such a step as a counter-movement against the menace from the North? At an opportune hour when Russia lay helpless, it at least succeeded in demonstrating that Asia may yet get organized. The Pan-Islamism of Abdul Hamid however amounted to nothing more than a gesture. No international organization was created to strengthen the coherence of the Islamic peoples, or to consolidate the leadership of the Ottomans. The growth of Arab and Kurd nationalism hampered the development of a sound Pan-Islamic policy, and the backwardness of Turkey itself increased the dangers of separatist tendencies. The country had few railways, few roads, most of which were bad, and was so hopelessly handicapped by the ignorance in which its population was enveloped that progress was extremely difficult. No books were tolerated except harmless theological works, nobody was allowed to travel from one province to the other without a stringent passport. The name of the Sultan could not be uttered, and when it appeared in newspapers it was preceded by two lines of honorific titles; passive oppression stifled every kind of economic activity, and at the same time goaded the people to extreme opposition and despair. And this was the worst effect of the regime of Abdul Hamid.

The suppression of all liberal movements drove the opposition underground and fomented revolutionary activities. The Sultan was deposed, and a premature constitution was established at a most unpropitious time without the nation having been prepared to handle it. Turkey had no allies, and at the dawn of Turkish freedom, the country was torn asunder by its warring nationalities. The Young Turks, full of enthusiasm and a sincere patriotism, were ill-verses in the teaching of history, and fondly hoped to secure the co-operation of their own nationalities as well as that of the European Powers for the building up of a modern Turkey. They ignored the views of the Ger-

man historian Treitschke, that the application of a certain amount of force is necessary for building up or holding together the power of the state. It was not indeed necessary to go to the German historians for this lesson, for Islamic history was full of relevant examples. But the Young Turks, who had struggled against force for years, could not morally reconcile themselves to using it when they attained to power. Apart from their liberal principles of government, the country was divided by creeds, languages, races and cultures which generated forces of disruption. The shock of reality soon awakened the Young Turks from their sentimental dreams.

At the introduction of parliamentary government enemies arose in and outside the country. The parliament which had appeared to the Young Turks in exile to be a panacea for all evils proved a feeble substitute for government in reality. It was as its name implied a place where "much was talked," and gave rise to fine specimens of Turkish eloquence, but it lacked administrative power. Nationalist members strove to obtain a complete control over the authority of the state, and began to interfere with the army. From outside, the Great Powers concentrated on their policy of pacific penetration into Turkey. In the Balkan war the antagonism between France which wished for a victory of the Allies on one hand, and Germany and Austria which were more interested in a Turkish success on the other, became evident. The defeat of the Young Turkish armies in Thracia was vaguely felt as a defeat of German supremacy. The interest of heavy industries found expression in unofficial war-reports. French newspapers loudly proclaimed the superiority of Creuzot guns over those of the Krupp-make. Turkish politicians were divided in their opinion which course to take. The Young Turks unswervingly adhered to the German tutelage; most of their officers had studied at German military schools and had been deeply impressed by the invincibility of the German fighting machine. The conservative-liberals on the other hand inclined more to the French as they were disciples of an older school who had been inspired by French influence since the Crimean war; they understood better the method of shrewd and cunning diplomacy and appreciated

the masterly suppleness of the French diplomatic spirit. The Great War found Turkey hesitating and unprepared. The final decision was mainly due to the personal predilections of the Germanophile war minister Enver Pasha, aided by the flight of two German battleships to the harbour of Constantinople. The pressure of the Austrian and German ambassadors, punctuated by the naval guns, and the sympathies of the Germanophile Turkish ministers decided the issue. In spite of the protest of the Allies and the anxiety of the pacifists the battleships were clandestinely purchased and turned into Turkish cruisers. This provocation dragged Turkey into the whirlpool of the war.

In the half a century which has elapsed since the works of the young Turkish writers first appeared, Turkish literature has traversed a long road. The sonorous phrases even of Námik Kemál, Ziya Pasha or Abdul Hakk Hámid appeared cumbrous and gave way to the purer language of the people. Turkish nationalism liberated itself from the bondage of the past. The Arabic tongue no longer occupied a sacrosanct position; conglomerations of foreign words without any meaning became obsolete. The Turkish language again became a means to express thoughts and not to conceal them. The older literature grew more and more alien in spirit to the Turks and were enjoyed less and less. Fuzúli, Nedim and Báki were often referred to by modern writers but were scarcely read; like the venerable old arm-chair in the corner, uncomfortable to sit in, the older writers were shoved into the background. The changing times created new ideas and new forms. Instead of the *ghazel* with its monotonous theme, European poetry with its great variety warmed itself into the hearts of the people. *Redjayizáde Ekrem* was a pioneer of European poetic forms, and at the same time a master of the tenderest tones in the Turkish style. Dramatic literature produced a genius of extraordinary ability: Abdul Hakk Hámid who in his prose dramas soars to the level of immortality. French literary movements readily influenced the Turkish poets, and the impressionistic school soon found imitators in Tevfik Fikret and in that most ingenious writer Djenáb Shiháb Eddin. Prose literature found

a new vehicle in the Turkish novel (called the "national" novel (*milli*) because it deals with social problems), and a number of writers contributed to create the typical Turkish novel of the present day : a symbolistic, romantic and melancholy story. Humoristic literature also developed rapidly as being most congenial to the Turkish spirit. All these literary productions reflect the slow but sure awakening of the Turkish spirit from its slumber of centuries. Every new literary work was a step forward in the liberation of the language from its foreign shackles, and also marked from day to day the advance of the Turkish people in their struggle to get free from both Asiatic and European despotism. Poets began to sing the songs of their own hearts, in the language of the people ; novelists to describe in a popular form the lives of men of the people, and Turkish politicians began, at long last, to act in the interest of the people. Time-honoured words and expressions from the classics, familiar and cherished as they were to older ears and tastes, were rudely brushed aside to give place to the words of the peasant of Anatolia. A new Turkish literature was created for the Turks, in the language of the Turks. Time-honoured institutions surviving from the glorious past were replaced by activities serving the interests of the living present. A radical change took place in the sphere of practical politics as well as in that of thought.

The road was long and full of big sacrifices. Turks had conquered the world in the service of an abstract religious idea, Turks had bled to death in the service of an absolutistic government. Bitterly disappointed with both, the Turks exclaimed : "We are Turks and nothing else!" The honorific appellation of "Osmanly" was dropped. It meant the thralldom to an inefficient and unnatural dynasty. During the war the *fetwa* for *djihád* was responded to by nobody. One part of the Muslim world openly fought against the Turks. Where was the Turk to look for hope, which ideal could help him on, after the failure of both Islam and the Dynasty? The spiritual development of the last few decades which ushered in the era of nationalism readily answered : Trust yourself, your race, your own culture.

This idea of nationalism was vigorously propagated. A Turkish lady-writer, Khálide Edíb, perhaps inferior as a novelist to her more talented contemporaries and yet more successful as a popular writer, portrayed in her novel: *Yeni Turan*, the struggle and the final victory of the new Turkish nationalism over Ottomanism. The novel exercised a magic effect, it became a most efficient means of propaganda. Its hero, the intrepid leader of Turanism, found numberless admirers and imitators. An indefatigable organiser, himself a remarkable poet, Hamdullah Subhi laid the foundation of a patriotic literary society the "Turkish Hearth" (*Türk Odjaghy*). A review was started with the title *Türk Derneyi* (Turkish Magazine). The new group was not ashamed to be called "Turk," and purposely put the hitherto unused word "*dernek*" on the title-page of its review. The popular poet Mehemed Emin's verses, written in the purest Turkish, formed the nucleus of the review. Young writers eagerly rallied around it, and very soon the Turkish Hearth developed its own literary and social circle. Delicate questions of history and philosophy began to be openly discussed. Ibrahim Hilmi published a book under the title "Europeanisation" (*Avropalilashmak*) in which he boldly criticised the backward and uncivilised habits of the Turks. The idea of nationalism was strongly fomented by influences from abroad. Léon Cahun's works of history (*Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale*) in which he unearthed the past glory of the Turks justly appealed to their national pride. Instead of seeking for ideals in the glorious past of Islam, they began to derive strength from the history of the Turanians. These vague ideas soon found permanent form in the hands of an able poet and writer. The very name of Ziya Gök Alp was a symbol of anti-Islamic nationalism, for only the first part of it was Muslim and the last purely Turkish. He, like most of the young Turkish nationalists, avowed the French school of sociology, the rationalism of Auguste Comte and Durkheim. His poems were more aimed at the masses, but his theory was contained in a serious work: *Türkchülük Esasları* (The Principles of Turkish Nationalism) in which he points at the common racial and cultural ties of the

Central Asiatic and Ottoman Turks, and lays down the foundations of Turkish politics in a pan-Turkish nationalism which is destined to build up a new Turkish people. In his book he kept aloof from the wild speculations of some Turanists who dreamt of an empire of Turanians of several hundreds of millions, comprising all the peoples who more or less speak Ural-Altaian languages. His Turanism was restricted to a practical political programme. He advocated the puristic tendencies of modern Turkish writers, but discouraged the forcible introduction of obsolete Turkish words into literature in the place of firmly rooted Arabic expressions. As a vehicle of instruction he emphasized the need for using the Turkish language instead of the Arabic, and he insisted upon having the Korán translated into Turkish and for the sounding of the *ezán* in the Turkish language. He advocated equal civil rights for women, and pressed for a legal code framed by men of the present suited to the needs of the present. His fluent style and his impressive arguments found ready response among the youth of the country, and a number of books were written under the influence of his teachings.

The Turanist movement was however not received without opposition. The more conservative elements, brought up in the older atmosphere of religious ideas, scented sacrilege and blasphemy in its teachings. Equally patriotic, they were not convinced by the ideas of the national radicalism. They clung to the traditions of a Turkish culture which had been inspired by Islam, and cherished the older forms in literature and the habits and customs of the Turkey of yesterday. The political and economic results achieved by the modernists were not encouraging. After the deposition of the Sultan, Turkey was plunged in war and the cost of living rose alarmingly. The whole country was transformed into a desolate region where deserters from the army freely roamed, beggars died in the streets, profiteers revelled in champagne-carousals, while the people was slaughtered on battlefields. The older school distrusted those theoretical experimentalists who had their "heads crammed with French books and unripe ideas". Round the book of a former grand-Vizier, Sáid Halím Pasha, on the "Islamisation"

(*Islamlashmak*) these conservative elements were grouped. They had a printing press and a circle: *Sebil-iür-Reshád* (the way of righteousness), which published a series of books dealing with religious and social questions in the old-fashioned way. They also professed the need for religious reforms, but they held that these reforms must come from the religion of Islam and its principles. They definitely opposed the conception of legislation advocated by the nationalists namely that the *kanúns* or codes formulated by Ottoman Sultans had equal validity with the *Shari'at*, and combated the idea of deposing the Holy Law from its eternal pedestal and establishing laws framed by the human mind. The circle of the *Sebil-iür-Reshád* was of opinion that a liberal utilisation of the *Idjtihád* would furnish innumerable laws suited to the needs of the times.

This literary battle went on, either of the parties adducing now and then a valid argument, and often many a feeble one. The last word was rudely spoken. The starved and exhausted Turkish armies abandoned their post. A fearful collapse followed. Constantinople, for the first time after its capture by the Turks, was invaded by foreign armies and the *ra'yas* displayed an insolent attitude under the shadow of French and English bayonets. Turkey was humiliated beyond measure, and the strategic object of the Allies was realised. But the agreement to hand over Constantinople to Russia was not fulfilled. Russia, collapsing under the blows of the German army, had fallen a victim to Bolshevism. A shameful peace-treaty was forced upon Turkey which was calculated to paralyse its economic and political future.

The Turks have produced a number of great military leaders and organisers. At this critical time, there again rose a man out of the ranks. Trained to bravery on the battlefield, endowed with a perspicacious and practical mind, and an iron-will, he turned the table of fate. Mustafa Kemál Pasha had distinguished himself at the Dardanelles, and in spite of hampering intrigues had won the friendship and esteem of the most capable of Turkish generals and statesmen. At a time when everybody despaired of the fate of defeated and humiliated Turkey, he gathered the ragged and hunger-striken fugitives

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of the Ottoman army and succeeded in creating out of them a national fighting machine fully worthy of its predecessors. His victory over the Greeks created a new situation. Among all the countries of the Central Powers, Turkey alone succeeded in having its peace-treaty revised, at the point of the bayonet. A striking sequel to the dreams of the Young Turks who had started a new regime without a workable state-power and army behind it.

The victory of Mustafa Kemál was a Turkish victory, in spite of Ottoman Sultans and Caliphs. The fall of the dynasty and the abolition of the Turkish Caliphate was but a natural consequence of the course of events. Wahy Eddin Mehemed VI, who had followed his brother on the throne in 1918, took over the government in the most critical time of Turkish history. He was well-known to the Turks as an intriguer like his brother Abdul Hamíd. He was rash enough to brand the patriotic measures taken by Mustafa Kemál in Anatolia as insubordination and rebellion. He was inclined towards a policy of obedience to the Allies in order to make his throne secure in the expected period of peace to follow. This attitude was as unwise as it was unpatriotic. Mustafa Kemál, a strategist of the first order, recognised the natural debility of the *Entente* after the conclusion of peace, when no imminent danger threatened the fruits of victory nearer home. The political bonds that held together the Allies relaxed as soon as the strategic aims were achieved. The peoples of the *Entente* were weary of war, the European governments were frightened by the spectre of Bolshevism and the widespread discontentment at home. The victorious and the defeated were equally shaken to the foundations by the after-effects of the Great War. An agricultural country like Turkey situated in the midst of the steppes of Anatolia was the only one which could wage war with impunity. With a limitless territory for retreat, with no towns of industrial importance to lose, it could start a campaign of guerilla warfare so devastating in its effect on a pursuing army. It was the vainglorious Greeks who with their extravagant dreams of restoring the Cross on the Hagia Sophia, and regaining the empire of Alexander the Great, took upon them-

selves the task of extirpating the Turks from Anatolia. They fell into a trap, and their recklessly advancing army was annihilated. Their greed and consequent discomfiture for ever ended Greek influence in Anatolia. The victory of Mustafa Kemal saved Turkey. The peace-treaty was torn asunder and a new one was concluded. A National Assembly was convoked which vested all prerogatives of government in itself. Mehemed VI ceased to be the ruler of Turkey by this act. He was put under the tutelage of the National Assembly. At the same time he was declared to continue to remain the Caliph of the faithful. When Mehemed VI took refuge in an English man-of-war on the 17th November 1922, the Assembly declared him deposed and elected his cousin Abdul Medjid as Caliph. Next year (October 30, 1923) the Assembly finally proclaimed a republic, and on the 3rd March, 1924 suspended the Caliphate altogether. All members of the Ottoman dynasty were asked to leave the country within a year. Hussayn Ibn Ali, King of Hidjáz and Great Sherif of Mecca, proclaimed himself Caliph a few days later. Since the fall of Mecca, the Caliphate has remained vacant.

The step taken by the Turkish National Assembly of Angora created a general consternation in the world of Islam. Was the Turkish Assembly authorised to depose a Caliph, the supposed spiritual and temporal head of universal Islam? Was the Turkish Caliph really the temporal or spiritual head of Islam? What was the Caliphate? These and similar questions arose and agitated the mind of the peoples concerned.

In India a movement was started in the interest of the Caliphate, and a committee asked for explanations from Angora. It received the following answer : "The dream of Muslims that the Caliphate will unite in its bosom all believers was never realised. Instead, it was an object of dissensions, and led to anarchy and wars among the Muslims. The real interest of the parties is henceforth to form distinct national governments, and the real spiritual tie between the believers shall be the conviction that they all are brethren (*innama'l-múminína ikhwat*)."

This answer was in perfect harmony with the national radicalism of the Turks, who on their onward march were not

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checked by a sentimental clinging to the traditions of the past. Their statement that the Caliphate was an object of dissension, a cause of anarchy and war was a historical fact. The consternation caused by the suspension of the Caliphate was mainly due to the fact that the meaning and role of this institution was ignored or misunderstood. In Europe it was generally believed that the Caliphate was an institution analogous to Popery, a kind of spiritual tribunal of all Muslims irrespective of their state-allegiance. The Ottomans cleverly exploited the belief in order to keep up a semblance of authority over all Muslims. If it were so, the Turkish Assembly of Angora had no right to depose and to elect the Caliphs, just as the Young Turks had had no right to depose Abdul Aziz and elect Murad V, depose Murad and elect Abdul Hamid in his stead as the Caliph. But the real fact of the matter is quite different.

Mohammad the Prophet was the leader in wordly and spiritual matters of his community of Muslims. Such a leadership was unknown in Arabia before him. It was he who created the community of Islam, he was the soul and core of all its teachings and institutions. He died prematurely, and he was unable to leave definite instructions regarding the succession to the leadership of the community. In reality the vacancy could not be filled adequately by any body else, but it was necessary that somebody should at least assume the nominal status of a leader and thus continue to maintain unbroken the religious ties of Islam. The community sought guidance along the right path, for it was beset with uncertainties and doubts. In general esteem Abu Bakr, the oldest friend in arms of the Prophet, appeared to be the worthiest of all to undertake this task. He was an intrepid stalwart old man endowed with military skill and well-versed in the revelations and the precepts of the Prophet. He was the proper person to assume the leadership vacated by the Prophet, and he was named the successor : *Khalifa*. He became the leader of a community which soon grew into a fighting army and developed into a state. The task which the "followers" had to perform became gradually more and more different from that of the Prophet. The first four Caliphs tried to maintain the traditions of the community just as they were

during the life of the Prophet, and later on, this particular period was idealised and became the model on which Islamic theory strove to build up its institutions. But theory and practice never coincided in reality, for the theory was based on an idealisation of events which had no foundation in historic reality. History developed in its own way. In Syria, *Mo'awiya* founded a state, an Arabic kingdom, and cared little for the idealised conceptions of a Caliphate which never had real existence save in the books of the learned. The Ommayyad kings hardly ever fulfilled the ideal of a Caliph, the worldly and spiritual leader, defender, and executor of the holy law. After the rise to power of the Abbassides, the community of Islam was split into a number of states, each with a distinct ruler of its own. The worldly power so essential to leader (*imám*) of the community was gone, together with the unity of the community. A fiction was substituted for the reality. Although the Abbassides were regarded as Caliphs, as the overlords of Muslim Sultanates, the Sultans were in reality much more powerful, and controlled a much larger army. The Sultans requested the Abbasside Caliphs to invest them with authority, and on their request being granted, the caliphate changed its character, and became an acknowledged tribunal of legitimacy. As the Sultans grew in power, they began to have differences with the Caliphs, and did not hesitate to attack the territory of the Caliphs, and finally in the 12th century the Caliph's authority became restricted to a small state with practically no worldly power at all. They degenerated into a mere symbol of a traditional idea. They were no longer Caliphs in the sense of the golden age of Islam, and the Sultans tolerated them only as the titular heads of the religion of Islam who however had no right to interfere in the worldly affairs of government and administration. The Sultans took over the worldly duties of the Caliphate, they organised their state, they ruled over it and they administered the holy law. In practice they executed all the functions of a Caliph, and the Muslim state-law interpreted their real power as a kind of Caliphate ordained by God, based on obscure Koránic verses like 38 : 26. "*inna dja'alnák khalifat fi l-ardh fahkum bayna'mnas,*" etc. Finally the Sultans deliberately assumed the

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title "caliph" in consideration of their worldly power which was essential to the *imamate*, but they were not "successors of the Prophet" (*khalifatu'nabi*) but were "Caliphs of God" (*khalifat Ullah*).

After the extinction of the Abbasside Caliphate by the Mongols (1258), some of the Abbassides took refuge in the court of the Egyptian Mamlúks and continued the appearance of legitimacy of the Caliphate in their own persons. The Sultans of Cairo took over the task of safeguarding the roads to the holy cities, which gradually came to be recognised as one of the regular duties of the Caliph. This idea of course was of a much later date, for Islam was *eo ipso* cradled in these towns, and it was only after the passing away of all authority from these places that they came to be recognised as the only spots which could claim rights of sanctity in Islam. The Sultans of the Mamlúks seized the Caliphate by the investiture of the fugitive Abbassides, and by virtue of the protection they accorded to the holy cities. Outside Egypt any powerful Muslim king could assume the title of Caliph on the strength of the assertion that God had granted him success (*waffakahu*) and thereby made him an executor of the holy law on earth.

The Sultans of the Ottomans attained to the title of Caliph exactly in the same way. After their success on the battle-fields of Europe they became the most powerful *Sunni* rulers. Selim I conducted a campaign against the Mamlúk Sultan Kansuh, and on the field of Dábik the Abbasside Caliph Mutawakkil who accompanied the Sultan fell a prisoner to the Ottomans (1516). The Ottoman Sultan was so little influenced by reverence for the Caliph that he carried him away as a prisoner to Constantinople. Actual power and success was the thing which mattered, and the authority of the Caliphate was so insignificant in comparison that nobody grudged the prisoner this pretentious title. The Caliph was a prisoner, a noble prisoner indeed, in memory of what had been an object of veneration in the past, but no importance was attached to the office. After the death of Selim (1521), Mutawakkil returned to Egypt and died there in 1543 in perfect oblivion. There is a legend which makes Mutawakkil confer the title on Selim.

In the ancient theory of Islam it was essential for a Caliph to be a Koreyshite, an *eo ipso* postulate, as the successor of the Prophet could not possibly belong to any other tribe in those times. The Caliphs created by the right of the sword never fulfilled this requirement. But the changes in the political situation made it essential to revise the ideas current in a previous age. It became clear that temporal power was the chief characteristic of the Caliphs, and it implied the guardianship of the two holy cities and the pilgrimage there. As Selim became the protector of the holy cities after the fall of the Mamlúks, he took up the title of *Khádim-ul-Haramayn* (servant of the two Holies) which was an expression of his paramount supremacy in the Muslim world.

Much later the Ottoman Sultans began to call themselves Caliphs as they became in reality the executors of the holy law on a vast territory ruled over by them by the grace of God; but they never seemed to attach any political importance to it. As long as they were in actual power and overlords of a considerable portion of *dár-ul-Islám*, theoretical consideration did not move them. The situation became different when the Ottoman power began to decline and vast provinces inhabited by Muslims were lost and passed under Christian rule. On account of this change the importance of the title, neglected and disregarded for a long time, was suddenly revived. It is noteworthy that the misunderstanding of the title, and the utilisation of this misunderstanding was due not to a Muslim but to an orthodox Christian, the Armenian historian Muradgea d'Ohsson. The new conception of the Caliphate is first met with in the peace-treaty of Küchük Kaynardje which was concluded between Russia and Turkey in 1774. According to this peace-treaty the Sultan had to acknowledge the independence of the Khans of the Crimea. The loss of territory and of sovereignty was a previous one. The Turks with their inborn diplomatic skill managed to profit by the uncertainty in the meaning of the Caliphate. They emphasized the theory that Muslims cannot acknowledge a foreign ruler as they all must be subjects of "the Caliph." In course of negotiations the Turks succeeded in securing the overlordship of the Ottoman Sultan as Caliph

over the religious ordinances of the Crimean Muslims. In this peace-treaty the Caliph appears definitely as the religious head of all Muslims, irrespective of their political allegiance. This conception of the Caliphate was not Islamic in spirit. It owes its origin to a Christian who was probably influenced by the idea of Popery, and it was used effectively by the Ottomans in order to preserve at least partially their influence over those peoples who were at one time under their temporal overlordship. The Ottomans took care to keep this misunderstanding alive among the European diplomats, and pressed this point in all subsequent peace-treaties. The Ottoman Sultan naturally came to be recognised as the spiritual head of Islam, and his name was included in the Friday-prayer (*khutba*) although this act was an explicit expression of political sovereignty. Abdul Hamid founded his pan-Islamic propaganda on the fiction of an all comprising spiritual Caliphate.

The idea of a spiritual Caliphate took such a strong hold on the mind of the Turks also that, although contrary to Islamic doctrines, the National Assembly of Angora deposed the Sultan Mehemed and at the same time recognised him as Caliph. In their mind the Caliphate had become a symbol of the spiritual unity of Islam, and by tolerating a Caliph they wanted to retain the allegiance of the Muslims outside Turkey. The spiritual Caliphate was of short duration. The Assembly busied itself with the task of formulating the functions of the Caliph, but at this point it became evident that no member of the dynasty of Osman was capable of discharging the duties of the Caliph. They were neither jurisconsults nor theologians; the office of a kind of Popery conferred on them was not at all congenial. The natural consequence of the abolition of the Sultanate was the abolition of the fiction of the Caliphate as well.

The Muslim world felt as if it had lost something by the abolition of the Caliphate, something though for which it had never cared much before. There was no discontent when previous Sultan-Caliphs had been deposed, and the Muslim world was not stirred even when the title was transferred from Mehemed VI to Abdul Medjid II. But in 1924 the Indian Muslims were eager to convoke an inter-Islamic Conference.

They dreamt of establishing a kind of holy synod the president of which would be considered as Caliph. But there was no agreement regarding the constitution of this synod. Would the members be elected for life or from year to year? Neither could the functions and the scope of authority of this body be settled with unanimity. Should it restrict its activities to matters purely religious or should it assume a dictatorial authority controlling the governments from a moral and religious point of view?

An Egyptian judge Ali Abdar Rázik has put in his book on the "Fundaments of Government" (*Al Islám wa usúl ul-hukm*) a new theory regarding the ecclesiastical state of Islam. According to him, Islam has never claimed a worldly government; this was left to the free consideration of the believers. The Korán does not mention the Caliphate, consequently it cannot form part of the Islamic dogma. The idea of Caliphate was created by the legal handbooks compiled centuries after the death of the Prophet. The religious leadership need not necessarily involve political sovereignty. The mission of the Prophet was exclusively religious, and never aimed at the foundation of a temporal government. Islam is but a spiritual revelation, a moral doctrine and a belief with no connexion with any external authority which takes upon itself the task of executing its dicta. It is noteworthy that all the above theses were accepted and passed by the Ulemas of the University of al-Azhar. It was the Rector of this University who convoked a congress for the discussion and settlement of the question of the Caliphate. There was no agreement even as regards the venue of the congress. It was a sad spectacle; but a striking proof of the rupture in the world of Islam. Some objected to Cairo because Egypt was not an independent country, and proposed Afghanistan or Turkey as a more suitable place of meeting. Ibn Sa'ud issued an invitation to Mecca. There was no accord on the very important question of whom to invite and to admit. There were some prominent Shiites, Zaidites who had taken part in the Caliphate movement. Could they be admitted to the congress, and be thereby given a legitimate status in the orthodox community? This would mean a breach in the

historical traditions of Islam, to preserve which the congress was being convoked. Should the Muslims of Turkey, and of Russia, who in their republican tendencies had broken with orthodox Islam be invited and admitted? Such questions clearly showed that the abolition of the Caliphate was merely an outward recognition of conditions which had existed for centuries. The Muslim world which on account of its dogmatic rigour was torn into factions, and could not unite even for the purpose of a temporary inter-Islamic conference, how could it submit itself to the authority of a single body in practice?

The proposed congress assembled at last in 1926, in Cairo, accompanied by the greatest indifference of the Muslim world. The delegates who gathered together were sent by private associations, not by the unanimous consent of the different countries. The congress discussed barren questions regarding the title of the Caliphate and its requirements, and finally declared that Islam had ceased to be a compact social or political body, and had become separated into national units. Consequently these separated Muslim nations could not be brought under the rule of a single Caliph : in any case, such an attempt would be premature, and the congress contented itself by merely creating a central office for arranging inter-Islamic congresses to be held annually. In 1926 a congress was also held in Mecca, which similarly decided to meet annually at the time of the pilgrimage. It is to be hoped that these congresses, if conducted with moderation and a really deep religious spirit and inspired by the historic sentiments, will bring together the extreme elements on a common platform, and will gradually strengthen the spiritual and cultural unity of the Muslim peoples belonging to different races, countries and political units.

Thus ended however the discussions regarding the Caliphate. The National Assembly of Angora intrepidly proceeded to newer reforms and framed new laws with a complete disregard of the Korán, Hadith or Idjma. Legislation became a purely human affair; a complete separation of the church and the state was effected. The *wakf* endowments were sequestrated by the state, the dervish fraternities dissolved.

The government, however, adopted a vigorous colonising policy aimed at strengthening the Turkish elements in the state. In accordance with the peace-treaty of Lausanne, the Greeks and Armenians were permitted to leave the country whenever they liked, and the consequent gap in the population had to be filled with new immigrants more valuable to the nation than the turbulent *ra'yas* were. Millions of Turks live outside the boundary of Turkey in constant danger of denationalisation. These precious elements, the *muhádjirs*, are systematically helped to settle and are quickly absorbed. Some half a million persons are said to be colonised in Anatolia every year. The government wants to make up for the loss of population and wealth in the years of war and devastation. It may be emphasised that of all the new reforms this scheme of colonisation is most conducive to the progress and rejuvenation of the country. Turkey in spite of its heavy losses in territory has retained the core of its possessions : Anatolia. A territory large enough to feed a prosperous population of thirty millions has but nine million inhabitants, poor and ignorant. Villages are scattered over a vast territory impassable in winter for want of suitable means of communication. The Ottoman armies had continually drained away the population from the villages, and no care had been taken to make good the loss. There is a Turkish saying that Turkey was destroyed by the pashas and the goats. The pashas squeezed the population and cut the forests, while the goats gnawed off the roots. The devastation of the country is indeed alarming. The new government has an immense task to perform, but it has faced its problems courageously. The future of Turkey depends not so much on its new literature, European culture, and fashion and dress but on its economic welfare and military power. A sound economic policy, and a patriotism rising to ascetic self-denial for the purpose of building up a wealthy, healthy and wise nation are the only means of atonement for the deplorable neglect of the past.

✓ The government edicted a series of new codes. It accepted the best codes from all nations : the penal code of Italy, the civil code from Switzerland and the commercial code from Germany. They were all translated into Turkish, put before the

assembly and after short discussions unanimously carried. As a consequence of these European codes many aspects of social and economic life imperceptibly underwent a deep change. Wine-drinking is no longer interdicted, polygamy lost its legal sanction, commercial restrictions of sheriat-times are no longer valid, and many new customs were created by the acceptance of the codes. For example, in future, women and children will have to bear the name of the husband and the father respectively. It was inevitable that the new legislation would change the outward appearance of life in Turkey. Harem-life and the veil disappeared, women go about freely in society, participate in social activities, dress in the European fashion and share all the amenities of life with their husbands.

It cannot be denied that the change was a little sudden, and the war-time hardships and privations found relaxation in a somewhat easy-going conception of life in large towns. Much of the superficial frivolities of European life were accepted at their face value as European culture. The lightest forms of pleasure-seeking, and the insipid outgrowths of superficiality were greedily accepted. European dancing in its modern hysterics found ready acceptance and was looked upon as a praiseworthy mark of progress. Fortunately such conceptions are confined to a very small minority, and it is to be hoped that after the novelty has worn away it will soon subside.

A more striking change was effected in religious life. Before the war the streets of Constantinople were teeming with white-turbaned *softas* (students of the sheriat) and *hodjas* (teachers, priests). With their many-coloured cloaks they contributed largely to the picturesqueness of the town. Most of them enjoyed a modest living on the numerous *wakfs*, and being exempted from military service, spent their lives in studying Arabic, medieval jurisprudence and scholastic theology. The most capable hands were taken away from agriculture by their diversion to the mosques where they led an unproductive life. While farms could not be worked for lack of labour, the *imarets* (students' hostels) were filled with stalwart peasant-boys cramming Arabic. With the sequestration of *wakfs* this wastage of productive material ceased. A fatal blow had already been

administered to the *wakf* system during the war, when an edict suspended the exemption of such students from military service. It had become evident that most of them took refuge in religious studies in order to avoid military duties.

Mosques have again become purely places of worship and their *personelle* was restricted within the necessary limits. It must be confessed that the Turks do not appear to be very fond of going to mosques, as most of them are half empty. They pretend that the European dress hampers religious ablution and the posture of prayer on the ground. An innovation is to be introduced : pews and music, most horrifying to the pious ! Such innovations appear to be equally futile in the eyes of the sober-minded Europeans as well as to orthodox Muslims who consider them unnecessary. No Christian has ever left a mosque without being deeply touched by the noble simplicity of Muslim worship. An atmosphere of inspiration pervades the lofty cupola adorned with the sublime names of the Prophet and the four Caliphs, under which, facing Mecca, man, infinitely small compared with the powers of nature, humbly worships his Creator.

It has been already pointed out that the new nationalistic spirit of Turkish literature adopted European forms in supercession of Arabic. The traditions connecting Turkish literature with Asiatic models were so much disregarded that even the legitimacy of the Arabic script was questioned. It is true that the Arabic script is not a perfect medium for reproducing Turkish words. It is perhaps more difficult to learn than the Latin script, but the amazingly large number of illiterate persons in Turkey was not due to this fact, but to a backward system of school-administration. It is also true that Arabic written characters, if not executed carefully are hardly legible. But in spite of all these drawbacks the Arabic script has served as a common link for all the Muslim peoples. The argument that it hampers foreigners in learning Turkish does not seem to be very cogent, as the difficulty is not at all insurmountable, and there are many European languages using Latin characters and possessing a rich literature which are equally neglected. An acceptable and fairly established Arabic orthography of

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Turkish served all practical purposes. The abolition of Arabic script means the petrifying of all the literary treasures created during six centuries. When Hamdullah Subhy Bey, former Minister of Education, assured me that as soon as he recovered from his nervous breakdown, he would introduce and make obligatory the Latin script, it had struck me like a threat of cultural suicide, and I did not take it seriously. It appeared to me to proceed from the habit of blind imitation of everything European, rather than from a conviction of the superior value of the Latin script. Nevertheless it has been carried into effect, and the Latin script has now taken the place of the Arabic.

In the new Turkish alphabet each sound is represented by a single letter, sometimes with diacritical hooks. In this respect the alphabet is very systematic and correct, but when it comes to its application, the same uncertainties prevail in the spelling of words as in the superceded Arabic script. The rules of spelling established by a Special Committee are not of great help, and may result in great disorder in spelling. Phonetic writing was adopted as the basic principle in the new spelling, but this principle was carried out sometimes to extremes, and was sometimes ignored altogether. I have seen some pedantic orientalists trying to transliterate Turkish words like : *oldighi* which were pronounced : *oldú*. Turkish phoneticians made the selfsame blunder in writing *bildigi* and *oldugu*, and *öglen* with the same "g", under the influence of the Arabic script. It is very doubtful whether *Mitat* for *Midhat*, *teretüt* for *tereddüd*, etc., is phonetically correct; it is scarcely suitable from a pedagogical point of view, since the declension rechanges the "t" into "d." *Istambol* has changed in the new spelling under the influence of French "Stamboul" into *Istanbul*. Innumerable instances of the slipshod way in which the new system has been applied may be adduced, but the main point does not lie here. The important question is whether the new alphabet will prove congenial to the Turkish mind. The Arabic script was the bearer of a literature which suited the tastes of those who read it, and that there always was an adequate number of readers is proved by the abundance of Turkish men

of letters. The new literature of Turkey since the Crimean war also brought forth some very remarkable works, with good promise of a bright future. The spirit animating these works was closely connected with the words expressing it, whether originally Arabic or Persian, since they were completely Turkicised. These words cannot be used in the new script as they are hardly recognisable. With the loss of their original garb the spirit and the flavour also seem to have disappeared. Arabic script was the bridge which admitted and also absorbed innumerable Arabic and Persian words into the Turkish language. I am apprehensive that the Latin script may similarly serve as a bridge for the introduction of French words which will imperceptibly slip in and deform the character of the Turkish language. The treasures of Turkish literature of the past will be shut off from the reading public of the future, and there will be no continuity of ideas, and no coherence of ideals. Scripts have sometimes proved stronger barriers than hills and rivers. The Cyrillic Servians and the Latin-lettered Croatians are two distinct nations speaking the one and the same language; not even political union could fuse them together and induce them to give up their separate scripts.

Turkey appears to have burnt all the bridges which connected her with her history, and she looks only to the future. New men of letters must arise with a new inspiration of their own to create a new literature with new words and permeated by a new spirit. Whether the genius of Turkey is capable of achieving this task time alone can show.

REPORT ON MEDICAL CONDITIONS IN THE BIRBHUM DISTRICT.

By HARRY G. TIMBRES, M.D.

During the last month I have visited a score of villages in the immediate vicinity of Santiniketan and Bolpur, and several others at some distance. The economic and health conditions in these places are appalingly bad. The two conditions of Poverty and Disease go together. The peasants say that the disease came first and caused poverty, but I cannot help but feel that each one follows the other in a vicious circle.

In the village what first strikes one's attention is the over-growth of vegetation (jungle) and the deserted houses. The latter remind me of nothing so clearly as the deserted villages I saw in Central Russia during the Great Famine in 1921-1922. The empty houses, making up as much as half or two-thirds of the total number of houses in the village, are for the most part in a state of disintegration. The roofs are gone, the mud walls are broken down, and the wall surrounding the house and yard is also half destroyed. Jungle fills the yard. Whole streets may be made up of such houses. The exuberant jungle grows in between them and pushes out over the street. Tanks and pools of stagnant water (*dobas*) are everywhere in evidence, ideal breeding places for the malaria-breeding mosquitos.

Around the tanks and pools of water is a heavy growth of jungle. It even extends into the tanks, adding to the density of the growth of the water plants already there. Only at the places from which water is customarily removed is there an absence of vegetation. Tanks which are regularly and extensively used are not usually very heavy sources of infection with malaria, since the disturbance of the surface of water is inimical to the mosquito larvae breeding there. It is the unused or the infrequently used tank that is the source of greatest danger. These are identical enough in any village, many of whose inhabitants have died, leaving their houses and tanks to fall into a state of disrepair. Very few villages are supplied with wells

for drinking water. The family gets its drinking water from the same tank in which it bathes and does its laundry, from which its fields of rice are irrigated, and upon the sloping sides of which altogether too frequently its excremental material is deposited. A latrine is practically never seen.

So much for the physical aspects of the village. In the worst villages one often walks through one or two streets without seeing a single inhabitant. In other villages, the inhabitants, including dogs, pigs, children, and chicken, are often numerously manifest. The people, however, are not in good general physical condition. Their appearance of lack of energy is striking. The pot-bellied child is the rule, the healthy-looking child is the exception. I did a spleen examination on many children in every village I visited. I often performed this examination in the schools. An enlarged spleen is a sure indication of infection with malaria in an epidemic area. In the best villages the spleen rate was 30%, in the worst, often every child examined had a large spleen. Sometimes the spleen was so large as almost to fill the entire abdominal cavity. Such a high splenic rate in the children is positive evidence of a similarly high rate of infection with malaria in every member of the village. In one village, Raipur, with a population of 350 families, forty are said to have died of malaria during this session.

Although malaria, to use Osler's famous expression, is easily the "Captain of the Men of Death" in these villages, there are many other serious diseases as well. Of these, Leprosy easily holds first place. The province of Behar, adjoining Bengal, has probably the highest incidence of Leprosy of any place in the world. The leper index of certain parts of Bihar is placed, according to the estimates of medical opinion based on census figures, at 1.1% of the population. By the same estimate, the figure for the District of Birbhum, adjoining Bihar in Bengal, is slightly less than 1%. The Sanitary Officer of the Thana of Bolpur told me there are probably about 1,000 cases of leprosy in this thana, of which the total population is 50,000. There is no compulsory segregation of lepers in Bengal. I saw several early cases of leprosy among

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the villagers, cases too early to be suspected by their neighbours, but quite obvious to anyone acquainted with the early manifestations of the disease. None of the lepers whom I saw were receiving treatment. Most of them would gladly go to a clinic for treatment if such existed. Besides Leprosy, there is typhoid fever, dysentaries of all kinds, filaria, tuberculosis, trachoma, etc., to say nothing of the ordinary medical and surgical conditions arising in any community. Influenza is now quite prevalent, and most of the children suffer from enlarged tonsils and diseased cervical glands. Cholera has not been severe in this district this year, but, of course, it is an ever present danger. Two compensatory factors in the situation are the rarity of plague and kala-azar. The latter, I am told, is very prevalent in East Bengal.

The conditions under which child-birth takes place are deplorable. I did not see any case during my visits, but I talked with local physicians and midwives. An idea of the results of the bad treatment which is accorded to women at such times is given in the report of the District Health Officer for the year ending January 31st, 1929. The total population of Birbhum is nearly one million. In that year, 31,763 children were born. The number of children dying under one year of age was 6,079, giving a mortality rate of 191.3 per 1,000. In addition to these, there were 3,305 deaths among children between one and five years of age. The chief causes given were, want of vitality of expectant mothers, bad care at the time of delivery, ignorance in rearing the infants, under-nourishment and disease in the children. There is no report on the maternal mortality in child-birth, but, judging from stories I heard from the villagers, I could safely say that it is easily comparable with the infant mortality.

A cursory glance at the villages, however, might not reveal to a casual observer that they are veritable museums of nearly every disease known to mankind. He would see the jungle, the desolation, the disorderliness and the under-nourishment, but outside of these observations, he might even think that the villagers were in a fairly good condition. When I first came to Santiniketan, I was told by several people, Indians and

Europeans, that they did not think a doctor would find much material for work, as they regarded this part of Bengal as an especially healthy place. Santiniketan is healthy, but the surrounding district not. A little prodding beneath the surface is needed to reveal the slow death that is creeping over the countryside, a death, which if it be not checked, may easily spread to other parts of Bengal and India. The Poet has seen this condition coming for many years, and it is one of the greatest sadness of his life.

Regarding the causes of the condition, I shall dwell on those that are put forward by the villagers themselves. There is ample evidence on every hand that as short a time as fifty years ago the district was quite prosperous. Historically it is recorded as having been very prosperous. Bernier, travelling through Bengal in 1660, writes :

"The knowledge I have acquired of Bengal in two visits inclines me to believe that it is richer than Egypt. It exports in abundance cottons and silks; rice, sugar and butter. It produces amply for its own consumption wheat vegetables, grains, fowls, ducks and geese. It has immense herds of pigs, flocks of sheep and goats. Fish of every kind it has in profusion. From Rajmahal to the sea is an endless number of canals, cut in bygone ages from the Ganges by immense labour for navigation and irrigation, while the Indian considers the Ganges as the best in the world."

When Mr. Cheap, commercial agent for the East India Company 1787-1824, flourished in this district, it was probably the wealthiest in all Bengal. Home industries of all kinds, such as spinning, weaving, dyeing indigo culture, etc., prospered. The district was full of artisans of the highest skill, from whose deft fingers ornaments and wearing apparel went out to deck the rich and royal of the world. In attempting to explain the causes that have reduced this once rich and skilled populations to the status of cultivators of grain and chiefly of one crop at that, *viz.*, rice, for almost no other crop is regularly produced here, the Economist and Sociologist would speak frequently of the Industrial Revolution, the Lancashire Mills, the movements of population from village to city, etc. But I do not

think we need to seek further than the explanation which the villagers themselves give, in order to arrive quite close to the truth of the cause of their downfall. The old inhabitants say it is lack of drainage. They point to the river Ajay, and declare that 60 years ago this river was navigable down to the Hooghly and thence to Calcutta. The river is now nearly dry, scarcely maintaining its stream through the dry season, and such water as is in it trickles across wide expanses of sand, which the old men point to as evidence that the bed of the river has silted up. They declare that every year the level of the bed of the river rises several inches and the current becomes correspondingly more sluggish. As the cause of the backing up of the water, they one and all accuse the railroad grade. They say that the whole process of impoverishment and disease begun about 30 years after the railroad was built. They say the culverts through the grades were put at too high a level, and there was not sufficient space between the piers of the bridge, and so the river gradually silted up, and its numerous small tributaries became back-washes of stagnant water. They are agreed that malarial fever was scarcely known 60 years ago.

They are warmly supported in the main point of their theory by no less distinguished a person than Dr. Bentley, Director of Public Health in Bengal. In his book, *Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal* (page 20), he says :

"There is considerable amount of evidence to support the view that railway construction has been largely responsible for the disastrous change that has been come over many parts of the delta in the last seventy years. . . . For, the periodic inundation of the country naturally tended on occasions to destroy the continuity of road and railway communications, and it became necessary therefore to make the river embankments secure against breaching; and in consequence, flood water was shut out from the country, the natural system of deltaic irrigation was interrupted, drainage was impeded and the network of channels which used formerly to be fed by the spillwater from the great rivers became silted up and in many cases entirely destroyed. . . . The embanking of the country, and the shutting out of river water from the surface of the delta, was

further marked by simultaneous occurrence of appalling epidemics of malaria, a serious decline of agriculture, and the progressive depopulation of the affected areas."

Dr. Bentley's courageous agitation for an irrigation system for Bengal, not only as a much needed measure for the improvement of public health but also to restore the agriculture of the country to its former prosperous level, is strongly seconded by Sir William Wilcocks, famous as the irrigation engineer of Egypt, who believes that the rivers flowing south from the Ganges through Bengal were originally artificial canals dug by the ancient Indians to provide for the adequate irrigation and drainage of the province, (see Bernier, above), and that in allowing these to become silted up the province has been turned in the course of 100 years from a place then considered to be a health resort to a hotbed of the worst diseases in the world. Doctors of Public Health are agreed that Malaria always follows the interruption of the proper drainage of any community. What has been stated above as the opinions of a veritable galaxy of learned and scientific men was told me directly also by the old men of the villages.

Whatever the causes, the fact remains that the conditions around Santiniketan are bad, unspeakably bad, but not so bad that they cannot be remedied. Did I not believe this latter fact I should indeed be discouraged. The ultimate solution will have to come eventually from the country as a whole, at least from the Bengal Government. Already half-convinced of the value of Dr. Bentley's and Sir Wilcock's suggestions, the Government is beginning to make a survey of the province for the purpose of improving the irrigation and drainage. But before that scheme comes to fruition, all the inhabitants may die. In the District of Birbhum, as in the rest of Bengal, the Department of Public Health carries bravely on under extremely adverse conditions, chief of which is the lack of an adequate staff and income. The Civil Surgeons of the District are also inadequately equipped, and there are less than 75 hospital beds in the entire district.

The most encouraging work which I saw is that which is being done by the village workers at Sriniketan under the

direction of the Visvabharati. All of these workers are young men filled with ideals of serving their country in a practical manner. They work at great personal sacrifice, on very low salaries, performing the fundamental tasks of organization of health work. This work is one important part of the general scheme of village uplift which has its centre at Sriniketan. Inspired by the Poet's ideals and aspirations for his country, they work on the principle that if the level of village life can be raised through the co-operative efforts of villagers themselves the village would once more become an attractive and healthy place to live, and the people would not desert it for the profitless soul-quenching life of the city. So workers are trained in village industries, night and day schools for children are conducted, co-operative banks loaning money at low rate of interest are organized, and health societies are formed.

The health work has been organized in eight of the surrounding villages. Already signal effects can be recognised. I proved by actual examination of the children that the incidence of malaria is lower in these villages than in surrounding ones. Also the general state of nourishment of the children is better. The health societies collect membership fees in money, kind, and labour, and apply these fees to clearing the jungle, draining the roads, cleaning and kerosinizing the tanks regularly, filling up the pools of stagnant water, regularly distributing quinine as a prophylactic measure during the worst of the malaria season, and in instructing the villagers by lectures, posters, etc., in the elements of sanitation and hygiene. It is all a splendid work being done along proper lines without waste of effort, by men whose inspiration is of the highest and whose patience in doing the necessary little things is infinite. The difficulties obstructing their work must appear at times to be insurmountable. The lack of adequate funds is the main difficulty. Then the prejudice of the villagers must be overcome. This was at one time strong but is getting less now. When the malaria is very bad it seems as if their measures are having no effect, but they keep bravely on in the face of no little danger to themselves from diseases with which they come daily into contact and to which their own state of under-nourishment renders them

more than usually liable. No matter, their courage and patience are unflagging.

It is evident that here we have a situation that will permit of no half-way measures. A medical programme should pursue two lines, Curative and Preventive. Along with both there should be an intensive educational progress.

The primary need is for a hospital. It will include the treatment of indoor patients, a dispensary, and a clinic for treatment of lepers. It will train nurses and village health workers. It has been suggested that the health societies of a group of villages should pool their resources to maintain one of their young men in a course of training of three years in our hospital. He would receive lectures and demonstrations in the elements of physiology, anatomy, hygiene and sanitation. The greater part of his time would be spent in the actual care of the sick. He would have exactly the same status in this regard as one of the nurses. He would get instruction in simple therapy, the simpler phases of minor surgery, and considerable field training in the initiation and organization of measures of public health. At the end of his course he would get a certificate of public health and nursing, and would agree to return to the societies which supported his training, and serve their members in the treatment of simple diseases, nursing the sick, and directing public health. He would refer major conditions to our hospital. In this way the double need of medical help in the villages and trained supervision of public health would be met. The nurses would receive similar training, with modifications which would fit them as midwives and teachers in maternal and infant welfare.

The proposed location of the new hospital at Cheap's Kuthi is ideal. Nor can one be blind to its romance, since it was at one time the home of a man who in consideration of his numerous benefactions of the district deservedly earned the title bestowed upon him by the inhabitants of Cheap the Magnificent. His former residence stands on a high piece of ground in a wooded area of 37 acres, about half a mile from Sriniketan. Most of the existing buildings can be utilized as a hospital, thus considerably reducing the initial cost of building. The park land

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surrounding the place offers unlimited possibilities for expansion in the future. By erecting an additional group of buildings for the accommodation of private patients, the hospital should eventually become self-supporting. There is also plenty of room for building a tuberculosis sanitarium, for which the dryness, the quietness and the beauty of the place render it particularly suitable. Such an institution would draw patients from all over Bengal, and even further, for I am told by one of Calcutta's leading physicians that even for his private patients suffering from phthisis, there is no good Sanitarium within 300 miles of Calcutta. This city is one of the most heavily infected with tuberculosis of any in India.

The public health work should follow the general lines along which it is already proceeding, only it should be much intensified. According to the amount of funds available for this work, it should be concentrated in a few villages, four or five at the most. In these villages before any work is done at all a thorough health survey should be made. In each village an index of incidence of the major diseases should be established. A similar survey should be made in five other neighbouring villages, comparable in location, population and general conditions to the first set. Then the public health programme should be intensively carried on in the villages of the first set, whereas those of the second set should be let strictly alone. Then after a year or two, the survey in both groups should be repeated and the results compared. Only in this way can we find out what effect our measures are having. Only in this way we can make our results convincing and available for others in India who may wish to follow our example. This method will take longer, but the results will mean a great deal more. It is not beyond the range of possibility to make the health work around Santiniketan a centre to which sanitary workers from all over India will come for their training. What more practical service can India's sons render their country than this?

In conclusion I may say that all of this programme will take funds; much more funds than are at present in sight. I should put 2.72 lakhs of rupees as the amount which should be available during the next five years for carrying on this work. This may

seem like a staggering amount, but I believe it will be forthcoming. Medical work of this nature, being practical beyond all argument, must appeal to all people in India, regardless of race, creed, caste, social position or political opinion. There is warm sympathy for India among thousands of people in America and England and other parts of the world, many of whom would welcome an opportunity to offer India practical assistance of this nature. United by their love of the great Founder of the University at Santiniketan, people of all nations, did they but know of the close relation in which his work stands, in the practical aspects of the needs of his nation, would come to his help in assuring that work of permanence and growth. So let us not lose faith. Let us have at least as much faith as those village workers of Sriniketan who are already dedicated to the service of their country. Let us go forward with courage, and the means for performing these much needed tasks will be forthcoming.

Santiniketan, December, 1930.

THE CONCEPTION OF THE DIVINE BEING IN ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY.

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It is usually asserted that the Islamic religion is based on an uncompromising Monotheism. In certain ways this view is superficial, and is due to an over-simplification of the problem. A critical study of Quranic texts and aphoristic sayings of the Prophet of Islam will clearly show that the religious thought of Islam is interwoven with the ideas of Abstract Monism and Concrete Theism (*Towhid*). The idea of an Absolute Existence finds expression in such phrases as *dhát-i-multaq*, *dhát-i-bahat*, *dhát-i-mahaz* and so forth. Passages of Al-Qur'an exist which describe the Divine Being as an absolute entity beyond human conception and human comprehension.(1) This is *Abstract Monism*. At the same time the term *Towhid* contains the idea that the absolute existence of *Allah* (God) is a Concrete Reality (*Haq-subhánahu*),(2) which is not only conscious of Its own existence, but has the power of initiative and control, and co-ordinates Its activities for a supreme purpose. This view identifies the Absolute One with a Personal God having the power of bringing into existence finite things "with innumerable designs without pre-existing models."(3) According to this view "the world in all its details is teleological; and the metaphysical belief in the personality of God finds empirical confirmation in the teleological argument." It may be pointed out that the Qur'an is replete with teleological arguments, and

(1) "The sight comprehends him not, but He comprehends the sight : He is incomprehensible and wise." The Quran, Chap. 6: 102.

(2) "When my servants ask thee concerning Me, verily I am near ; I hear the prayer of him that prayeth when he prayeth unto Me." The Quran, Sura ii.

"We created man and know what his soul whispereth within him : and We are nearer unto him than his jugular vein" The Quran, Sura 50.

(3) "He is Allah the Maker of all things, the Creator of all existences, the Fashioner of all images : His are the most excellent and beautiful attributes that man can imagine." The Quran, Sura 59.

constantly refers to the natural objects made of beautiful shapes and designs.(4)

The idea of *Towhid* differs materially from Monotheism which makes God to be a single entity but finite in some respects. Monotheism presupposes the existence of two self-subsisting principles of which one is personal, and the other impersonal—God and matter. "In other words, the tendency of more advanced thought was to restrict the personality to one of the rival powers, and to conceive a single god of unlimited goodness, but limited in power by another principle outside of himself, and self-existent like himself, but impersonal."

I believe a good deal of confusion has been created through the erroneous use of the word "Monotheism" as the English equivalent of the Arabic word "*Towhid*" or "*Wahdat*." *Towhid* or *Wahdat* implies that God is perfect, infinite, real, and unconditioned; while what is Not-God (*masiwá-Alláh*) is imperfect, finite, unreal and conditioned. This idea is embodied in such texts as the following :—

Innamá Ilá hukúm Ilá hún wáhid—la Iláha illa huá-r-Rahman-ur-Rahim.

"Certainly your God is one God, there is no god besides Him. He is the most beneficent and merciful."

Here mark the Arabic word *Ilá* which means an object of love and veneration, and conveys the metaphysical idea of 'One personal God with unlimited power of goodness.'

(4) I give below several Quranic passages in support of the teleological proof of the Divine Existence.

(i) "Do they (men) not look up to heaven above them and consider how have We raised it and adorned it; and that there is no flaw therein? We have also spread forth the earth and thrown thereon mountains firmly rooted, and We caused beautiful kind of vegetables to spring up therein, for a subject of meditation, and an admonition unto every man who turneth unto Us." (Sura 50).

(ii) "This is the workmanship of God who has made everything to a perfection: you will not find any flaw in the creation of the most Beneficent; look again, do you find any defect?"

(iii) "You will not find any sudden change in the method of God, nor will you find any *unfitness* or *disproportion* in the system of His Workmanship."

(iv) "The most merciful (Allah) created man. He has given him speech. The sun and moon run their courses according to a certain rule: the vegetables that creep on the ground and the trees submit to His disposition." (Sura 55).

(v) "It is not expedient that the sun should overtake the moon in her course; nor can the night which is ruled by the moon outstrip the day which is ruled by the sun; and all the luminaries in their orbits." (Sura 36 : 40).

Qûl hâa Allâh-u-ahad—Allâh-us-samad.

"Say, He is God who is the indivisible one. He is God who is independent." (Sura 62 : 1, 2).

In this text, mark the use of the two words *ahad* and *samad*. The metaphysical implication is that "He is one incapable of division (*ahad*)."⁵ God is not a mathematical entity (*wahid*) which is capable of division into portions such as half, one-fourth, etc., but He is *ahad* which means "the indivisible one."⁶ The Muslim philosophers and schoolmen (*Mutakallimin*) have always drawn a sharp distinction between the two words "*ahad*" and "*wahid*."

He is also *samad* which means "He is not dependent on anything, but every thing is dependent on Him."

Hu-al-qâhiro fowqa 'ibadihi.

"He has the power of control over His creatures," i.e., Allah is not a mere abstraction but a concrete reality having the power of initiative and control.

Qûl kallun min 'indillâh.

"Say all things are from God."

Inna lillâhi wa inna ilaihi raje'un.

"From God we are, to God we shall return."

"His is the kingdom of Heaven and Earth; and unto God shall all things return."⁵ (Sura 57).

It will be seen from the above passages that *Towhid* definitely implies that the Divine Being is not a mere abstraction from the world. On the contrary, the world of phenomena is a manifestation of the concrete consciousness of God, as the text of the Qûran expresses it by saying that "He pervades everything," (*Hua 'alâkulli shyin mohit*).⁶

(5) It will be seen that the last three passages quoted above lend some support to the theory of Emanation. But we shall see a little later that Islam does not accept the theory of exclusive Immanence, but lays great emphasis on the theory of Transcendence as well.

(6) At the same time it should be noted that this idea differs materially from the pantheistic view of God. Pantheism makes God to be the sum-total of all finite things. This is not the significance of *towhid*, nor even of *wahdat-ul-wajud* (the Divine Emanation and the unified system of the universe). Its real significance is that all finite things and minds are in God, i.e., emanated from, sustained by, and included within the all-pervading power, energy, and consciousness of the Real Supreme Being. (*Haq-Subhanahu-t'ala*).

The idea of "Towhid" cannot therefore be conveyed by the word "Monotheism." If an English equivalent is required, I would suggest "Theistic Monism" as a better substitute.

We may now examine the doctrine of Transcendence in Islamic thought. There are certain texts and sayings of the Prophet, as well as aphoristic dicta of *Ahl-i-Tasawwuf* (the people of mysticism), which make the Supreme Deity wholly transcendental. This idea finds vivid expression in the description of His power, superiority, perfection, purity, splendour and majesty. In such descriptions we find that God is an absolute Being with the innate power (*qûdrat*) of initiative and control (*Takwin*) evolving (in the terminology of the philosophers) the finite things and minds, creating (in the terminology of the theologians) the world of phenomena, or emanating and manifesting (in the terminology of the Sûfis) the hidden into the apparent (*Zahûr-i-dhât wa Sifât*). Before creation the Absolute Being had a substantial self-conscious Existence (*wajib-ul-wajud li (z)-dhatihî*) independent of the world which It evolves, creates or manifests. With all Its essential qualities and self-consciousness within Itself, It existed from eternity without beginning(7) (*azal*), centred in Its own self-consciousness. At a certain stage of Its self-existence, It designed and created this phenomenal world without a pre-existing model, but according to an intelligent plan.(8) Thus this world came into existence from a desire of the Intelligent Author so that He may be known(9) and worshipped.(10)

The idea of the transcendental nature of the Divine Being is also expressed in a much simpler language without any subtlety of philosophical argument in the Qûran.

(7) A tradition says *Kânal Allâha wa lam yakun shayun qablahu* "God existed and nothing existed before Him." Another version of the same tradition is *Kânal Allâha wa lam yakun ma'hu shayun*: "God existed and nothing was with Him."

(8) The Quran says—*Khalaqa kulla shayin wa qaddarahu taqdiran* : "He created or evolved all things and made them on principle or plan." It should be noted that the word *Khalq* involves the idea of creation as well as evolution, for example see the exposition given by Imam Razi in the *Tanzil-ul-Asrar*.

(9) A tradition says—*Kuntu kanjan makfan fa ajabtu an 'urifa fa khalaqtu-l-khalqa* : "I (Allah) was a Hidden Treasure and I desired to be known, therefore, I created creation that I might be known."

(10) *Wa ma khalaqtu-l-jinna wal insa illa liyabudun* : "I did not create the genii and men but that they might worship Me."

"Your *Rab* (God) is the Deity Who is one in person and without any participator in His attributes. He is God alone, for there is no being which is like Him—eternal and everlasting, nor has any being its attributes like His attributes."

The word used in the text is "Rab" which conveys the idea of "the Creator, Nourisher and Sustainer." It should also be noted that the passage makes *Allah* an Absolute Being, but not without a touch of personality. He is the creator, nourisher, and sustainer of the world, although He is unique in His attributes and personality, far superior to everything, and nothing can be compared either with His essence or with His attributes.

The wholly transcendental theory carried certain implications which, however, were not quite congenial to the spirit of Islam. It makes the existence of the Absolute Being entirely exclusive of the world. He subsists wholly outside, above, and independent of the world of phenomena, as one finite thing exists exclusive of another. This involves a bifurcation into God and the world, with emphasis on dualism. On the other hand, it makes the Absolute Being a mere abstraction, formless, colourless, and impersonal, without any concrete reality and without personality. It ignores all relations between God and man.

The theologians (*Mutaddithin*) and schoolmen (*Mutakallim*) also perceived certain contradictions in the wholly transcendental theory. They hold that God has special qualities or attributes such as His power and potentiality (*Qudrat* and *Takwin*), will and desire (*Irâda* and *mashyat*), and so forth. In the wholly transcendental theory such attributes have no opportunity to function before creation.

Neither did the wholly Immanent theory find much favour with Islam. This theory makes God co-extensive with His creation; and causes the Divine Existence to be exhausted in the universe. It implies that the Divine Being is co-extensive in essence and potentiality with the world of finite things and minds, and leaves no room for independent reality to finite things themselves. This is not the Quranic view; not even the view of those who support the theory of the Divine Emanation and the unified system of the universe (*wahdat-ul-wajûd*).

The predominant idea regarding the transcendental and immanent nature of the Divine Being is to be found in such expressions as *Dhát-i-bárítalá* (the most Exalted Divine Existence), *Rabb-ul-Alamin*, (the Creator, Nourisher and Supporter of the World); *Hua fi Kulli-shayin mohit*, ("He pervades everything), *Innal-laha be Kulli-shayin 'Alim* (His knowledge surrounds all things), *wa la yahituna beshayin min 'ilmihí*, (And they shall not comprehend anything of His knowledge), i.e., the finite and limited intelligence of the human being cannot comprehend the wider and vaster knowledge of the Supreme Deity, and so forth. Some writers express the idea of the Divine Transcendence by saying *Alláho báryun min hâdha'-walláho subhánahu 'ázam wa ajalo wa akbar*: God is free from all these, i.e., free from whatever has been said in respect of His Essence and Attributes, *Allah* is purer, greater, more glorious, and more majestic. Another mode of expressing the transcendental and immanent idea is this: "God is independent of the creation, but creation is dependent on Him." This idea is tersely expressed in a pithy line which runs to the effect: *Lâ shakka innallâha wâhidun ahadun samadun, la sharika lahu wa la nidda*: "There is no doubt that *Allah* is one, an indivisible unity, independent of all things, but every thing is dependent on Him, there is no participator with Him, nor any one equal unto Him."

The author of the '*Awárif-ul-á'mrif*' expresses his views regarding the nature of the Supreme Being which depict God both as transcendental and as immanent, in very terse language:

"He has no limit. Within the infinitude are comprehended eternity without beginning and eternity without end; folded within the fold of His plan are existences and phenomena; in His beginning are all beginnings—the end; in His ending, all endings—the beginning; in His outwardness, the outward manifestation of things—the inward; in his inwardness the inward parts of worlds—the outward; in His eternity without beginning, the sum-total of eternities without beginning is only an accident (*hadith*); in His eternity without end, all eternities without end, only an event (*mahdas*)."

"The Divine nature is free and exempted from whatever is contained in reason, in understanding, in the senses and in conjecture." (11)

The idea contained in the elliptical passage is highly metaphysical. In plain language it may be expressed thus : The Absolute Being though far superior in every respect is not beyond and without the world, nor is the world of finite things and minds separate from Him. There is no room for external and internal. They are co-related and inter-related. The absolute supreme Being evolves the world of phenomena and comprehends them within the fold of His infinititude. He is an inexhaustible self-conscious agent who works and displays His activity by shaping and manifesting the world of phenomena, yet remains above them and free from their trammels, and thus distinguishes Himself from the Creation.

Thus it will be seen that the conception of *Allah* is neither wholly transcendental, nor wholly immanental, but He is both transcendent and immanent.

Ahl-i-tasawwuf, "the people of mysticism", or the Sûfis have developed an idealistic philosophy which is in strong contrast with the dry metaphysical speculations of the professional theologians. This philosophy while adhering to the abstract monism of Islam has given great emphasis on the aspect of Personality and the relation of love between man and "the true Beloved" (*Jánán-i-Haqiqi*). In this article I shall merely refer to a few points regarding the idealistic aspects of Sûfi philosophy. I give below a short summary of Sûfi views from the *Mathnawi* of Moulana *Jalál-ud-Din Rumi*.

"The Divine Being is the only Truth (*al-Haq*). He is the sole Reality—the Reality of all realities (12) (*haqáiq-i-ashya*). He is not only an Absolute Existence (*dhát-i-mutlaq*), but also Absolute Good (*khair-i-Mahaz*). The Divine Essence is all-purity, completely free from the accidents of form, colour, magnitude, dimension, similitude, union, separation and so forth. He is above all names, definitions, and descriptions.

(11) Translation by Wilberforce Clarke, Chap. 1. 2.

(12) *Subhan-al-ladhi khalaqu-al-ashya wahua'aynha*: Praise be to Him who created all things and He is their reality.

There is no plurality (*Kathrat*) in its oneness. Its existence is therefore described by unity and known by singularity. The true Darling (*jánán-i-Haqiqi*) is Love and Beauty, splendour and Perfection (*Ishq wa Muhabbat, Jamál, Jalál wa Kamál*). It is the nature of beauty to desire manifestations. The world of phenomena is the result of this desire. This universe is a series of emanations proceeding from the Primal Intelligence and manifesting themselves on different planes of existences. These planes are in descending order which are called *martabat-i-Nazūl*. The Glorious Truth (*Haqq-subhánahu*) difuses Itself through the Primal Soul. As man has descended from the highest point to the lowest plane (*'álam-i-Násút*)—this world of forms and corruption, he can rise through the intermediate planes to the highest by self-discipline, austerity, asceticism, concentration, contemplation and devotion."

Thus there are grades in the 'Arch of Descent' (*Qous-i-Nuzūl*), and also in the 'Arch of Ascent' (*Qous-i-'urúz*). In the 'Arch of Descent' the Grades of Being may be conceived of as a series of emanations which become weaker, grosser and less luminous as they recede from the Pure Light of the Absolute Being. In the 'Arch of Ascent', man the highest product in the lowest grade (this world) may rise, grade by grade, to his original state. By the effacement of Self which is considered as the root of all evils, and by attaining the stage of annihilation in God (*faná-fillah*) he reaches the threshold of the True Being—his eternal and loving Beloved.

As things can be known through their contrarieties, so Being can be known through Not-Being. This Not-Being is a panorama of phenomena—a huge mirror in which Being is reflected. This reflection is the universe, and consequently it has no reality. It is a mere shadow of the Real Being. Its central point is man—the highest product of evolution. He represents in himself the whole world (the microcosm), and reflects in himself all the Divine attributes. Although shaded on one side with the darkness of Not-being, he retains within himself the brightness of the Pure Being which shines in him, and if not impaired by lust and desires, he may see through it the beauty and perfection of the Divine Being.

The human soul has a divine origin. It is a stranger in this world and a captive within the prison-walls of the body. It is striving to escape from the mortal coil, and ever seeking to be reunited with its original source. But such union is hindered by the bodily senses which stand in the way like so many screens. These screens are to be torn down. This may be done by destroying the illusion of self (*nafs*). Yet inspite of the hindrance of the senses, the soul may get glimpses of the Divine Beauty, and enjoy the union at times in the state of ecstasy (*hál*) when the veil of sensual perception is rent asunder.

Such is the view of the Sūfis. Similar ideas also run through the *Diwan* of Shams Tabrez, a summary of which is given below :

"The World of Phenomena and the Senses is a mere mirage — a reflection of Being on Not-Being, manifesting the attributes of Being as the reflection manifests its original, but not really participating in its nature. An illustration commonly employed by the Sūfis is that of the Sun (which typifies Being) reflected in a pool of water (Not-Being). The reflection of the sun (the Phenomenal World) is entirely "contingent;" it may be blotted out instantly by a passing cloud, or marred by a sudden gust of wind; it is entirely dependent on the sun; while the sun is absolutely independent of it; yet while it lasts, it more or less faithfully reveals the Nature and attributes of its unchanging Prototype." (13)

"The renunciation of Self is the great lesson to be learned, and its first steps may be learned from a merely human love. But what is called love is often selfish, rarely absolutely unselfish. The test of unselfish love is this, that we should be ready and willing to sacrifice our own desires, happiness, even life itself, to render the beloved happy, even though we know that our sacrifice will never be understood or appreciated, and that we shall, therefore, not be rewarded for it by an increase of love or gratitude.

"Such is the true love which leads us up to God. We love our fellow-creatures, because there are in them, something of

(13) E. G. Browne. *A Literary History of Persia*, pp. 439-440.

the Divine, some dim reflection of the True Beloved reminding our souls of their origin, home, and destination. From the love of the reflection, we pass to the love of the Light which casts it; and loving the Light, we at length become one with It, losing the false self and gaining the True, therein attaining at length to happiness and rest and become one with all that we have loved—the Essence of that which constitute the beauty alike of a noble action, a beautiful thought or a lovely face."

These ideas have been beautifully expressed by Jami in the incomparable lines of the *Yusuf Zalaikha*:

"Beware! say not 'He is All-Beautiful,
And we His lovers'. Thou art but the glass,
And He the Face confronting it, which casts
Its image on the mirror. He alone
Is manifest, and thou in truth art hid.
Pure Love like Beauty, coming but from Him
Reveals itself in thee. If steadfastly
Thou canst regard, thou will at length perceive
He is the mirror also—He alike
The Treasure and the casket. 'I' and "thou"
Have here no place, and are but phantasies
Vain and unreal."

A poet sings in exultation :

*Har Zarra ke didyem, jamāl-i-tu ba-didyem
Har ja ke rasidyem sar-i-kuye tu rasidyem.*

"In every particle that we saw. We saw the beauty of Thine,
To every place that we went, we reached the Lane of
Thy Abode."

Another poet says :

*Har su ke rāye kardam man rāye dost didam
Har ja nazar figandam an yar ra ba-didam.*

"Every direction that I turned my face, I saw the countenance
of my friend
Every place that I cast my eyes I saw that friend of mine."

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“CHITRA.”

By K. SAVITRI, Madras.

Chitra, the one-act play by Rabindranath Tagore is based on a little, yet exquisite, episode that occurs in the *Mahabharata*. The original story is very simple. As the end of the period of his vow of celibacy draws near, Arjuna arrives, after long travelling, at the kingdom of Manipur, where, seeing the daughter of the King, he falls in love with her, and seeks her hand in marriage. The King is willing to give his consent to the match only on one condition, namely that the son born of the wedlock should be his heir, he having no son. Arjuna agrees to this, and marries then and there the Princess Chitrangada.

The poetic fancy of Rabindranath has seized on this interesting episode, and has invested it with the roseate colour of high romance. Preserving the main outlines of the story, he has, however, by his skilful treatment, shifted the centre of interest to the personality of Princess Chitra. The psychology of a woman representing the noblest type of her sex is revealed in this little play. The character of Princess Chitra overshadows that of Arjuna, the great hero of *Kurukshtetra*.

Arjuna has taken a vow of celibacy for a year and is wandering through the kingdom of Manipur. Chitra meets him accidentally, and is smitten with love for him. Arjuna, however, fails to notice her, for she lacks the gift of physical beauty. And *Chitra*, who had never cared for her own appearance, now, in the full tide of her suddenly awakened passion, seeks the help of Madana and Vasanta, the gods of love and of eternal youth, and entreats them to endow her with flawless beauty even if it be for one day. Her prayer is granted, and she is possessed of a rare physical charm not for one day only but for a whole year.

Endowed with youth and beauty she comes before Arjuna again, who is powerless to resist her. But Chitra does not feel happy in her conquest: it makes her sad to find that Arjuna

is unfaithful to himself, and falls such an easy victim to the attractions of the flesh.

"Oh, shame upon you!" she cries; "what have you seen in me that makes you false to yourself? Whom do you seek in these dark eyes, in these milk-white arms, if you are ready to pay for her the price of your probity? Not my true self, I know. Surely this cannot be love, this is not man's highest homage to woman! Alas, that this frail disguise, the body, should make one blind to the light of the deathless spirit!" And when Arjuna persists in his importunity, she says in genuine distress, "Alas, it is not I, not I, Arjuna! It is the deceit of a god. Go, go, my hero, go. Woo not falsehood, offer not your great heart to an illusion! Go!"

Though she had striven most earnestly for an irresistible loveliness of person in order to win the heart of Arjuna, yet she begins to hate herself the moment she succeeds in making him her slave. She feels a great dissatisfaction in having won her love through her outward attractions. She is jealous of her own beauty.

The painful realisation that she is not loved for her true self fills her heart with anguish and makes her indulge in utterances which Arjuna fails to understand. He sees her only as a most beautiful woman, and, it is as such, that he wishes to possess her. To be sure, he feels that she is unlike any other of her sex—a mystery seems to wrap her about. But to Arjuna, this mystery is a part of her exceeding physical beauty, it is inseparable from the rare charm of her flesh.

It is significant, however, that, united as they are by the closest of human ties, Arjuna is all the time sensible of the distance that separates them. "After the hours of unthinking pleasure are over," he feels that he does not yet really know her. Arjuna feels that her personality has always chided him.

Having enjoyed the beauty of her body to the point of satiety, he becomes eager to discover the beauty of her soul.

On the last day of the year, when her physical charm falls away like a discarded cloak, Chitra reveals herself to her lover. Says she: "I am *Chitra*, the King's daughter..... The gift that I proudly bring you is the heart of a woman.

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“CHITTRA”

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Here have all pains and joys gathered, the hopes and fears and shames of a daughter of the dust; here love springs up struggling toward immortal life. Herein lies an imperfection which yet is noble and grand. If the flower-service is finished, my master, accept *this* as your servant for the days to come!” Arjuna can only exclaim out of the depths of his heart “Beloved, my life is full!”

SCHOOLS AND SECTS IN JAINA LITERATURE.

INTRODUCTION

The canonical literature of the Śvetāmbara Jainas contains many references to various philosophical schools and religious sects apparently contemporaneous with itself. Although the canon in the form we have it now is a creation of the Council of Valabhi held in *circa* 454 A.C. under the presidentship of Devardhigaṇin, yet the matter contained in it is much older. This Council reduced the text to writing. The first collection was, however, made by the Council of Pāṭaliputra which, according to Hemacandra, met during the reign of Aśoka Maurya. Additions were made no doubt during the subsequent redactions, but the essentials remained unchanged through the long years of canonical revision which brought with it accretions of extraneous matter. The statements which form the subject matter of discussion in the following pages picture a state of things much earlier than Devardhigaṇin's age and earlier even than the Council of Pāṭaliputra.

The beliefs and practices discussed in the Jaina texts were considered heretical from the point of view of the Jainas or the Nirgranthas, as they were called in the earlier days, and as such it was necessary for them to state and criticise the views and practices of many of those schools and sects. An attempt has been made in the following pages to give a comprehensive account of all these sects and schools. Some works outside the Jaina canon have also been sometimes referred to for the purpose of illustrating the matter contained in the canon. References in the later works of Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras to systems of thought adverse to them have been rejected for the simple reason that they deal with circumstances of later ages influenced by conditions of later times when such works were composed. In many cases parallel references and accounts have been mentioned from the literature of the Buddhists, as they and the Jainas having started their career about the same time the former are likely to furnish reliable evidence on matters referred to by the latter, both being outside the Brahmanical fold and having a strong critical outlook.

That the time the Jaina canon treats of was one bristling with conflicting views and rival schemes may easily be gathered from such statements as "See, there are men who control themselves, whilst others

only pretend to be houseless.”¹ The *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, one of the oldest of the canonical texts, says that “To friendly or hostile heretics one should not give alms, drink, dainties and spices. . . . nor do them service. . . . Some here are not well instructed as regards the subject of conduct ; . . . they pronounce opinions. . . . Know that all this is without reason.”² The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra*, another of the most authoritative texts, says “These heretics will never be saved. . . . some unworthy śramanas who hold wrong doctrines are afraid of what is free from danger and are not afraid of real danger.”³ “Some who search after truth and pretend to practise the Law, follow the false Law and do not arrive at the right thing ignorant of what is right and wrong they do not get out of misery they praise their own creed and blame that of their opponents.”⁴ In a passage of fierce denunciation it has been said that the heretics will never be saved from the sufferings of the world.⁵ In the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* false belief is spoken as an instrument that causes pain (*micchādāmisanasalla*).⁶ It has been divided into two classes, *abhiggahiya* and *anabhiggahiya* which Abhayadeva, the commentator, explains as that proceeding from acceptance of wrong doctrine and that proceeding from other causes. In the *Bhagavatī* there are frequent mentions of heretical schools and of heretical ascetics who came to question Mahāvīra. The *Jñātādharmakathā*, *Antaḥkṛtadaśā* and *Praśnavyākaraṇāṅga Sūtras* also contain occasional references to *micchādāmisanasalla*.

In the *Upāsakadaśā* praising of heretical teachers and intimacy with them have been regarded as offences against the law of right belief.⁷ The animosities of the time are well illustrated by the remark of the newly converted lay disciple Ānanda made to Mahāvīra : “Truly, Reverend Sir, it does not befit me from this day forward to praise and worship any man of a heretical community, or any of the devas of a heretical community, or any of the objects of reverence to them ; or without being first addressed by them, to address them or converse with them ; or to give or supply them with food or drink ; except it be by the command of the king or the community or any powerful man or deva or one’s own elders or by the exigencies of living.”⁸ Frequently does Mahāvīra

¹ Ācār.S. I.i.2.2; I.i.3.4; I.i.6.3.; with a slight variation in I.i.7.2.

² Ibid. I.vii.1.1-3.

³ Sūt.S. I.i.2.5-10.

⁴ Ibid. I.I.ii. 15-23.

⁵ Ibid. II.ii.79-81.

⁶ Sth.S. i.48; Bhag. I.6, 52.

⁷ Upās.S.i.44.

⁸ Ibid. i.58.

refer to the need of refuting heretical doctrines: "Surely, venerable companions," says Mahāvīra to his disciples, "if those servants of the *Sramana* who are householders living among householders, refute the theories of heretics, then much more, venerable companions, must the Nirgrantha ascetics who are students of the sacred collection of the twelve *Āngas* be able to refute the theories of heretics by means of these arguments, questions, proofs and explanations."⁹

In the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* bad monks who do not protect themselves from sin, who though having the appearance of monks are the lowest among their worthy brethren, have been likened to heretics: they are despised in this world like poison, they are no bodies in this world or in that beyond.¹⁰ The views and teachings of heretics have been called delusive talk which is untrue and without any meaning.¹¹ Opinions and manifold doctrines not conforming to the Nirgrantha creed were declared to be contemptible which a monk was advised to abandon, for they were productive of evil everywhere.¹² Faith has been held to be easier to obtain for those who though not versed in the sacred doctrines are not acquainted with other systems and hold no wrong doctrines. Right faith depends on the avoiding of schismatrical and heretical tenets.¹³ Among the eight principles on which excellence of faith rests, are counted absence of preference for heresies, and non-shaking of right belief at the prosperity of heretical sects.¹⁴

In the *Nandi Sūtra* Mahāvīra has been eulogised as the moon who ever vanquishes the Rāhu of *Akriyā-vāda*,¹⁵ as the destroyer of the lustre of other schools,¹⁶ and as the destroyer of the pride of false faiths.

It will be seen from the remarks quoted above that the time was full of various opinions, views, beliefs, schools, sects and teachings.¹⁷ They were not at all friendly towards each other as can be easily gathered. It will now be our task to examine the many references throughou

⁹ Ibid. vi.174.

¹⁰ Uttar. S. xvii.20.

¹¹ Ibid. xviii.26.

¹² Ibid. xviii.26, 30.

¹³ Ibid. xvii.26, 28.

¹⁴ Ibid. xvii.31.

¹⁵ Nan.S. 9.

¹⁶ Ibid. 10 & 22.

¹⁷ How differences and disputes arose over subjects that would be regarded as beyond the scope of religion in the present day is illustrated in Bhag. S. 11.9.418, in the story of Prince Śiva where cosmographic details form the subject of the disputes; and in 11.12.435, where duration of the gods' lives in different heavens is hotly debated. Manifold disputes and their uselessness are also referred to by the Buddhists in *Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka*, *Suddhaṭṭhaka*, *Paramaṭṭhaka*, *Pasūra*, *Māgandīya*, *Cūlavyūha* and *Mahāvyūha* *Suttas* of the *Āṭīhakavagga*.

the canon with a view to find out what views each of them upheld and whether any of them can be identified with schools whose doctrines we are familiar with. This will serve a double purpose of showing in the first place what was the historical background of the Nirgrantha doctrine, what views they felt called upon to refute and thereby establish the superiority of the Nirgrantha creed, and secondly of showing though in an indirect manner, the condition of many doctrines of the time by means of the light thrown by the Jainas regarding the philosophical and religious atmosphere of India of that period. It is agreed that a hostile critic's remarks cannot be accepted in full in judging the value or contents of a creed it took upon itself to criticise, yet the opinion of an adverse critic seen through a proper perspective has its own value for historical purposes, indicating as it does the currents of popular opinion. It is to be remembered that this work is not intended to be a history of the philosophies of the time. The principal object is to get as clear an idea as is possible of the tenets, as they appeared to the Nirgranthas, of other schools and sects in those ancient days with a view to create a suitable background for the study of Jainism.

Many of the statements met with in different places are vague, such as the vehement denunciation of those who injure earth-bodies, water-bodies, plants, wind-bodies, animals, etc.¹⁸ for such would apply to many non-Nirgranthas. Jacobi thinks¹⁹ on the authority of Silānka, the commentator, that "others only pretend to be houseless" refers to the Buddhists. It must be pointed out, however, that we know now that there were in those days many kinds of houseless ascetics besides the Buddhists, to whom the remarks of the Jainas would equally apply.²⁰ We shall deal, however, with only those statements which are particular, precise, and identifiable, and consider them in the order of importance given them in the Jaina texts.

PART I.

(I) THE ĀJIVIYAS.

The doctrines of the Ājiviyas are the best known heresy to the Nirgranthas. Judging from the frequency of their appearance and the

¹⁸ Acār. S. I.i.2.2; I.i.3.4; I.i.5.4; I.i.7.2; I.i.6.4.

¹⁹ SBE.xxii.p.4.

²⁰ See also Sūt. S. I.i.1.6 & I.ii.1.8; and the long disputes between Nirgranthas and others in Bhag. 8.7.337; 13.2.595-596; 18.7.632-634; and 18.8.640; Sth. S. 3.2.167; Aup. S. 38.

vehemence and care with which they are denounced it seems probable that the doctrines of the Ājīviyas played an important part in the life of the times.

The Ājīviyas believed that though it is proved that there are individual souls, they experience pleasure and pain, and on dying lose their state of existence, yet misery and pleasure are not caused by the souls themselves, for how could it be caused, they asked, by other agents as time, etc? Pleasure and misery, final beatitude and temporal pleasure, and pain are not caused by the souls themselves nor by others ; but the individual souls experience them ; it is the fate assigned them by Destiny.²¹

Another account states that there is no such thing as exertion or labour or power or vigour or manly strength, but that all things are caused by destiny which is unalterably fixed.²² This has been called the doctrine of Gosāla Mañkhāliputta. From the story of Saddālaputta, the potter of Palāsapura, and an adherent of the Ājīviyas, we get the leading doctrine of Gosāla. The story runs thus :

Saddālaputta once brought out his potter's ware from within his workshop and placed them in the sun. Mahāvīra happened to come upon the scene and asked "Saddālaputta, how is this potter's ware made?"

Saddālaputta : "Reverend Sir, this ware is at first clay, then it is kneaded with water, and then it is mixed well together with ashes and dung ; then it is placed on the wheel, and finally many bowls and jars of various sizes are made."

Mahāvīra : "Saddālaputta, is your ware made by dint of exertion and manly strength, or on the other hand, is it made without exertion and manly strength—*kim utthānenam vā kammenam vā baleṇam vā virienam vā purisakkāraparakkameṇam kajjanti udāhu anutthānenam jāva apurisakkāraparakkameṇam kajjanti?*"

Saddālaputta : "Reverend Sir, it is made without exertion and manly strength, and all things are unalterably fixed."

Mahāvīra : "Saddālaputta, if any one of thy men were to steal thy unbaked or baked ware or scatter it about or make holes in it or let it drop into pieces or place it outside unguarded or if he were to indulge in outrageous familiarities with thy wife Aggimittā, what punishment would thou inflict on that man?"

²¹ Sūt.S. I.i.2.1-3.

²² Upās. 6.166.

Saddālaputta : "Reverend Sir, that man I will curse or beat or tie up or frighten or threaten or cuff or fine or bully or even before his time deprive him of his life."

Mahāvīra then pointed out that if all things were unalterably fixed and depended not on exertion then he ought not to take any action against his servant's conduct for the servant was not responsible for it. This convinced Saddālaputta of the falseness of Ājīviya doctrines and he was converted to the creed of Mahāvīra.²³

The Parable of the Lotus-pool is an important chapter in which the views of some of the leading schools have been stated.

There was a lotus-pool containing much water and mud, full of white lotuses, delightful and magnificent. In the very middle of this lotus-pool grew one big white lotus. Now there came from each of the four quarters a man proud of his own abilities and attempted to fetch the big white lotus. To each of them as he proceeded the water and mud seemed to extend, so that he could neither reach the white lotus nor return to the bank and was stuck in the mud. Then came a restrained monk who called aloud standing on the bank and the big white lotus flew to him. Mahāvīra narrated this story and asked his disciples if they understood the meaning of the simile and on their answering in the negative explained that the lotus-pool meant the world, the water meant *karman*, the mud meant pleasures, the lotuses meant people in general, the big white lotus meant the king, the four men meant the heretics, the monk meant the Law, the bank meant the Order, and the monk's voice meant the preaching of the Law, and the big lotus flying up meant *nirvāna*. Different teachers went to the king to teach him but only the Nirgrantha ascetic succeeded.

One of these four teachers, an Ājīviya, states his doctrines as follows :

There are two kinds of men, one admits and another does not admit action. Both are alike, their case is the same because they are actuated by the same force. An ignorant man thinks of the case as follows : "When I suffer, grieve, blame myself, grow feeble, am afflicted or undergo punishment, I have caused it ; or when another man suffers, etc., he has caused it." Thus an ignorant man thinks himself or another to be the cause of what he or the other man experiences. A wise man thinks about the cause as follows : "When I suffer I did not cause it or when another

²³ Upās. 7.195.200 ; 6.166.

man suffers he did not cause it. By the will of fate all beings are born, are made to suffer changes of life or to die.”²⁴

Adda's discussions with various teachers, while renouncing the life of a Prince he was on his way to Mahāvīra, are interesting. In these discussions one man states that if an ascetic living alone uses cold water, eats seeds, accepts things prepared for him or has intercourse with women, he commits no sins thereby.²⁵ Harṣakula, author of the *Dīpikā* on the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, and *Silāṅka* identify this man as Gosāla which is corroborated by the fierce personal attacks he makes on Mahāvīra in course of the discussions. This is natural enough, for the relations between the two were notoriously bitter. The fact, however, appears to be that the Ājīviya doctrines have been put forward through this fictitious person.

The soul of him who is pure will become free from bad *karman* on reaching beatitude, but in that state it will again become defiled through pleasant excitement or hate; and that he who has lived on earth as a restrained monk will become free from *karman*, and as clear water which was free from defilement again becomes defiled, so will be the soul. This doctrine has been attributed to a school. Harṣakula thinks that the Ājīviyas are meant. *Silāṅka* mentions the Trairāśikas besides Ājīviyas. The Trairāśikas are the Jaina followers of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy.²⁶ They are so called because they believed in a third state of existence besides *jīva* and *ajīva*.²⁷

In some places the Ājīviyas are mentioned by name but hardly anything is mentioned regarding their views.²⁸ Once we find them asking the Nirgrantha elders the question whether an article belonging to a young monk belongs to himself or to another, if it is stolen by a thief when the young ascetic is observing the *sāmāyikas* and the monk goes after the thief.²⁹ They are said not to accept Mahāvīra's doctrine of abstention from sin of body, mind and speech in the three-fold divisions of doing it oneself, getting it done by another, or approving of another's doing it.³⁰

On the life of Gosāla we have the following details supplied by the Jainas. His father was called Maṇkhali who used to wander about from

²⁴ Sūt.S. II.1.30-33.

²⁵ Ibid. II.vi. 7.

²⁶ SBE, xlv. p. 245, n.2.

²⁷ See *infra* the sixth schism led by Rohagupta.

²⁸ Bhag. 1.2.24.

²⁹ Bhag. 8.5.328.

³⁰ Bhag. 8.5.329.

place to place exhibiting a picture. Mañkhali once came with his wife Bhaddā to Saravaṇa and took up his lodging in the cow-shed of a wealthy Brahman called Gobahula and Gosāla was born here. He followed his father's calling. At one time Mahāvīra was residing in a weaver's house at Nālandā where Gosāla also happened to come in course of his wanderings. A householder named Vijaya of the city of Rāyagaha entertained Mahāvīra with great honours. Gosāla heard of this from the people and meeting Mahāvīra offered to be his disciple whereupon the latter gave no reply. The same offer was made by Gosāla on two subsequent occasions with the same result. Mahāvīra left Nālandā and Gosāla in his mood of dejection gave away his belongings, shaved his head and went away. He met Mahāvīra again in Paṇiyabhūmi, repeated his offer and it was accepted this time. They lived together in that place for six years.³¹

Once on the road from Siddhatthaggāma to Kummaggāma they came across a sesamum shrub in blossom. Gosāla asked if it would die and if so where its seeds would reappear. Mahāvīra replied that the shrub would die but its seeds would appear again in the pods of the same shrub. Gosāla disbelieved this, called Mahāvīra a liar, and going up to the shrub uprooted it but a shower of rain having fallen the shrub took root again and Mahāvīra's prophecy was fulfilled. Now they went on to Kundaggāma on the outskirts of which they met the ascetic Vessayaṇa practising penances with his arms uplifted, his face turned towards the sun, and his body covered with lice. Gosāla asked the ascetic if he was an ascetic or a lice-heap. This enraged Vessayaṇa who released his fiery forces (*teullese*) to burn Gosāla but Mahāvīra out of pity for Gosāla counteracted the forces by releasing his own forces. Finding himself thwarted Vessayaṇa exclaimed "That will do, Sir, that will do." Gosāla questioned Mahāvīra about the meaning of such exclamation and the latter explained what was about to happen. Then Gosāla enquired how long it took to acquire such forces and how such forces could be acquired. Mahāvīra answered that it could be acquired by dint of penances. Afterwards when they were on their way to Siddhatthaggāma they happened to pass the sesamum shrub mentioned before. Gosāla narrated to Mahāvīra his past prophecy and claimed that it had been falsified as the shrub was yet alive. Mahāvīra explained that Gosāla's uprooting it on the previous occasion had fulfilled his prophecy about its death and the coming down of the shower which revived it had caused the seeds to appear in the pods, for

³¹ According to Kalpa. S.5.122, Mahāvīra lived only a year in Paṇiyabhūmi.

all plants were capable of re-animation. Gosāla disbelieved it, went up to the spot and on closely examining the shrub found the seeds. This led him to conclude that not only plants but all living beings were capable of re-animation. Then he left Mahāvīra.

Gosāla then practised the severe penances for acquiring fiery forces and succeeded after six months. Now he proclaimed himself a Jina and founded the Order of the Ājīviyas. The headquarters of the Order was in Sāvatthi in the shop of the potter woman Hālāhalā. In the twenty-fourth year of Gosāla's ascetic life he was visited by six ascetics with whom he discussed their doctrines and propounded his own theory from the eight Mahānimittas belonging to the Puvvas consisting of the principles of obtainment and non-obtainment, pleasure and pain, life and death. He met a disciple of Mahāvīra and notified to him his intention of destroying Mahāvīra by means of his fiery forces. The threat was conveyed to Mahāvīra who forbade Nirgrantha ascetics to hold any communication with Gosāla. Surrounded by his disciples, Gosāla called on Mahāvīra and angrily ridiculed him for having called Gosāla a disciple of Mahāvīra. "Mankhaliputta who was a disciple of Mahāvīra," said Gosāla "was dead and reborn in the heavens as a god. But I whose name was Udayi was born in the body of Ajjuna and entered in the seventh re-animation the body of Gosāla, which I still hold." He then went on to narrate in detail the processes of re-animation he had undergone in the bodies of different persons in different places and how in his seventh and last re-animation he obtained omniscience in the body of Gosāla in the potter shop of Hālāhalā. Mahāvīra in reply told him that he was like a thief who being chased by villagers attempted to conceal his identity under various disguises and in various places of hiding. Gosāla was enraged at this and hotly abused Mahāvīra. A disciple of the latter intervened but was burnt up by Gosāla's fiery forces. Another disciple also met with the same fate. Mahāvīra himself now rebuked Gosāla who attempted to burn him but was unsuccessful. A scene followed of trial of strength between the two teachers. They parted and Mahāvīra instructed his disciples to go and annoy Gosāla with questions.

After sometime Gosāla was stricken with a fever and being delirious he held a mango in his hand, drank liquors, sang, danced and made improper advances to Hālāhalā, and sprinkled on himself the cool muddy water from the potter's vessels, which acts, Mahāvīra explained to his disciples, led to the Ājīviya doctrines of the eight Finalities (*aṭṭha-*

carimāīm). The first four of the eight Finalities were the last four acts performed by Gosāla, viz., the last drink, the last song, the last dance and the last improper solicitation. The other four were the last tornado, the last sprinkling elephant, the last fight with big stones and missils,³² and the last Tīrthaṅkara who is Gosāla himself.

Gosāla's sprinkling himself with the muddy water from the earthen vessels gave rise to the doctrine of the four things that may be used as drinks, and the four things as their substitutes by virtue of the coolingness. Those that may be used as water are the cow's urine, water accidentally collected in potter's vessels, water heated by the sun, and water dripping from a rock. Those that may be used as substitutes are holding in the hand a dish or a bottle or a jar or a pot which is cool or moist; squeezing in the mouth a mango or a hog-plum or a jujube or a *tinduka* fruit when it is unripe or uncooked, but not drinking its juice; squeezing in the mouth *kalāya* or *mugga* or *māsa* or *simbalī* beans when they are unripe or uncooked, but not drinking the juice; and feeling the touch of the moist hands of the gods Puṇṇabhadda and Māṇibhadda when they appear on the last night of six months to one who eats pure food for six months, lies successively for two months each on bare ground, on wooden planks, and on *darbha* grass. He who submits to the touch of the two gods furthers the work of venomous snakes but he who does not do so generates in himself a fire which burns his body and he dies and attains liberation.

Ayambula, an Ājīviya came to visit Gosāla at the time and felt ashamed finding Gosāla in a delirium. He was about to go away but Ājīviya elders called him back, explained the new doctrines and asked him to put his question to Gosāla after throwing away the mango in his hand. Ayambula did so and asked about the *halla* insect. Gosāla replied "This which you see is not a mango but only the skin of a mango. You ask about the *halla* insect—it is like the root of the bamboo ; play the lute, man, play the lute." Then Gosāla feeling the end approaching called his disciples and requested them to observe his funeral with all honours and proclaim that he was the last Tīrthaṅkara. But afterwards he felt that he was not an omniscient but a false teacher and a humbug but that Mahāvīra was the true Jina. Then he called his disciples and asked them to treat

³² The first three of the latter four refer to historical events of the time. The sprinkling elephant was known as *Secanaka* and belonged to king Śrenika of Magadha who gave it to his younger son by queen Cellañā. His elder son Kunika on becoming king demanded the elephant from his brother which was refused. This gave rise to war in which stone missiles were used.

him with dishonour after he was dead and proclaim his misdeeds and the Jinahood of Mahāvīra. Then he died. The Ājīviya *theras* closed the door and pretended to carry out Gosāla's last instructions, and then they opened the doors and gave him a funeral according to his original wishes.³³

The austerities practised by the Ājīviyas are classified into four kinds, viz., severe austerities, fierce austerties, abstention from ghee and other delicacies, and indifference to pleasant and unpleasant food.³⁴

It is said in the system of the Ājīviyas that all the living beings are subject to an ungratified desire to enjoy, and hence their earning of livelihood is by killing, cutting, etc.³⁵

The varieties of the Ājīviya ascetics are these:—those who beg in every second house, those who beg in every third house, those who beg in every fourth house, those who beg in every fifth house, those who beg in every sixth house, those who beg in every seventh house, those who accept lotus-stalks only as alms under certain conditions, those who beg in every house, those who do not beg if there is a flash of lightning, and those who practise penances by entering big earthen vessels.³⁶

The names of the twelve adherents of the Ājīviya doctrine are given as Tāla, Tālapalamba, Uvviha, Sāmīha, Udaya, Avaviha, Nāmudaya, Namudaya, Anuvālaya, Sānikhavālaya, Ayambula and Kayaraya. They abstained from eating five kinds of fruit, viz., *umbara*, *vada*, *bora*, *satara* and *pilañkhu* and are said to have given up eating roots, bulbous roots, etc.³⁷

The Sāmaññaphala Sutta of the Buddhists, which contains an account of the doctrines of the six principal teachers contemporary with Buddha, gives an account of Gosāla's teachings from where we get the same denial of the usefulness of effort or manly vigour. "N'atthi atthakāre n'atthi parakāre n'atthi purisakāre; n'atthi balam n'atthi viriyam, n'atthi purisathāmo, n'atthi purisaparakkamo—the attainment of anything does not depend either on one's own acts or on the acts of another or on human effort; there is no such thing as power or energy, or human strength or human vigour."—Digha-nikāya, Vol. II, p. 53. Every thing depends on fate, and salvation depends on a long series of births of different kinds.

³³ Bhag. 15.539-554.

³⁴ Sth.S. 4.2.310.

³⁵ Bhag. 8.5.330.

³⁶ Aup. S. 41. For Buddhist evidence cf. Mahāvagga 3.12.9 for the last of these classes, and Kassapa-Sīhanāda Sutta for ascetic practices resembling these.

³⁷ Bhag. 8.5.330.

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No change can be effected in this long series of transmigrations by any effort on the part of an individual.

Dr. Barua has reviewed in an exhaustive manner all the matter available on the life and teachings of Gosāla.³⁸ We do not intend to go here into any detailed examination of Gosāla's teachings, for which one must be referred to Dr. Barua's work. The conclusions reached by him hold up Gosāla and his teachings in a far better light of course. But the fact remains that his teachings were stubbornly opposed by Mahāvīra and Buddha alike. It is essential to remember that Mahāvīra's opposition was due to Gosāla's main doctrines of man's destiny being pre-ordained, that human effort could effect no change in it, and that emancipation was to be obtained only after a long series of transmigrations. These views come out prominently in both the Jaina and Buddhist accounts of Gosāla's teachings.

Jacobi and Dr. Barua are of opinion that contrary to the Jaina account Mahāvīra was a disciple of Gosāla for sometime. The reasons put forward in support of this hypothesis are that Mahāvīra was a mere learner in the first twelve years of his monkhood, that he became a nude ascetic in the second year of his monkhood, that Gosāla predeceased Mahāvīra by twelve years and was therefore his senior, and that Gosāla was recognised as a teacher at least two years before Mahāvīra. Against this hypothesis may be urged certain considerations. Gosāla's being a recognised teacher before Mahavira does not prove anything. Accepting the Jaina version Gosāla was not recognised as a teacher so long as he was associated with Mahāvīra, and proclaimed himself as such only after his separation from the latter. Such proclamation may have taken place before Mahāvīra won recognition as a teacher. Again, if Gosāla had ever been Mahāvīra's teacher we would have expected the Buddhists to record something to that effect. We would have expected also that Gosāla would be made to say something regarding his claim when he visited Mahāvīra to upbraid him for the latter's calling Gosāla a disciple.³⁹ Further, if Mahāvīra borrowed nudity from Gosāla he would not have continued in it when he renounced the discipleship of Gosāla. Although the *Bhagavatī* account of the relation subsisting between the two teachers cannot be accepted in full, it is doubtful whether a reversal of the relation can be accepted as true. The truth very probably was that the two ascetics joined and lived together for

³⁸ A History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy, Chap. xxi. For a fuller treatment see Barua, *The Ajivikas*.

³⁹ Bhag. 15.550.

sometime during the years of their probation. Difference of opinion on very important matters separated the two as we can infer from the *Bhagavatī* account.⁴⁰ Their joint life must have been of short duration one year only,—which was prolonged in later accounts to six years.

(II) THE BRAHAMANIC SCHOOLS.

About the cult of popular Brahmanism we have many references in Jaina literature. Many Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas support it, they claim to have seen, heard, acknowledged, thoroughly understood in the upper, nether, and side-long directions, and in all ways to have examined it; with such extensive experience and deep wisdom they declare that all sorts of living beings may be slain or tormented or treated with violence or abused or driven away, and there is no wrong in it.⁴¹

The creation and governance of the world by the gods, as taught by some philosophers, has been regarded as an error.⁴² This can be attributed to the Brahmins, for no other contemporary school would regard the gods as creators or governors of the world.

The creation of the universe, according to a "great Rṣi" whose name is neither mentioned in the text nor preserved by Śilāṅka or Harṣakula, is by Svayambhū;⁴³ according to some Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas it is from the primeval egg.⁴⁴ Both of these evidently refer to Brahmanical views and this conclusion is corroborated by the allusions to the doctrine of Brahman almost in the same breath with these Brahmanical views, for the doctrine of Brahman, as we know, sprang from followers of Brahmanism.

Owning of possessions and engaging in undertakings is held to be compatible with reaching perfection by some;⁴⁵ this suggests the Brahmanical priests who would support a non-ascetic religion of rituals and ceremonies and themselves possess wealth and properties. Buddha's criticism of the Brahmins as owners of property in contrast with the possessionless Brahmā whom they worshipped is significant in this connection.⁴⁶

The gods are declared by some as putting an end to misery.⁴⁷ The

⁴⁰ Bhag. 15.554.

⁴¹ Ācār.S. I.iv.2.3.

⁴² Sūt.S. I.i.3.5.

⁴³ Sūt.S. I.i.3.7.

⁴⁴ Sūt.S. I.i.3.8.

⁴⁵ Sūt.S. I.i.4.3.

⁴⁶ Cf. Tevijjia Sutta.

⁴⁷ Sūt.S. I.xv.16-17.

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meaning is that only the gods and not men are capable of attaining *mokṣa*, i.e., in order to obtain *mokṣa* a man must first attain a god's status and then progress onwards to final liberation, for as mere man he cannot obtain liberation. This is probably a piece of casuistry on the part of the Brahmanical priests to tempt *yajamānas* to engage their services for securing by means of sacrifices the status of gods after death.

While arguing with Adda one man says⁴⁸ that those who always feed two thousand holy mendicants acquire great merit, become gods and that is the teaching of the Veda. This is clearly a statement put into the mouth of a follower of Brahmanism.

Stories are mentioned of various Brahmanical adherents engaging in disputes with Nirgrantha ascetics. The subject matter of the discussion is not of much importance but the descriptions which precede about the intellectual equipment of the Brahmanical disputant are very interesting. As for instance, in Sāvatthi dwelt a mendicant Khandaya by name of the Kaccāyana gotra, a disciple of Gaddabhāli. To him went Piṅgā'aya, a Nirgrantha adherent, and asked whether the world was with or without an end, whether the *jīva* was with or without an end, etc. Khandaya was terribly upset, we are told, by these questions, could give no answer, kept quiet, and at last went to Mahāvīra for setting at ease his severe discomfiture. All we can inferentially gather from such accounts is that in the opinion of the authors of these narratives the followers of Brahmanism and other schools concerned could not give a satisfactory solution of such vital problems, but we must beware of reading too much in these statements. Probably to set off Khandaya's indifference to high metaphysical curiosity we are told that he was a teacher of, prevented corruption from entering into, retained in his memory, and was well-versed in the four Vedas Rik, Vajus, Sāman, and Atharvan, to which is added Itihāsa as the fifth, Nighaṇṭu as the sixth, along with the Āngas, Upāngas, and the Rahasya, knew the six Āngas and the philosophy of the sixty categories, arithmetic, phonetics, ceremonial, grammar, prosody, etymology, and astronomy and in many other branches of knowledge suited for Brahmanic mendicants.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Sūt. S. II, 6.43.

⁴⁹ Bhag. 2.1.90; the same enumeration is referred to by a rubric in 15.541 and 18.10.646; repeated in Vip. S. 1.5., Aup. 38, and Kalpa S. 2.10. 'The philosophy of the sixty categories' is explained by Abhayadeva as 'the doctrine of Kapila,' *sasthitantra* which means the Sāṃkhya system. The analogous formula of the Buddhists for describing a Brahman, as given in the Ambatṭha S., is pretty much the same with a few minor additions.

There is an interesting account of a Brahman priest named Mahessara-datta who was learned in the Vedas, etc., and who in order to enhance the realm and power of his patron King Jiyasattu caused everyday a Brahman boy, a Kṣatriya boy, a Vaiśya boy and a Sūdra boy to be seized and their hearts extracted alive with which he performed *homa* sacrifices to propitiate the gods on behalf of the king. On the eighth and fourteenth lunar days he sacrificed two boys from each of the four castes, in the fourth month four boys from each caste, in the sixth month eight boys, and after a year sixteen boys from each caste. Whenever the king was attacked by an enemy, the priest caused eight hundred boys from each caste to be seized and performed *homa* 'sacrifices' with their hearts extracted alive.⁵⁰ Although this story is too monstrous to deserve credence it is curious how the underlying idea of offering human sacrifice on the eve of important undertakings, hinted in the older Brahmanic literature, still lingered in the popular mind.⁵¹

In all the narrative passages in the canonical literature of the Jainas the constantly recurring formula about people performing domestic sacrifices, expiatory ceremonies, etc.,—*nhāyākayavalikammā kayakouyamanglapāyachhittā*—is used to describe the daily life of people who are not yet converted by Mahāvīra to the Nirgrantha doctrine or in respect of whom the question of conversion does not arise. All these persons, from princes to peasants, belonged apparently to the Brahmanical fold in the absence of any reference pointing to their adherence to any other creed.

Making a slight departure from the order we are following in our treatment of these various philosophical system, we shall take up at this stage some views which are associated with the Brahmanical fold.

SAMKHYA AND YOGA.

The world was created according to some by Iśvara; according to others this world with living beings and lifeless things with its variety of pleasure and pain was produced from *pahāna* (*pradhāna*).⁵² The first of these two views is to be ascribed to the adherents of a theistic school, and the second to the Sāṃkhya system, or we may take them to refer to the theistic and atheistic followers of the Sāṃkhya philosophy.⁵³

⁵⁰ Vip.S. 1.5.

⁵¹ Cf. Sat. Br. VI.ii.1.5.; XIII.vii.1.8.

⁵² Sūt.S. I.i.3.6.

⁵³ See Jacobi, SBE, xiv, p. 244, n.4.

The attainment of perfection is possible, it has been maintained by some,⁵⁴ only by their method of religious life and not otherwise, and that even before the attainment of salvation they obtain power over others and possess everything to be wished for. Śilāṅka thinks that the Saivas and Ekadaṇḍins⁵⁵ are meant here. The possession even before emancipation is obtained, of everything to be wished for refers to the *siddhis* or supernatural powers with which we are familiar with in the later Yoga system of Patañjali. Perfection and freedom from disease are the aim of some⁵⁶ who are taken to be Saivas by Śilāṅka. A sound mind in a sound body seems to be their aim in common with Patañjali.

According to one school, when a man acts or causes another to act it is not his soul which acts or causes to act.⁵⁷ Harṣakula and Śilāṅka ascribe this view to the adherents of the Sāṃkhya philosophy according to whom *prakṛti* acts while the *puruṣa* looks on, and because the *puruṣa* or the soul has no form and it is all-pervading it has no responsibility or agency. The doctrine of Pūraṇa Kassapa, as stated in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* of the Buddhists upholds this view. He taught that when one acts or causes another to act or commits sins no guilt follows. By doing virtuous acts, by generosity or truthfulness no increase of merit follows. There is neither merit nor demerit. Buddhaghosa says that Pūraṇa Kassapa was a naked mendicant, but he is probably confusing him with Acelaka Kassapa, a different person. Kassapa's idea is that the soul is passive and not affected by good or bad deeds.⁵⁸

SASVATAVADINS (ETERNALISTS).

In the opinion of another philosopher⁵⁹ the world is boundless and eternal and it exists from eternity and does not perish. Harṣakula and Śilāṅka say that the eternal aspect of the universe means, according to this view, that it has no destruction and that the natural order of things is immutably fixed—one who is a male now will ever be such hereafter, one who is a female will always continue to be such and so on.

⁵⁴ Sūt.S. I.i.3.14.

⁵⁵ They hold that emancipation is obtained by a knowledge of the twenty-five principles, says Śilāṅka.

⁵⁶ Sūt.S. I.i.3.15.

⁵⁷ Sūt.S. I.i.1.13.

⁵⁸ See Barua: *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 278. The Buddhist version is an exaggerated account of Kassapa's views. Although at first sight it appears like Nāstika-vāda, it is not so as a perusal of Ajita Kesakambali's views would show—Ajita's being true Nāstikavāda.

⁵⁹ Sūt.S. I.i.4.6.

PURANISTS.

Another philosopher says⁶⁰ that the world is limited but eternal. This view is ascribed by Harṣakula and Śilāṅka to Vyāsa, for Vyāsa says that the world consists of seven islands.

THE UPANISADS.

The view is said to be held by some fools that as the earth, though it is but one pile, presents many forms, so the intelligent principle, *viz.*, the *ātman*, appears under various forms as the universe.⁶¹ That the world is created is said to be an error committed by some philosophers.⁶²

The universe again is said by some Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas to have been produced from the primeval egg and that He (Brahmā) created the things.⁶³ Some say,⁶⁴ that the knowledge of the highest authority is unlimited. Harṣakula and Śilāṅka argue that that which has no limit in time and space is called unlimited by some teachers; but those who possess a knowledge of this unlimited by means of super-sensual vision do not thereby necessarily become omniscient. The meaning appears to be that the Vedāntin's idea of the Absolute is that it transcends knowledge and that one who knows the Absolute becomes, as it were, the Absolute himself, both the ideas being very frequent in the Upaniṣads. The Jainas, however, contend that those who possess a knowledge of the Absolute as a transcendental Being do not thereby themselves become entitled to be called omniscient. The text goes on to say that the same philosopher holds that the knowledge is limited in every way. Harṣakula and Śilāṅka regard these two apparently contradictory views to belong to the same philosophers, and solve the difficulty by taking the latter view to allude to Brahmā's sleep for a thousand years alternating with his wakefulness for another thousand years during which he is unconscious and conscious respectively and so the knowledge is both limited and unlimited. The context of the verse is that the Nirgrantha ascetics should know the ordinary views of the common people for some of them say things which are the outcome of a wrong understanding, and as an illustration mentions apparently contradictory views held by Vedāntins and Purāṇists.

⁶⁰ Sūt.S. I.i.4.6.⁶¹ Sūt.S. I.i.1.9.⁶² Sūt.S. I.i.8.9. Cf. Kaṭha Up. II.v.9-12.⁶³ Sūt.S. I.i.3.8.⁶⁴ Sūt.S. I.i.4.7.

In Adda's discussions one man appears and says⁶⁵ that he and his predecessor (whom we have already identified as an adherent of Brahmanism) follow very much the same law, that they stand firm in it, and shall do so in the time to come ; he says that he believes that virtue consists in good conduct and that knowledge is necessary for liberation, that with regard to the circle of births there is no difference between them, but that they assume an invisible, great, eternal, imperishable, and indestructible Soul who excels all other beings in every respect as the moon excels the stars. This is clearly the opinion of Vedānta, but Śilāṅka ascribes this view to Ekadaṇḍins, and refers to their *ācārapradhānam śilam uktam yamaniyamalakṣanam* which suggests Patañjali's system of Yoga. It would appear from this that the Śaivas, Ekadaṇḍins, and Vedāntins held in the early days closely allied views.

In the Parable of the Lotus-pool one of the teachers states his doctrines in the following way.⁶⁶ All things have the Self for their cause and their object. They are produced by the Self, manifested by the Self, intimately connected with the Self, and are bound in the Self. As for instance a tumour or a feeling of disposition is generated in, grows with, is not separate from, but is bound up with the body, so all things have the Self for their cause. Just as an ant-hill or a tree or a lotus springs up, grows in, is not separate from but bound up in the earth, or just as a mass of water or a water-bubble is produced in water, grows in water, and is not separate from water, so all things have the Self for their cause.⁶⁷

In the above statements the word which has been put into the mouth of the speaker to mean the Self is *purisa* (*puruṣa*). But the same speaker has been described elsewhere⁶⁸ as *īsarakāraṇiya* (*īśvarakāraṇika*), one who holds Iśvara the Supreme Soul as the cause of everything. We find thus that *Iśvara* and *puruṣa* have been synonymously used in the same way as the Upaniṣads establish the identity of Brahman and the *ātman*.

(III) ĀTMASASTHA-VADA.

According to one school there are five elements and the soul is a sixth substance ; the soul and the world of five elements are eternal ; these six substances do not perish either with or without a cause ; the non-

⁶⁵ Sūt.S. II.6.46-47.

⁶⁶ Sūt.S. II.1.26.27.

⁶⁷ Cf. Mundaka Up. II.i.9; Tait. Up. II vi, III.i; Brhad. Up. II.i.20; III.vii.3-23; and Śvetāś. Up. I.6.

⁶⁸ Sūt.S. II.1.25, 28.

existent does not come into existence, and all things are eternal by their very nature.⁶⁹ This is known as the "Doctrine of the soul as the sixth substance." Harṣakula includes the Sāṃkhyas and Vaiśeṣikas amongst its adherents, and Śilāṅka includes the Sāṃkhyas and Śaivādhibhikārins who accept the authority of the Vedas.⁷⁰ Śilāṅka quotes many verses of the *Bhagavadgītā* to illustrate the philosophy of the indestructibility of the soul and the non-coming into existence of the non-existent. "If the non-existent came into existence," remarks Śilāṅka, "it would make the growth of a horn possible to an ass." This doctrine of the eternal existence of the soul and the five elements, *viz.*, earth, water, fire, air, and sky is a criticism of the Buddhist view that things are changing every moment without any cause, and of the Vaiśeṣika view that things are destructible just as a pitcher is destroyed if struck with a staff. The reply of this school is that a thing is not destroyed either with or without a cause, a pitcher smashed with a staff exists, lives, and continues in the broken pieces, for out of that lump came its existence.

We have to compare in this connection the doctrine of Pakudha Kaccāyana stated in the Sāmaññaphala Sutta (Dīgha, II, p. 56). Pakudha held that seven things, *viz.*, earth, water, fire, air, ease, pain, and the soul are neither made nor commanded to be made, are not created and are of a permanent existence. There is nothing called slayer or the slain. When one with a sharp sword cleaves a head in twain no one thereby deprives another of life, a sword has only penetrated into the interval between seven elementary substances.

(IV) TAJJIVATACCHARIRA-VADA.

The five gross elements are the original causes of things and from them arises another thing, *viz.*, the soul. This is another philosophy well-known to the Jainas. The soul is a product of the elements and has no independent existence of its own. On the dissolution of the body of five elements a living being ceases to exist and nothing is left over.⁷¹ Everybody, fool or sage, has an individual *jīva* 'soul.' These souls exist as long as the body, but after death they are no more, there are no souls which are born again. There is neither virtue nor vice, there is no world beyond, and on the dissolution of the body the individual ceases to be.⁷²

⁶⁹ Sūt.S. I.i.115-16.

⁷⁰ In the Sāṃkhya system there are other elements besides these five.

⁷¹ Sūt.S. I.i.1.8. Jacobi has linked this verse with the following one. This is not justified, for the latter refers to Vedānta.

⁷² Sūt.S. I.i.11.12.

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The Parable of the Lotus-pool explains the theory thus.⁷³ Upwards from the soles of the feet, downwards from the tips of the hair on the head, within the skin's surface is what is called *jīva* or what is the same, *ātman*. The whole soul lives; when the body is dead it does not live. It lasts as long as the body lasts, it does not outlast the destruction of the body. With the body ends life. Other men carry the corpse away to burn it. When it has been consumed by fire only dove-coloured bones remain and the four bearers return to the village with the hearse. Therefore there is and exists no soul different from the body. Those who say that the body is distinct from the soul cannot tell whether the soul is long or small, globular or circular, triangular or square, sexagonal or octagonal, black or blue, red or yellow or white, sweet or bitter, hard or soft, heavy or light, cold or hot. As a man draws a sword from the scabbard and shows the sword and the scabbard separately, as he draws a fibre from the *muñja* grass and shows the stalk and the fibre separately, or as he can take bone and flesh, butter and milk, oil and oil-cake, juice and sugarcane, and fire and *araṇi* wood and show them separately, so no one can show the soul and the body separately and therefore no soul exists. Life ends here, as it naturally follows, and there is nothing beyond.

The discussion between king Payesi and Kesi, a young ascetic lucidly explains the logic on which this philosophy was based.⁷⁴ The discussion as compressed is as follows :

Payesi : "Sir, is it your doctrine that the soul and body are two different things and not the same thing?"

Kesi : "O Payesi, it is the doctrine with us, the Nirgrantha ascetics that the soul and the body are two separate things and that they are not the same thing."

Payesi : "If, Sir, that is your doctrine then why does not my grandfather who was a tyrannical ruler and must have been reborn in the hells for many of the sins committed by him, come and warn me, his favourite grandchild, against committing such sins? If he did then I would believe that his soul is still alive and that the soul and the body are separate things."

Kesi replied at length to the effect that if a person offended against his queen and if when Payesi seized the offender in order to punish him

⁷³ Sūt.S. II.i.15-17,19.

⁷⁴ Rāj. 65-71

the latter wanted to be allowed to come away so that he might warn his relations against committing such acts lest they also be punished as he was, then would Payesi allow him to come away? Similar was the case with those suffering torments in hell, they could not come away howsoever they might long for it.

Payesi : "I had a grandmother who was a very pious lady and must have been born in the heavens after death. If she would come and exhort me to righteousness then I would believe that the soul and the body are different things."

Kesi answered at length pointing out that as Payesi would not respond to another's call to come away while Payesi was entering a temple properly sanctified, through fear lest he be defiled so also his grandmother too would not come.

Payesi : "Once while I was seated in my outer hall of audience surrounded by many chiefs, my Prefect of the Police brought a thief in chains whom I ordered to be put alive in an iron vessel which was hermetically sealed and guards were placed around it. Then after some days I went to the iron vessel, caused it to be unsealed and myself looked for the soul of that thief. If there were holes in the vessel I would have believed that the soul had escaped but as there were none therefore no soul exists apart from the body."

Kesi answered that just as if a man took a trumpet inside a house, closed every opening carefully, and then sounded the trumpet it would be heard outside although there was no apparent outlet, so the soul also could penetrate through earth, stone, etc.

Payesi : "Once I cut into pieces a thief, and put the body inside a closely guarded hermetically-sealed iron vessel. Opening it after sometime I found countless number of worms. Because these living worms originated out of the dead body—for there was no opening for them to enter—my doctrine is sound that the soul and the body are not different things."

Kesi replied that the king must have had occasion sometime or other to watch the heating of iron and he must have then seen how it became red-hot. There were no opening in the iron through which the fire could have entered, and in the same manner the soul of the dead man had gone out and the souls of the worms had entered the iron vessel unperceived by the senses.

Payesi then argued that the decay of the body in old age showed there was no permanent underlying *jīva*, to which it was said in reply that the body was merely the material which was liable to decay without effecting any changes or decay in the underlying energy of the *jīva*. He then argued that he once killed a robber weighing him immediately before and after his death and found no difference between the two weights. If the robber had a soul different from the body there would certainly have been some difference in his weight before and after the soul left the body. Again he argued that he cut into many pieces a robber, looked very closely into it for a soul but found it nowhere. Kesi replied that the weight and form of the soul were not perceptible by the ordinary organs of sense.

(V) NASTIKA-VADA.

The philosophy of the Nāstikas or those who deny the existence of the soul was well-known to the Jainas. There is a reference to those who ignore and deny the tenets of the Nirgranthas,⁷⁵ which Śilāṅka understands as an allusion to the Buddhists and the followers of Br̥haspati, the latter being a well-known school of Nāstikas.

A more precise reference speaks of those that profess exclusive belief in the five gross elements, *viz.*, earth, water, fire, air and sky. These five are all that exist and there is nothing in addition to these.⁷⁶ This ultra-materialistic view is in line with Cārvāka's famous doctrine of the non-existence of the soul or God or a life hereafter. Śilāṅka quotes the notorious statement attributes to Cārvāka wherein the latter holds that there is nothing beyond what is perceived by the senses, the past never returns, there is no *karman* or its effects, the dead never comes back, there is no future life and that the body is but the fortuitous combination of the elements.

The Parable of the Lotus-pool states the doctrine in the following manner :

There are only the five elements through which is explained whether an action is good or bad. The five elements are not created, directly or indirectly, nor made ; they are neither effects nor products, they are without beginning and end, they always produce effects, are independent of a directing cause, they are eternal. What is does not perish, from nothing nothing comes. All living beings, all things, the whole world consists

⁷⁵ Sūt.S. I.i.1.6.

⁷⁶ Sūt.S. I.i.1.7.

of nothing but these five elements. They are the primary cause of the world even down to a blade of the grass. A man buys or causes to buy, kills or causes to kill, cooks and causes to cook, he may even sell and kill a man—and even then he does not do any wrong.⁷⁷

In the Sāmaññaphala Sutta of the Buddhists the doctrines said to belong to Ajita Kesakambali are an echo of Nāstika-vāda. Ajita taught that there is no such thing as alms or sacrifice or offering. There is neither fruit nor result of good or evil deeds. There is no such thing as this world or the next. After death the elements constituting the body return to the elements. On the dissolution of the body everyone is cut off, annihilated and after death there is nothing.⁷⁸

This doctrine is also called Lokāyata-vāda. Tājjivatāccharīra-vāda held practically the same view with Nāstika-vāda only with this difference that while the latter deny altogether the existence of the soul the former admit it, but the logical end of both the views would be exactly the same.

(VI) BUDDHISM.

A heretic says in connection with the use of water for various purposes that it is justified on the ground of his having permission to drink it or take it for toilet purposes.⁷⁹ Śilāṅka takes these heretics to be Buddhists. This can be accepted without objection for we know that Buddha declared that no sin was committed by drinking water and he permitted bath and washing to his ascetic disciples.⁸⁰

The Nirgranthas looked upon the Ājīviyas as their worst opponents but if facts are considered they suffered most at the hands of the Buddhists in later times. Buddha was a junior contemporary of Mahāvīra, and had therefore greater need and occasion for counteracting and criticising the creed of the latter than Mahāvīra had of fighting with the doctrines of a junior. The rivalry of the two sects grew stronger after Mahāvīra's death. These facts account to some extent for the comparatively scantier mention and criticism of Buddhistic doctrines in the literature of the Jainas than what would normally be expected of the two chief sects of the time.

⁷⁷ Sūt.S. II.1.21-24.

⁷⁸ Barua : *A History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, p. 293, points out that Ajita's views were not materialistic in the gross sense in which they were understood by Mahāvīra and Buddha, but what he really meant was a protest against the view that soul and body were entirely separated.

⁷⁹ Acār.S. I.i.3.7.

⁸⁰ Cf. Mahāvagga 1.25.12; 5.13.7

With regard to the suffering of cold by renouncing clothes and fire, some heretical monks are reported to say that they would put on more clothes and by kindling a fire they would be able to bear the very painful influence of the cold.⁸¹ This may be regarded as applying to the Buddhists for they were certainly not indifferent to unnecessary suffering. We cannot of course be absolutely certain, for Brahmanical ascetics would also light a fire and take clothings for protection from cold.

The doctrine^{*} of five *skandhas* of momentary existence has been ascribed to "some fools." They are said not to admit that the soul is different from, nor identical with the elements, that it is produced from a cause (the elements), nor that it is without a cause, i.e., that it is eternal.⁸² This is a clear reference to the Buddhists with their *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *vijñana*, *samjñā* and *samskāra skandhas*. The existence of a soul in the popular sense of the term apart from the five *skandhas* was denied by Buddha.

Earth, water, fire, and air, these four *dhātus* are said to combine to form the body according to the *Jāṇakas* (*jñānins*).⁸³ Harṣakula explains *Jāṇakas* as *pāṇḍitammanyā Bauddhāḥ*. A variant in the text reads *yāvare* (*ca+apare*) for *Jāṇayā*, and this also has been explained as referring to the Buddhists. Jacobi thinks⁸⁴ that the word, *Jāṇaya*, may be derived from *yāna* 'vehicle,' which the Buddhists used to designate the two sections of the church, viz., the *Hīnayāna* and the *Mahāyāna*. Against this may be pointed out that the Buddhists used the word in respect of themselves only after the great schism arose among them, whereas the present statement appears to be older in age. However all opinion is agreed in understanding this passage to be a reference to the Buddhists.

The Akriyāvādins who deny *karman* and do not admit that the action of the soul is transmitted to the future moments⁸⁵ are understood by Śilāṅka to refer to the Buddhists. The doctrine that everything has but a momentary existence and that there is no continuous identity of existence between a thing as it is now and as it will be in the next moment is one of the Buddhist theories. The Buddhists are included among Akriyāvādins by the Nirgranthas because by not admitting the existence of *jīva* they were considered to deny *karman* as well. Jacobi takes this to refer

⁸¹ Ācār.S. I.vii.2.14.

⁸² Sūt. S. I.i.1.17.

⁸³ Sūt.S. I.i.1.18.

⁸⁴ SBE. xlvi, p. 288, n.4.

⁸⁵ Sūt.S. I.xii.4

to Sāṃkhya, because according to it the *puruṣa* does not act.⁸⁶ We shall have to treat of Akriyāvāda at greater length later on, but in connection with the present verse it has to be pointed out that although this verse and the one following have been commented upon by Śilāṅka at great length as applying to the Buddhists, yet we must widen the limits of Akriyāvāda beyond Buddhist doctrines.

In the discussions of Adda one man appears and says⁸⁷ that if one pierces a lump of oil-cake with a spit mistaking⁸⁸ it for a man, or a gourd mistaking it for a baby, and roasts it one will be guilty of murder according to his views. If a savage puts a man on a spit and roasts him mistaking him for a lump of oil-cake, or a baby mistaking it for a gourd, he will not be guilty of murder. If anybody thrusts a spit through a man or a baby mistaking him or it for a lump of oil-cake, puts him or it on the fire and roasts, that will be a meal fit for the Buddhas to break fast upon.⁸⁹ Those who always feed two thousand worthy monks, says this man to Adda, acquire great merit and become powerful gods in Arūpadhātu. This is an account, although exaggerated, of the Buddhist view that motive determines whether an act is sinful or not. If the state of mind was murderous it was a sin even though the act committed in execution of this intention did not actually result in the loss of life ; again, no sin is committed by the accidental killing of life when the act intended was not murder. It has to be taken as an echo of Buddha's statement that the state of mind accompanying an act was more important than the actual result of the act.⁹⁰ The Arūpadhatu is the highest heaven of the Buddhists. The combination of all this is sufficient to establish its reference to the Buddhists.

Another verse credits some with holding that salvation which was a pleasant thing was produced by enjoying pleasures.⁹¹ Harṣakula and Śilāṅka take it to refer to the Buddhists and quote many passages in support of their identification :

sarvāṇi sattvāṇi sukhe ratāni, sarvāṇi duḥkhāc ca samudvijanti 1
tasmāt sukhārthi sukham eva dadyāt sukhapradātā labhate sukhāni 11

⁸⁶ SBE. xlv., p. 316, n.3.

⁸⁷ Sūt.S. II.6.26-29.

⁸⁸ *Buddhāna tam kappati pāraṇāya*. Harṣakula explains *buddhānam* as *śākyānām*, while Śilāṅka says *Buddhānām api bhojanāya yogyam bhavati*, which shows he took it to mean 'for the Buddhas.' 'Buddha' was used by Jainas and Buddhists alike to denote their master and in itself is not sufficient to indicate its applicability to the latter.

⁸⁹ Cf. Buddha's conversation with Dīgha Tapassī a Nirgrantha ascetic and with Upāli, a lay disciple of Mahāvīra and Upāli's conversion in *Upāli Sutta*.

⁹⁰ Sūt.S. I.iii.4.6.

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All beings seek happiness and turn away from suffering ; therefore the seeker of happiness should give happiness, for the giver of happiness obtains happiness.

maṇuṇṇam bhoyaṇam bhoccā maṇuṇṇam sayaṇāsanam 1
maṇuṇṇamsi agāraṇsi maṇuṇṇāam jhāyae muṇīā 11

Having enjoyed a pleasant dinner, a pleasant bed and seat, a saint dwells in a pleasant abode and meditates pleasantly.

mṛdvī śayyā prātarutthāya peyā, bhuktam madhye pānakam cāparāhṇe
drākṣākhaṇḍam śarkarā cārdharātre mokṣascāntē Śākyaputreṇa dṛṣṭah 11

A soft bed, drinks in the morning, dinner at midday, drinks in the afternoon, and grapes and sugar at night—these have been laid down by Śākyaputra as leading to salvation.

These are supposed to be drawn from works of the Buddhists themselves explaining their faith or from the writing of others professing to explain it. It is quite clear that as a matter of fact they are taken from the writings of hostile critics and from satires on the teachings of Buddha. Harṣakula thinks that the verse in the text might refer to *svatīrthyas*, some members of the same order as the speaker's, i.e., the Nirgranthas. The events of later days led the commentators, one feels constrained to say, to fasten every possible adverse criticism on to the Buddhists to make up, as it were, for the dearth of anti-Buddhist statements in the texts. The present instance is a very strained attempt to drag in the Buddhists. Both in this verse as well as in another⁹¹ Harṣakula is undecided about its exact application and names several possible alternatives. The truth probably is that the allusion was to a distinct view which held that like is produced by like and therefore mokṣa being an agreeable thing is obtained by living an agreeable and comfortable life. This is the view held by the Tāntrikas.⁹² The Sātavādins also held the same view.⁹³

The doctrine of Buddha has been included among those false beliefs which are the products of wrong knowledge.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Sut.S. I.iii.4.10.

⁹² See *Cittaviśuddhiprakarana* attributed to Āryadeva, JASB, lxvii, 1898, p. 175, and *Subhāṣitasamgraha*, p. 37. I am indebted to Pandit Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya for these references.

⁹³ This has been discussed later.

⁹⁴ Anu. 40; Nandi 42.

(VII) MINOR SCHOOLS.

A school of philosophers thought that a *jīva* performed *sammatta-kiriyam* (*samyaktvākriyā*) right conduct and *micchattakiriyam* (*mithyātva-kriyā*) wrong conduct at the same time, i.e., while it performed right conduct at the same time it performed wrong conduct also, and while it performed wrong conduct it performed also right conduct at the same time.⁹⁵ Malayagiri, the commentator, says that it is the doctrine of Caraka. Gunaratna says that Caraka represented a school of Sāmikhya.⁹⁶

Another view held by some was to the effect that there was no harm in enjoying the pleasures of the senses for it gave relief to the enjoyer without causing harm to any one else, just as the squeezing of a blister or boil gave relief and has no dangerous consequences. A ram drinks the quiet water which gives it relief. If this harmed the ram we could have said that the act was harmful but as it did not there is surely no harm in it.⁹⁷ In the identification of the upholder of this view Harṣakula has the same doubts which he had with regard to Sātvādins mentioned above.

According to another school it is not only the soul which does not exist but nothing exists. Everything is mere appearance, a mirage, an illusion, a dream or phantasy. There rises no sun nor does it set ; there waxes no moon nor does it wane ; there are no rivers running nor any wind blowing ; the whole world is unreal.⁹⁸ The Mādhyamika school of the Buddhists and the popular Māyāvāda which arose as an off-shoot of Vedānta owe their origin probably to this school which is met here in the literature of the Jainas for the first time in the history of Indian philosophical thought.

In Sāvatthi there were two rival schools who disputed the point whether knowledge was superior to conduct or conduct was superior to knowledge.⁹⁹ Abhayadeva, the commentator, quotes some of their views, e.g.,

kriyaiva phaladā puṁsām na jñānaiḥ phaladām matam I
yataḥ strībhakṣyabhogajño na jñānāt sukhito bhavet. II

Conduct always bears fruit, not so knowledge—just as one having merely the knowledge of enjoyment of women does not thereby become happy.

⁹⁵ Jivā. S. 3. 104.

⁹⁶ *Tarkarahasyadīpikā*, a commentary on *Saddarsanasamuccaya*, p. 31.

⁹⁷ Sūt.S. I.iii.4.10-12.

⁹⁸ Sūt.S. I.xii.7.

⁹⁹ Bhag. S. S.10.354.

jahā kharo candanabhāravāhī bhārassa bhāgī na hu candanassa i
evānī khu nāñī carūṇēna hīno nāñassa bhāgī na hu sogaīe. ii

As ass carrying a load of sandal wood carries only a load but does not enjoy the sandal wood, so the man possessing knowledge but devoid of conduct enjoys his knowledge but does not obtain progress.

The supporters of knowledge on the other hand said :

vijñaptiḥ phaladā pūrṇām na kriyā phaladā matā i
mithyājñānāt pravṛttasya phalāsamivādadarśanāt. ii

It is knowledge which bears fruit, not so conduct, for wrong knowledge does not produce the desired result.

paḍhamam nāñaiṁ tao dayā evānī citthai savvasamjae i
annāñī kiṁ kāhī vā nāhī cheyapāvayām. ii

First comes knowledge, then charity—thus are constituted all those who are restrained : one lacking in knowledge knows not what to do or what to know, and whether one is wise or a sinner.

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I. THE EQUIPMENT OF AN IRANIST.*

By IRACHS J. S. TARAPOREWALA, Ph.D.

(Continued from the last issue).

E. History, Archæology, Anthropology, etc.

Next in importance to a knowledge of comparative Philosophy is that of History and Archæology. This of course implies possession of a historical sense and a critical appreciation and appraisement of facts at their true value. A student of history should be able to separate the essential from the non-essential and the kernel from all its accretions. This is especially necessary when one has to deal with an ancient and complex religion like that of Zarathushtra, with traditions and legends that have grown round it for centuries. Above all, the historical student has to be free from all trace of prejudice or prepossession. He should be above fear and favour. The want of a critical sense is the most glaring defect in all histories of antiquity, and, for that matter, in many of the histories written at the present time as well. Iranian history especially suffers from want of native historians, in the true sense of the term, at any rate in the pre-Islamic days. Almost all the information we possess of these times is to be gathered at present from Greek sources for the Achaemenian days and from Roman sources for those of the Sassanians. There are other sources too, e.g., Armenian, Chinese, Indian, etc., but these have yet to be tapped.

No language or literature, far less a religion, can be studied from books alone, apart from a knowledge of the country and its inhabitants. So, for a true appreciation of Iranian languages and literatures, we must learn the history of the land, and something about the peoples too, from the earliest times. It is always a mistake to study the history of a people as an isolated stream. For, a people can no more live isolated from the rest of the world than its history can be studied except as an integral part of world-history. To understand clearly the position of

[*Extracts from a lecture delivered before a meeting of Paris students—
Ed. V. B. Q.]

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Aryan Iranians we have not only to trace their migrations from their "cradle-land", wherever that may have been, but we must also know something of the history of the peoples they supplanted in the lands they occupied in historical times and whose successors they were both politically and culturally. To understand, for instance, in all their bearings cuneiform inscriptions in Old Persian, we must have a fair knowledge of the Babylonian and Assyrian civilizations, because the Achæmenians inherited the great traditions of the Babylonian and Assyrian monarchs of recording their deeds in stones and bricks; indeed, the very writing they employed was borrowed directly from the older script. Thus we see that for understanding the Achæmenian period a knowledge of the earlier Babylonian and Assyrian history is essential. We may go further back and say that a knowledge of the still earlier Elamitic culture is particularly valuable also, especially, in tracing the development of certain ideas in the Zoroastrian religion. Of course the history of all these ancient lands need not be studied in every detail, but it is essential to know the broad outlines of their cultural developments.

The best view to take of history is to view it as a continuous record of the progress of human thought and culture. Unfortunately to most students history means merely a chronicle of kings and wars. This is especially so with regard to the history of Persia. Of the life and thought of the people in Achæmenian times and even in the later Sassanian days we have very little information. And in fact very few historians have tried to look at Iranian history from this cultural point of view. Thus we read of the "heresies" of Mani and of Mazdak and we read of all the persecutions to which these two sects had been subjected, but we know very little of the deeper significance of these movements, or why it was that these ideas came to spread at all as they did. These points are of far greater importance in the history of the Iranian race than a mere chronicle recording the lives of kings and describing the great wars undertaken by them, and, studied in the right manner and spirit, they will, I am sure, throw considerable light on the development of Zoroastrian religious thought in the days just preceding the Arab conquest and may also explain, in part at least, the reason of the extraordinary rapidity with which the Sassanian empire crumbled to pieces at the first touch of the new faith of Islam.

Two other countries have had very close connections with Iran from the earliest days—China and Armenia—and their history throws a

flood of light upon the cultural aspects of Iranian history and helps us to gain some idea of what may be termed "greater Iran." A few years ago a very interesting book was published by Lanfer, named "Sins-Iranica." It is a veritable mine of information about the connection between these two great peoples throughout their long history. Quite recently again Sir Jehangir C. Coyaji has opened out a fresh line of research in showing the connections between the Rustam-Saga of the Shahnameh and the legends of China. And I have been informed by Chinese scholars that a great deal of information with regard to the Sassanian period can be collected from the annals of China. As regards Armenia it is well known that Armenia is culturally the child of Persia. Until A.D. 428 the throne of Armenia was occupied by a younger branch of the Royal House of Iran. No fewer than two thousand Armenian words can be traced to pure Persian originals. In ancient Armenia "kings and nobles had Persian names; Persian were also words in connection with houses and chase; war and navy; dress, trade and coinage; calendar, weights and measure; court and political institutions; music, medicine, school, education, literature and the arts." Many of the everyday words were also of Persian origin and "the language of the old religion too was mainly Persian.(1)" In fact, so great has been the influence of Persia upon Armenia that for a long while scholars thought that Armenia was but a branch of the Iranian family of languages. Naturally, therefore, with such a considerable borrowing from Iranian culture the history of Armenian thought and of the Armenian peoples should possess a very special value to the student of Iranian thought.

Another land which has had very intimate connections with Iran was the land of the sister Aryan race—the land of Hind. The parallelisms between the histories of these two lands are indeed remarkable, especially in the region of religion and philosophy. But quite apart from these the actual historical contacts between these two peoples are well worth special study. Our information about ancient Iranian history so far has been gathered from the writers of Greece and Rome, and the one impression we get from it is that all Iranian history deals with the western half of the country and that we have practically no knowledge of the eastern parts of the Iranian Empire. It is only recently that the Hindu Puranas have been getting the attention they deserve at the hands of scholars. So far practically every scholar thought these

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to be "fairy tales," and even to-day few European scholars are prepared to look upon them as historical documents. Of course these Puranas are very mixed in their contents, but a honest student of history should attempt to disentangle true history from the mass of tradition and religious thought and custom that has overlain it. A very considerable amount of ethnological information is to be found in the names and descriptions of various tribes mentioned in these works as well as in the great Epics of India. Thus, quite recently a Hindu scholar has attempted to show that the famous tribe of the *Madra* people, to which Savitri belonged, was an Iranian tribe. A great deal has already been written in recent years about the Maga Brahmanas mentioned in the Bhavisyat Purana and of "the Iranian period" of Indian History. But the merest fringe of the whole question has been touched as yet, and it will demand the devoted and continuous labour of many scholars to work out all the details of the contacts between Iran and India. Indian historical documents and literary works would give much information about ancient Iran if proper search is made by scholars. Recently also archaeological finds in many parts of India seem to point to Iranian connections. The work of the late Dr. Spooner at Pataliputra was sufficiently remarkable and more recently also there have been discoveries in Multan and elsewhere which also promise to throw considerable light upon the Indian connections of Iran.

Then again there is great need to keep abreast of the discoveries in Persia itself. The Pahlvi regime in Persia to-day is quite favourable to archaeological research and it is greatly to be desired that several Parsis should be trained under European scholars to carry out research work there. We in India do not seem to know enough about archaeology in general and about the recent discoveries made in Susa and elsewhere in particular. Comparatively few are aware of the details of the Darius plaque discovered at Hamadan. It is high time Parsi students begin to realise that the modern needs of a student worthy of the name require him to know something of everything.

There is yet another point which I would wish to stress, one which I have already hinted at above. It is the fact that Persian history books as written at present are mere chronicles featuring kings, their wars and their conquests. They are emphatically *not* the history of the people. The records of imperial conquests, however grand and thrilling, cannot be

(1) Encyclopædia Britannica, "Armenian language."

called history in the proper sense. True history is rather a record of the thought and culture of the people as a whole and not merely of a few individuals. The history of Persia from this point of view has yet to be written. I would desire to call the attention of Parsi scholars to this glaring defect in all treatment of Iranian history. A history of the Iranian *people* is really what is wanted, if we are to realise fully the work done by the race and the work that still remains to be done by them.

F. Comparative Religion.

The next item we have got to consider is in many respects the most important as well as the most interesting of all. There are two possible meanings of the phrase "Avestan Scholars." It may mean, in the first place, a scholar who makes the study of *both the languages and the religion* embodied in the extant Avestan texts his chief object. There are, however, comparatively few scholars in the world of this type, besides a few Parsi scholars in India. The other and the more usual sense in which the phrase is understood is in reference to one who has studied the language as an auxiliary to Sanskrit or to Comparative Philology. In this sense, there are many dozen of "Avestan scholars" both in India and elsewhere. Of course scholars of the latter type hardly look beyond the language and just glance at the religion. These seem to think that in Avesta there is not enough material for life-long study. Some such implication is found in the recently published lectures on the *Gathas* by Prof. Meillet of Paris. Naturally, a European or an American scholar may not consider the religion of a mere handful of people important enough for serious study. Many may not have even heard of this religion. But for a Parsi student of Avesta, the main thing should be the religion. In fact, for us, Parsis, a study of this subject, unless undertaken with this object, would be a sheer waste of time and effort. We have to *live* the religion expounded in these texts, and hence our effort should be not merely to understand the language and grammar of these texts but also the ideals of *life* that they seek to preach. I hope no Parsi scholar entirely neglects this practical side of Avesta studies. I might here repeat what I have already mentioned at the very beginning of this essay that it is mainly intended for my Parsi friends.

There is one grave danger always to be found in the study of a religion. It is that the scholar, if at all fervid, tends to take a narrow

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and circumscribed view of the subject. This is especially the case when one studies one's own religion. The mind of such a scholar sees nothing beyond the limits set by his own predilections, and naturally, therefore, he misses a great deal worth knowing about. The only corrective is a comparative study of religions.

But it is not for the professed scholar only that the study of other religions is necessary. To the Parsi community as a whole, the study of other religions is eminently necessary to-day. The community is as a whole distinctly religious even now. The heart of our people is quite sound despite pessimists who speak of "the wreck of all religion." But, it seems to me, there is one grave defect we suffer from, and that is a thinly veiled contempt for members of the other faiths around us in India. At best, it is a sort of supercilious tolerance. This is certainly most deplorable and is partly responsible for the estrangement that has come between us and the other races of India. We, Parsis, were the first in the field of modern activities, both commercial and political, because we were the first to take up western education. But, now, with the Hindus and Moslems coming forward to compete with us, we naturally do not find it exactly to our liking. But, this is a passing phase, and we may rest assured that our community would by no means be swept away (as some pessimistic friends are never tired of prophesying) with the growth of Indian nationalism.

This is only a digression. What I wish to emphasise is that it is high time that our community as a whole learnt something about the other religions of the country, at least, their cardinal doctrines. I do not mean that every Parsi should study the *Gita*, the *Quran* and the *Bible*, but what I wish to urge is that every Parsi child should be taught some elementary facts about the religions of the different communities in India. And an effort should be made to impress upon the child the notion that all religions have God for their common object for worship and that therefore all are worthy of reverential study. I would certainly like the various societies of Bombay for the coaching of Zoroastrian faith to take up this work as a part of their activities. So far as I am aware, no such work is being done by any institution of Parsis at present.

To the Iranist, the importance of the study of other faiths cannot be exaggerated. I might even say, it is absolutely necessary. I have tried to show earlier how necessary it is for a student to have a clear

grasp of cultural history, which, of course, includes the religious beliefs of a people. I believe that all religions are God-given and that, therefore each one of them exhibits one aspect, suited to the time and place of Eternal Truth. If only for this reason, a study of other religious systems is indispensable. For through such study alone can we understand the particular message that *our* faith has to give to Humanity. There is another reason why the study of other faiths is so important. We know that only a very small portion of our religious literature has been preserved for us, and that there are big gaps in it which are impossible to fill from a knowledge of our own religion only. It is just here that a student of comparative religion, if he possesses sufficient critical acumen, can render invaluable help.

The study of Hinduism—especially of Vedic Hinduism is absolutely necessary for our purpose. The two peoples—Indian and Iranian—are so closely related that for an understanding of either, one must know a great deal about the other. Buddhism also has played a very important role in the cultural development of Eastern Iran, especially during the Parthian and Sassanian times. Christianity and Judaism, too, had their period of influence in Western Iran at about the same time. Another strong influence in the early Achaemenian days was doubtless that of the Greek religion. The Greek period of Iranian history is culturally very important because not only was Iranian thought influenced by Greece, but in its turn, through Mithraism, it profoundly influenced the religious thought of Pagan Rome as well as that of early Christianity.

The whole of the religious history of Iran is thus an unbroken series of mutual influences of one culture upon another. Indeed, throughout the history of Iranian religion, the process of fusion of the Semitic and Aryan types of thought is ever at work. To my mind, the Aryan element of our religion is to be found in the *Gathas* of our prophet. All later developments show, in different degrees, the fusion, always going on, of the two great types, each being present in varying proportion at different periods. In order to disentangle from the complex web of these manifold influences, the precise significance of each, a careful and sympathetic study is needed of at least those religious systems which came into direct and intimate touch with Iran at various periods of her long history.

It is only by studying other religions that we can get a clear prospective of our own. For, only then can we understand the basic

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truths which underlie all religions. This in itself is an immense gain both intellectually and spiritually. We can then learn to appreciate the significance of those special characteristics that mark out our religion from those of other lands and other ages. We can thus recognise our special contribution to world-culture and may become the better prepared to play our part in the world to-day.

There is one word of warning I must utter in this connection. It often happens that students of Zoroastrian thought while studying other faiths attempt to fill up the gaps that exist in the former by importing ideas wholesale into it from other sources. Now, this is a most unscientific and uncritical procedure. A particular doctrine of one faith may be compared with a similar one in another and such a comparison is helpful to students of both. But it will not do to import the doctrines of the one (with all their other implications) into the other. For, we must never forget that different faiths represent different ages and different countries and so their history and their development can never be the same. The line along which a particular doctrine developed in India, is not necessarily the line along which a similar doctrine developed in Iran. Remember always that—

“God fulfils Himself in many ways, lest one good custom should corrupt the world.”

A study of comparative religion should teach us to see the Eternal Truth through all the diversity of language and environment, but it certainly should not make us blind to the diversities.

The study of other faiths would thus lead us to love our own all the more strongly and at the same time to respect all the others as well. Above all, it would teach us that amidst all this infinite variety of thought, the one fundamental Truth—the *Fatherhood of God* and the *Brotherhood of Man*—stands out supreme and immutable.

II. TAGORE AND GEORGE RUSSELL (A. E.).

(Translated from the French by Indira Devi).

Tagore and George Russell have loved, thought and sung on two opposite faces of the earth. Nature has not shown them the same aspect, legend and history have not opened to the same perspectives, religion and philosophy have disclosed to them worlds as foreign to each

other as the two hemispheres which gave them birth. Is it not unnatural to draw them together? And also old-fashioned, because now-a-days nobody writes of those parallel lives, which a century ago, by their very excess, proved to be a vain mirage.

So there is no question here of giving even a resumé of lives whose beautiful journey is happily far from being accomplished; nor of making sketches as symmetrical as chained candlesticks on a Louis-Philippe mantelpiece. By way of apology, I may add that the occasion for this duet (in which, as far as possible, we shall let the voice of the poets be heard alternately) is the simultaneous appearance of "Collected Poems" by A. E., and that profound study of Rabindranath Tagore, by Edward Thompson; besides which, certain happy chances have brought us into contact with the two men within an interval of a few months, and allowed us to get a direct impression, also the declared avowal of a common inspiration, a touching exchange of mutual appreciation, a tender respect and a spiritual friendship.

It is extremely difficult to speak of either; and for very different reasons. As regards the Eastern poet, they are only too apparent. He writes, or rather he sings (literally speaking, for very often he sets his verses to traditional tunes, or melodies composed by himself) in a strange and distant language. Even those poems which he has translated into English himself, he has transposed, and sometimes even remodelled; as was inevitable, just because he is a creative artist. Moreover, all his works have not passed into our European languages. The English interpretations, which are the most numerous, form only a sort of decorative fringe of his entire works, which are considerable and voluminous. A comparative table of his Bengali and English works, shows that the latter comprise only a third of the former; and a collection like *Gitanjali*, supposed to be autonomous, has itself been culled by the author from several of his books. The names of the flowers and the trees do not evoke to our senses, lines, colours or scents; the birds sing to us unknown songs. Without a lengthy initiation, the symbols express nothing to us. The spiritual forces, inherited through millions of years, and which the least allusion suffices to set in motion over there, are for us as if they did not exist.

Though he uses a language which is incomparably nearer to us, the Irish poet is by no means easier to grasp, at the first contact. Even readers whose mother-tongue is English, may read him without being

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touched at first. It isn't that Celtic mythology, to which we still remain emotionally unresponsive, often intervenes. The sealed quality of his verse isn't due either to the generally uniform language, with neither the massive power of a Browning, nor the over-elaborate conciseness of a Meredith. The idea is never transferred to a superior but abstruse verbal plane, as happens in the case of symbolists of the type of Mallarmé. The difficulty does not lie there. It lies rather in the apparent simplicity of the text and the familiarity of the images, which are apt to lead astray minds that are not forewarned, and imaginations that are innocent. Like Tagore, George Russell at present requires to be made more accessible, if not by the commentaries of an annotated edition, then at least through the initiation of sufficiently explicit forewords, and the discreet reminder of fundamental theses, which illuminate from within the somewhat monotonous colour of the images, and the somewhat jingling rhythm of the music.

To supply the want of this general introduction, to illuminate each by the other, these two unequal but equally original figures, to search for the sources and the limits of Orientalism in Russell, and Occidentalism in Tagore,— this then is the very narrow object, as one can see, of this double study.

III. PRESIDENT'S TOUR IN CANADA.

Mr. C. F. Andrews has sent us the following extracts from the July, 1929, number of the Dalhousie Review :

Several men and women of judgment have told me that they were profoundly impressed by the recent utterances of Sir Rabindranath Tagore in Victoria and Vancouver. The man, in bearing and appearance, is as noble as Michael Angelo's prophets in the Sistine Chapel. But one forgot even that in listening to him.

* * * * *

Though he spoke as a very cultured man, not only steeped in the wisdom of the East, but easily familiar with the wisdom of Greece and later Europe, no word had an exotic tinge. His discourse on "The Philosophy of Leisure" was remarkable. He began in the Greek and scientific vein (taking for granted, by the way, that his audience was familiar with Aristotelian conceptions), and not for a moment did he

lament progress, or preach the static doctrine most of us associate with the East :

Man has broken open the prison walls, and refused to be contented with that which was allotted to him by nature. He has unlocked the hidden resources of nature, and has been able to use them for his own indomitable purpose. This is not really materialism, for it represents the conquest of matter achieved by the human spirit. There are, on the other hand, races of men who have allowed themselves to be stranded like a whale on the seashore, and who remained to the end of their days a prey to the evils that exist on all sides, without overcoming them. This is the real materialism.

But Truth has another aspect, which has been described in the Sanskrit writings: the Infinite in its aspect of joy. This has its atmosphere in a width of leisure, across which come the invisible messengers of light and life.

Now it is evident that the modern age is riding on a tornado of speed and hurry, jealously competing with its own past. We cannot stop its course; and even if we could, we should not do so. Our only anxiety with regard to it is that we may forget the fact that slow and mature productions of leisure are of immense value to mankind, for these alone give balance to accumulations and rhythm to life itself.

Japan, the speaker went on to say, had captured for herself the mighty spirit of progress which marks the Occident. But the ideals which had really given life to Japanese civilisation had been nourished through long ages in the past:

For the most part, the spirit of progress occupies much more space in our minds than the deeper life process of our being, which requires depths of leisure for its sustenance. In other words, the modern world has not allowed itself to evolve what might be called a religious aspect of life. There is no profound principle of reconciliation, that can fashion out of all these confused and conflicting elements of to-day a living work of art that can compare with the religious ideals of past. The highest creative ideals of life were developed centuries ago.

Invention and organization are spreading fast to-day, but the creative genius of man is losing its dignity. It is accepting cheap

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payment from the busy multitude, and is engaged in keeping irreverent mind cheaply amused.

There was a time when man was growing more and more aware of the infinite realm of personality within himself, from which he sought to find the profound meaning of life. He went along his path of deliverance from the narrow bounds of the lower self, seeking wider and wider expansion of sympathy and compassion for all mankind. This was true progress. . . . Man is still living to-day on the wealth of those central ideas which he gained and stored up in ancient days. His ideals are to-day in danger of becoming mere habits of mind. He seems to be living in a palace planned and built in another age, whose rafters he has negligently allowed to crumble, while yet the roof continues to protect him.

To-day the hurry of life leaves man no time to explore the deeper mysteries. His sense of human worth and reality shrinks into utter insignificance in a world whose pride is in its external vastness.

It will be seen that these words were not addressed to a Canadian audience merely. But to one who had travelled across the raw prairies they seemed to have a special application to this country. Has any society so rapidly altered its whole character as ours has done? Men of middle age in Eastern Canada are old enough to remember when there was hardly any "West." Our relatives of two generations ago were among the very pioneers in such cities as Calgary and Vancouver. But in the interval these pioneers and their offspring have been submerged in an alien flood. We still talk of the prairie provinces as Canadian, but they are completely lost to Canada in the old sense of that name. One may walk from end to end of Main Street in Winnipeg and not hear an English word. The ambitious buildings of St. Boniface across the river are the only Canadian things visible. The steadiest of our colonizers is Quebec. But even so ardent a Nationalist as Mr. Bourassa has been saying for years that there is not a language question, or a race question in Canada; there are fifty races and fifty languages. Vancouver and Victoria cause the exclamation: "Here at last is an English city." But gradually Chinese and Japanese are noticed everywhere, and hundreds and hundreds of Shiks.

Now, no one could possibly feel Anglo-Saxon arrogance in the presence of Tagore, nor for a long while after meeting him. One had

no temptation to talk of reserving the country for "white men" after such an experience. But everyone knows that there has never been anywhere such a "tornado of speed" as the one ridden by our young society, opening up a new country, and at the same time making a Babel of it.

* * * * *

Meantime Eastern Canada, except in one or two small areas, has changed as completely, and as rapidly. Nor does it wear any air of permanence to-day. The main streets of our large cities are re-made every twenty-five years. "Town-planners" and economists make very searching criticisms of this. But sometimes I think it has a deeper moral significance than is ever realized. Consider our architecture, or rather the possibility of our ever having any architecture. If a man knows, as certainly as anything can be known of the future, that the church he is asked to build will not be a church twenty-five years hence, but a gasoline station, or some other commercial, ugly thing, how can he put his soul into it? Nay, his brains even? And if a mason or a carpenter knows that the house he builds is built for a few decade at most, will he even put honest work into it? I have heard the director of a large building company defend jerry-building on this very ground.

Soon after listening to Tagore's discourse, I found myself in Chicago! The growth of business and wealth in Chicago was one of the marvels of the later nineteenth century. But, if we may judge from its newspapers and other things, Chicago is ambitious to be thought something else than an upstart city. It wishes to be thought a centre of art, science, music and culture. So far as money can go, Chicago has gone. But to a transient visitor at least, there was not much evidence of progress beyond that point. Acquaintance with many European museum makes the much-praised Field Museum seem over-lavish of equipment and frame-work. It is obtrusively apparent that its curator has ample means at his disposal. A little less background to the exhibits would be in better taste. The university also seems spoiled with money. Everywhere steam-shovels are at work, excavating for new buildings. The newspapers say these additions will cost over nine million dollars. A Canadian visitor is asked by former Canadians, now "domiciled" in Chicago, to accept this as evidence of things that matter, and is a little afraid that he will be likened to the fox in the fable if he dissents. I confess that one department of the library did

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made me envious. But I envy no university nine million dollars' worth of new buildings.

Now, no one will lament that Chicago has so much money to spend on these things. The energy displayed, too, in creating museum, university, and public parks, reminds one of Tagore's phrase about man conquering material resources for spiritual ends. But, on the whole, Chicago is a good example of the impossibility of buying, or establishing quickly, a civilisation. Yet I believe that some of our western cities look to Chicago as a paradise of culture !

IV. ON THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDA WORDS

By G. SCHANZLIN, M.A., *Bolpur, Bengal.*

It has been recognised for some time that the Munda languages of India belong to a larger group or family of languages, spoken by a great variety of races in Indo-China, the Malay region, and perhaps way out into the island world of the Pacific. In his books on the Mon-Khmer, the Khasi and other languages, Pater W. Schmidt, an Austrian scholar, has led the way to a more critical investigation of these languages. His terminology, calling the new linguistic group the Austric languages, has, I think, been accepted by most people interested in this subject.

An interesting but much earlier attempt to acquaint the world with the existence of the Mon-Khmer races is the Comparative Grammar of the Languages of Farther India, published in 1881. This work is largely based on the investigations of Logan, Hodgson and others, and formed the literary remains of the late Captain C. J. F. S. Forbes, author of several books on Burma. For the study of the Mon-Khmer languages a useful book has appeared lately, the Mon-English Dictionary of R. Halliday, M.R.A.S. published at Bangkok by the Siam Society, in 1922.

In the present paper the writer proposes to deal tentatively with Santali, a typical Munda Language, which is spoken by far the largest branch of the Munda-linguistic family of India. He hopes to bring out the relationship of the Munda or Kol languages in India to the larger group of Austric languages, and some of the common characteristics of the whole family.

The fact that Munda languages are overlaid with borrowed material of many kind is no doubt one of the chief reasons, why outside of Dr. P. O. Bodding's work, *Materials for a Santali Grammar*, so little has been done in recent years to elucidate them. This lack of investigation is especially noticeable in Etymology.

Yet there is abundant material for etymological studies in pure Santali or pure Munda languages. As far as borrowings are concerned, there are, of course, several layers of borrowed material. The more recently borrowed material has not been so changed as to make it unrecognizable. The recent borrowings from Hindi, Bengali and other modern vernaculars present few difficulties, while the older borrowings are not always easy to analyse. But leaving aside the borrowed material, the object of our investigation will be to study pure Austric words, that is, words found in at least the two different sections, the Munda group and the Mon-Khmer group.

Prefixes.—Dr. Schmitt, in his work on the Khasi language (Munich, 1904) has shown that a large portion of indigenous Khasi words are built up by a process of prefixing certain syllables to original monosyllables.

I think it can also be shown that the Munda languages have passed through a similar period of development in which prefixes had not yet completely coalesced with the original stem words. Santali shows even now practically all the stages of this process of word building.

What impresses one in studying any of the languages related to the Mon-Khmer group is the great variety of prefixes that are being used in the different branches of that group to produce apparently the same result. Take the word for the numeral six for instance. Assuming for this word the Austric stem *rau*, we find that by using totally dissimilar prefixes the different branches of this linguistic group have produced the following results in the respective languages :

	Prefix :	Stem :	Final Form :
Khasi :	hin	rau	hinriu
Mon :	t	rau	trau
Bahnar :	tö (d)	rau	tödrau
Stieng :	p	rau	pраu

Now Santali, together with the other Munda languages, must have at one time employed such prefixes like all the other Austric languages. The Santali word for six is *turui*, which clearly shows a structure very similar to the forms in the above table.

The point, I wish to emphasize in this table, however, is, that we have three different prefixes, *hin*, *to*, *tö*, and (in Santali *tu*) also *p*, while the resultant compound in all these cases retains what was probably the original meaning of the stem, namely the word for the numeral six.

Thus we find that while Austric root words or stems are fairly constant, these monosyllabic additions prefixed to the original monosyllabic stems

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or bases, are of considerable variety. They are not at all like the prefixes of the Aryan family, for instance, which can be traced, with certain modifications through all the branches of the family. For example, the initial labial in the Aryan prefix *pra* will remain a labial in all its variations.

In Austric these prefixes are probably original *help words*, or the remnants of such, used in such close apposition with the main word that they finally become incorporated with it.

Another set of words will illustrate the case more clearly, the words for *blood*, *leech*, and *crab*.

	<i>Blood</i>	<i>Leech</i>	<i>Crab</i>
Khasi :	snām	thlīm	tham
Mon :	chim	klam	khatām
Balnar and Stieng :	—	plōm	tam
Santali :	mayam	keola	katkom
Mundari :	inaham	—	karkom

The consonant radicals in the original stem respectively are :—

<i>Blood</i> :	<i>Leech</i> :	<i>Crab</i> :
a guttural or spirant + m	1 + m	t + m

The *n* in *snam* is probably an *infix*, a point which we need not discuss here. The original stem of the word for blood may have begun with a guttural or a spirant, changing in Khasi into the sibilant.

In the second case, the word for leech, it is evident that a stem beginning with *l* and ending in a nasal, exists ; this is shown by the fact that closely related forms for the word for leech geographically extend out into the Malay region and the Sunda Islands. The Malay word for leech is *lintah*, leading up in the Sundas to such forms as *limatik*, *limatok* and *halintah*, having all apparently for their original radicals the two elements of *l* plus a nasal. The explanation of the Santali form *keola* is probably a lengthened *a* for a former final *am*.

In the last word, *crab*, if we assume a stem *tam*, the initial of this stem becomes aspirated in Khasi, forming *tham*. Mon prefixes *kha*, while the two Munda languages prefix *ka*. Santali and Mundari furthermore infix another *k* after the initial of the stem, changing the vowel of the stem from *a* to *o*. Mundari disguises the true structure of the word still more by changing the initial *t* of the original stem to a cerebral *r*, producing the word *karkom*. (Central Sakai, an aboriginal language of Malaya, has for crab the word *kantom*.)

The Santali word *matkom* for the mahul or mahua tree (*Bassia latifolia*), and its flower, can be probably analysed in a similar way. The tree is also found in Indo-China and the Mon word for it is *plöt*; at least the flower is listed in the Mon Dictionary as *pakao plöt*, the *plöt* flower. (Cf. *Phula*, another, probably older, Santali name for the flower).

Now whether *matkom* be a genuine Munda (and Austric) word, or not, its present form is Santali, and it has the same puzzling ending as *katkom*; *atkom* (Kurku¹ for egg); *damkom*, bull calf; *parkom*, cot; *kaskom*, cotton; *baskom*, babui grass; *bokom*, neem tree; *sakom*, leaf.

The mahua flower being both meat and drink to the Santals, as well as to many other aboriginal races, we may expect that the aboriginal races had their own familiar word for it. Attempts have been made recently to derive from *matkom* the Sanskrit word for the tree, *madhuka*, which is just the opposite of the older attempt, which sought to derive the Santali word from *madhuka*.

If it could be proved that the *k* in such Munda words as *atkom*, *matkom*, *katkom*, is a late infix for reasons of special Munda phonetical requirements, and if the equivalent of *matkom* could be found in any other of the Austric languages, the independence of *matkom* from the Sanskrit word would have become established. As it is, the question whether on the other hand *madhuka* was an attempt at the Sanskritization of a word of the aborigines or not, must be left open for the time being.

There is still one more word which seems to prove the late origin of the infixed guttural *k* before the final *am* of the stem. The Santali word for fish otter is *odam* or *lodam*. The corresponding Kurku¹ word is *lutkam*. Evidently,

<i>mat + om</i>	:	:	<i>matkom</i> ,
<i>lodam</i>	:	:	<i>lutkam</i>

and, it is at least likely, that we have before us, in the Munda group of Austric languages, both the earlier and the later form of the same word. First the simpler and older form in the Santali word *lodam* without the infix *k*; and secondly, a more recent form of the same word, or at least of the corresponding word, the Kurku word *lutkam*, showing that infix, which may be a clue to all the other words with an infixed *k*.

(To be continued)

¹ The Kurkus are the Munda tribe living furthermost east, beyond Jubbalpur and Narsinghpur in the Central Provinces.

[Post-script.—Since my writing this paper, Prof. J. Germanus of Santiniketan has published in the Visva-Bharati Quarterly (April-July, 1929) a valuable article on the Munda languages, in which he has reviewed a new book, *Munda Magyar Maori, an Indian Link between the Antipodes!* by F. A. Uxbond. S.]

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VISVA-BHARATI

Founder-President—RABINDRANATH TAGORE.



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The year under review has been one of steady progress, marked by an active participation by the President in the work of the different institutions of the Visva-Bharati. The outstanding event of the year has been the visit of Rabindranath Tagore to Canada.

THE PRESIDENT.

The President's visit to Canada and Japan.—The President had been repeatedly invited to visit Canada by the National Council of Education of Vancouver but had always declined for a variety of reasons. This year he accepted the invitation to attend the fourth session of the Triennial Conference of the National Council of Education at Victoria and, accompanied by Mr. Apurva Kumar Chanda, left Calcutta on the 26th February, 1929. After brief halts on the way at Colombo, Penang, Singapore, Hongkong, Shanghai, Yokohama, and Tokyo, he arrived at Victoria on the 6th of April. The Poet gave his first lecture on "The Philosophy of Leisure" to the Conference on the evening of the same day, and his second lecture on "The Principles of Literature" at the Vancouver Theatre on the 8th April. Mr. C. F. Andrews joined the Poet at Victoria and stayed with him until his departure for Japan. On the 14th the Poet gave his "Message of Farewell" to the Conference, and on the 16th April left Vancouver for Los Angeles with his party. The proposed tour in the U. S. A. was however abandoned, and the Poet sailed for Japan on the 20th April.

The party reached Yokohama on the 10th of May, and Tokyo on the 11th of May. The Poet stayed for nearly a month in Tokyo, and delivered several lectures and addresses. He spoke on "The Ideals of Education" at the Concordia, and attended many other public functions arranged in

his honour. He left Japan on the 8th of June, and after a short halt at Saigon in French Indo-China reached Madras on the 3rd July.

It will be seen from the following statement taken from the official programme of the Conference that the Visva-Bharati and the National Council of Education of Canada have one important object in common, namely, international co-operation in education, and it was in the fitness of things that the President of the Visva-Bharati should represent India at the Conference.

"Education in any country must necessarily fail to achieve its full purpose unless it maintains the closest of contact with the world at large. Isolation educationally will inevitably lead to intellectual stagnation and to dearth of ideal."

The Poet's visit served in a remarkable degree to promote a better understanding between India and Canada. He was an outstanding personality in the Conference and no other person occupied the same position with regard to the general interest in the public or of the delegates themselves. The welcome given to him was not merely a personal homage to his greatness but also a testimony of good will from Canada to India itself. Those who introduced him or spoke about him, referred to these issues and spoke of India as a sister nation with which Canada wished to come in close contact. Everywhere the people showed that the visit of the poet had made a distinct difference regarding their own attitude towards the Indians settled in their midst.

A detailed account of the President's tour in Canada and Japan has been given in Bulletin No. 14, "Rabindranath Tagore's Visit to Canada."

Work in connexion with the Institution.—The President took personal charge of all the educational institutions at Santiniketan in September, 1928 and since then he kept himself in intimate touch with every phase of their activities until his departure for Canada.

The Poet took a leading role in four performances of his new prose drama "*Tapati*" given in Calcutta on the 26th, 28th, 29th September, and 1st October, 1929.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Office-bearers.—Narendranath Law worked as the Artha-Sachiva (*Treasurer*) and Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis as the Karma-Sachiva (*General Secretary*) throughout the year.

Sushobhan Chandra Sarkar and Kishorimohan Santra were appointed Assistant General Secretaries in January and were in charge of the General Office in Calcutta. Sushobhan Chandra Sarkar resigned his office in August on joining the Dacca University, and Kishorimohan Santra was placed in sole charge of the ordinary administrative work.

The Samsad (Governing Body) and the Karma-Samiti (Executive Committee).—There were 5 meetings of the Samsad (Governing Body) and 11 meetings of the Karma-Samiti (Executive Committee) during the year.

Besides the usual routine work of administration various schemes were taken into consideration and several committees were appointed for the purpose.

(i) *Donation Committee.*—A sub-committee consisting of E. W. Ariam, Kalimohan Ghosh, Amal Home, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Kalidas Nag, Nepal Chandra Ray, Kishorimohan Santra with Sushobhan Sarkar as Secretary was appointed to collect donations, and a certain amount of donations was collected mainly by Sushobhan Chandra Sarkar.

(ii) *Editorial Board.*—A committee consisting of Rabindranath Tagore, Charuchandra Bhattacharya (*Secretary, Publishing Board*), Amiya Chandra Chakravarti, Kishorimohan Santra with P. C. Mahalanobis as its Secretary was appointed to prepare a collected edition and also to edit all future publications of the Bengali works of the President. The Committee met once during the year and had an informal discussion on the subject. Amiya Chandra Chakravarti prepared the text for the press of “*Jatri*”, “*Jogajog*”, and “*Sesher-Kabita*”. Kishorimohan Santra has started preparing critical texts of the earlier volumes of poetry, and is preparing a collected edition of the sermons, essays on religion, and other religious writings. P. C. Mahalanobis arranged the “*Mahuya*” poems, and added a short bibliographical note.

(iii) *Leave Rules Committee.*—A committee consisting of Nepal Chandra Ray, Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Jitendramohan Sen, Rathindranath Tagore, and P. C. Mahalanobis as Secretary was appointed in 1927 for drawing up a set of consolidated rules for regulating leave, transfer, appointments, allowances and related subjects. The committee met several times during the year and prepared a set of rules for the guidance

of all the departments of the Visva-Bharati. These were formally adopted at a meeting of the Samsad on the 29th of September and have come into operation.

(iv) *Rules and Bye-laws Committee*.—A sub-committee consisting of Devendramohan Bose, Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Jitendramohan Sen, and Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis as Secretary was appointed to scrutinize certain rules and bye-laws for the proper working of the different departments of Santiniketan which had been passed by the Santiniketan-Samiti. Other rules and bye-laws were added to these, and the whole thing was arranged in two portions, one of which would apply to all the departments of the Visva-Bharati and the other to institutions at Santiniketan. The rules and bye-laws were approved of by the sub-committee and were placed before the Samsad on the 29th September, but could not be fully considered for want of time.

Besides these the Land Settlement, the Investment, and other committees met several times during the year.

Islamic Studies.—Dr. Julius Germanus of the Oriental Institute of Budapest, Professor of Turkish and Arabic in the Royal Hungarian University, accepted the Nizam Chair for Islamic Studies and joined his post at Santiniketan on the 7th April, 1929. Dr. Germanus has already begun his work and has drawn up a programme for the Academic Session 1929-30 (July—March) which has been printed separately as Bulletin No. 13, "Islamic Studies" by Dr. Julius Germanus. The Department of Islamic Studies has been attached to the Vidya-Bhavana (*Research Institute*) for administrative purposes, and students and research workers will enjoy all the privileges of membership of the educational institutions at Santiniketan. In addition to his regular work at Santiniketan, Dr. Germanus is contributing regularly on Islamic and philological subjects in the Visva-Bharati Quarterly.

Mr. Bogdanov was appointed Professor of Persian with effect from the first of July, 1929. He took classes in Persian and also delivered occasional lectures on the subject.

Zoroastrian Studies.—Dr. Michael Collins and Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala held the two Zoroastrian Professorships under the Zoroastrian Fund. Dr. Collins, who is the resident professor, actively participated in the work of the Vidya-Bhavana (*Research Institute*), Dr. Taraporewala delivered four lectures at Santiniketan on Zoroastrian subjects.

Baroda Grant.—We received Rs. 6,000 from H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda. An account of the work done will be found on p. 10.

Society of Friends.—We gratefully acknowledge receiving an earmarked donation of Rs. 3,794-7-4 from the Friends Service Council of

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England for a Fellowship which was held by Mr. Nalin Chandra Ganguly, M.A., (Birm.), a member of the Society of Friends. Mr. Ganguly worked as the Principal of the Santiniketan College throughout the year, and reorganized it in a most efficient manner.

Our best thanks are also due to Mr. Harry G. Timbres, M.D., another member of the Society of Friends, who worked at Santiniketan during November and December, 1929 as an Honorary Medical Officer. He has completed a medical survey of Santiniketan and the adjoining villages, and is making arrangements for organizing medical relief on a large scale from the next cold weather.

Publications.—The following bulletins were published during the year :—

No. 12. Santiniketan and the Educational Institutions. A descriptive booklet with illustrations.

No. 13. *Islamic Studies.* By Dr. Julius Germanus.

No. 14. Rabindranath Tagore's Visit to Canada. A descriptive account by P. C. Mahalanobis including reprints of 4 lectures delivered in Canada and Japan by Rabindranath Tagore.

The members of the Visva-Bharati get these bulletins free or at a nominal price.

The following research memoirs of the Vidya-Bhavana (*Research Institute*) are in the press and will be shortly published :—

- (i) *Ganapati*. By Haridas Mitra.
 - (ii) *Brahmasutra*. By Kapileswara Misra.
 - (iii) *Aryadeva's Chatuhshataka*. By Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya.
 - (iv) *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*. By Amulya Charan Sen.
 - (v) *New Movements in the World of Islam*. By Dr. Julius Germanus.

Arrangements have also been made to publish regularly the research studies of the Vidya-Bhavana in the Visva-Bharati Quarterly in future.

Membership—The total number of members on the roll was 759 at the end of the year 1929, of whom 226 were Life Members. The following persons were elected Life Members during the year: *S. A. Hardoon, Narayan Das Bajoria, Rai Jatindranath Choudhury, B. P. Wadia, Nirmal Kumari Mahalanobis.*

The following persons were elected ordinary members during the same period.

Syed Ahmed Imamul Islam, Kamakhya Kanto Ray, Jyotiproakash Sarkar, Sudha Kanta Ray Choudhury, Mrs. Woodhouse, Nagendra Nath Bakshi, K. Punniah, Anandji Surajmal Lalubhai, B. Dube, Barada Kanto Ray, Ralph Richard Keithahn, Birendra Mohan Sen, Nibaran Chandra Bhowmik, Mohita Kumar Banerjee, Mohini Mohan Ray, Richter Fredrick, Nihar Rajan Ray, Bhushan Chandra Das, Victor Moses Illahibaksh.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

Donors.—A complete list of donations received during the year is given at the end of the report in Appendix A.

Audited Accounts.—The Balance Sheet and the audited accounts for the financial year ending the 30th September, 1929 were considered at a meeting of the Samsad held on the 23rd December, and subsequently adopted by the Parishat (Annual General Meeting) on the 23rd December, 1929. They are attached hereto as Appendix I.

Permanent and Earmarked Funds.—Capital and Revenue accounts were maintained separately for all permanent and earmarked funds and will be found on pp. 20-28 of the Audited Accounts.

Friends Service Funds (Earmarked Fund No. C-3/28). The sum of Rs. 3,794-7-4 received from the Friends Service Council was constituted into a fund and was earmarked in accordance with the wishes of the donors for a fellowship which was held by Mr. Nalin Chandra Ganguly.

This was the only new fund created during 1929. We give below brief notes on the capital transactions of the old funds.

B-3/22. Kalabhavana Fund.—We received Rs. 10,000/- as a further instalment of the donation promised by H. H. the Jam Saheb of Nawangore. This raised the total capital amount to Rs. 1,03,000/-.. Rs. 11,886-7-0 was spent during the financial year under review for the completion of the building and for furniture and equipment, bringing the total capital expenditure to Rs. 31,992-14-3.

The balance of Rs. 71,007-1-9 remains fully invested. The income from this reduced amount will not however be sufficient for the maintenance of the Kalabhavana.

B-4/23. Pearson Hospital Fund.—Rs. 7,422-9-2 was received as donations during the year.

The total amount spent on building and equipment was Rs. 18,331-7-6 up to the end of September, 1929, and the balance in hand was Rs. 1,742-4-3.

B-6/23. Birla Kuthi Fund.—The Birla Kuthi which has been allotted for the use of the Sreebhavana was completed in December, 1929. The total expenditure incurred up to the end of September was Rs. 23,551-0-0, out of which Rs. 20,000/- had been received as a donation from Mr. Jugal Kishore Birla.

B-8/24. Kadoorji Water Works Fund.—Vigorous attempts were made for having the Tube-well at Santiniketan completed, the contract for which had been placed with the Texas Tube-well Co. Inc. in 1928. Fresh expenditure to the extent of Rs. 1,925-1-0 was incurred in this con-

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nexion, but we regret to say practically to no purpose. We hope to be able to recover a substantial part of the advance given to the Texas Tube-well Co., over whose movable properties at Santiniketan we hold a definite lien.

The Financial Position.—As many of our friends often make enquiries regarding the financial stability of the Visva-Bharati, it may be useful to give a brief statement of the actual financial situation.

Property and Assets.—It will be remembered that at the time of the framing of the Visva-Bharati constitution in 1922, Rabindranath Tagore transferred properties worth several lakhs of rupees. The Society owns at present nearly 2,500 bighas of land at a very moderate rent, a large number of buildings worth more than five and a half lakhs of rupees (Rs. 3,46,635-12-5 at Santiniketan and Rs. 1,14,980-12-0 at Sriniketan); plant, machinery and furniture worth nearly one lakh and a half, and books and art specimens worth considerably over one lakh of rupees. The value of the property (exclusive of the land, the value of which is difficult to estimate) will thus be seen to be over eight lakhs of rupees. The Visva-Bharati owns in addition a lucrative publishing business which can be counted upon to yield a net income of over Rs. 6,000/- to its General Fund.

Funds.—The total funded capital amounts to nearly three and a half lakhs of rupees (Rs. 1,56-345-1-2 in Government Paper and Port Trust Debenture, Rs. 1,29,660-6-9 with Patiar Krishi Bank, Rs. 14,000/- with the Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank, Rs. 26,000/- in the Publishing Department, Rs. 6,000/- in the Santiniketan Press) yielding an income of about Rs. 20,000/- a year.

Other sources of Income.—A sum of at least Rs. 6,000/- per year is received from the Publishing Department as royalty on the sale of the Poet's Bengali Works the copyright of which were transferred by him to the Visva-Bharati in 1922. We receive three fixed permanent annual grants of Rs. 6,000/-, Rs. 1,000/-, and Rs. 1,000/- from the Baroda State, the Tipperah State, and Mr. Rathindranath Tagore respectively. The total fixed income of the institution is therefore about Rs. 34,000/- out of which Rs. 20,000/- are earmarked for various specific purposes, and Rs. 14,000/- are non-earmarked.

With 2,500 bighas of land, assets worth over eight lakhs of rupees and a permanent income of about Rs. 34,000/- a year (out of which Rs. 26,000/- represents practically the income from investments) it will be easily realized that there will be no difficulty in carrying on at least a portion of the present activities.

Revenue Deficit.—At the same time we must confess that we have a deficit budget. The Publishing Department is an earning one. Sriniketan enjoys a magnificent annual grant of 20,000 dollars from Mr. and Mrs. L. K. Elmhirst, and also smaller grants from the National

Council of Education and the National Fund. It has always kept its expenditure within its own income, and its finances need not be considered here. Our chief problem is with the educational institutions at Santiniketan. For a long time they have worked at a large deficit.

This was inevitable. An educational institution professing to be guided by the ideals of our Founder-President could not possibly be turned into a mere money making concern. Every economy has been exercised, and considering the variety and the quality of the work done, the expenses have been incredibly low. For many years we have maintained a fee rate much higher than that in any other school in Bengal. But our experience merely confirms what is already well-known : an educational institution cannot be entirely self-supporting ; its fee income must be supplemented by income from endowments or donations.

Since its foundation the Poet alone has borne the financial burden. He has never spared himself, and it is well-known to our members how he has travelled all over the world in the cause of the Visva-Bharati. But it is no longer possible for him to do so. The members of the Visva-Bharati must now come forward and shoulder the responsibility.

Maintainance Charges.—The expenditure from the General Fund on the Library comes to about Rs. 2,500/- ; Hospital costs Rs. 1,500/- ; Electric Light Rs. 2,000/- ; Repairs to buildings, roads, garden etc. Rs. 4,000/- ; and the Santiniketan Office Rs. 2,500/- . The total maintainance charge for such a big institution as Santiniketan is thus less than Rs. 14,000/- per year. It will be remembered that we have a non-earmarked income of about Rs. 16,000/- in the General Fund. But out of this Rs. 4,000/- are required for certain general charges such as land rent, audit, travelling expenses, Visva-Bharati contribution to the Provident Fund (nearly Rs. 1,500/-), printing, interest on loan etc. The balance of about Rs. 12,000/- is not sufficient to meet the maintainance charges of Rs. 14,000/-.

The Vidyabhavana and the Kalabhavana.—The annual expenditure of the Indological section of the Vidyabhavana (Research Institute) with its staff of three whole time professors, one Tibetan lama, and a Chinese lecturer comes to less than Rs. 9,000/- per year, out of which Rs. 6,000/- is met from the Baroda Grant, Rs. 1,500/- from certain other funded sources, and about Rs. 1,000/- from the General Fund. Rs. 7,500/- is spent for the recently opened Islamic section out of which Rs. 5,000/- comes from the Nizam Fund, and Rs. 2,500/- from the General Fund.

The total expenditure on the art section of the Kalabhavana is only Rs. 6,000/- out of which a sum of Rs. 4,500/- represents the income from the Kalabhavana Fund and Rs. 1,500/- the income from fees. The Music section has a total expenditure of about Rs. 1,500/- . The whole of the Vidyabhavana and the Kalabhavana thus costs about Rs. 24,000/- per year out of which the General Fund contributes only Rs. 5,000/-.

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The School and the College.—The deficit on account of teachers' salaries come to about Rs. 5,500/- for a total staff of thirty two.

To sum up, we have a deficit of about Rs. 1,500/- in the Indological section, and Rs. 2,500/- in the Islamic section of the Vidyabhavana, Rs. 1,500/- in the Music section of the Kalabhavana, about Rs. 5,500/- in the School and the College and Rs. 4,000/- in maintainance charges, giving a total revenue deficit of about Rs. 15,000/- a year.

We thus require an additional income of Rs. 15,000/- a year to maintain the institutions at Santiniketan on the existing basis.

Capital Requirements.—The above is our most pressing need. We have also urgent capital requirements. The accumulated liabilities of the General Fund amount to nearly Rs. 60,000/-. Besides this we have spent about Rs. 50,000/- from the Life Members Fund.

The existing power plant has become inadequate for our purposes ; a sum of about Rs. 25,000/- would enable us to instal an efficient modern plant. Scarcity of water during the hot weather is another difficult problem. The only satisfactory solution would appear to be the construction of a pumping system drawing its supply from a river. The preliminary survey has been already completed, and the cost has been estimated at Rs. 25,000/- approximately.

Conclusion.—Our most pressing need at the present moment is

- (1) an additional income of Rs. 15,000/- a year for the institutions at Santiniketan.

Our immediate capital requirements consist of :—

- (2) Rupees one lakh approximately to clear accumulated liabilities and restore the Life Members Fund.
- (3) Rs. 50,000/- for the construction of a new power plant, and a modern system of water works.

SANTINIKETAN.

Pramada Ranjan Ghosh was appointed Santiniketan-Sachiva in January, 1929 and held this office throughout the year.

General Progress.—There was a great improvement in the working of all the institutions at Santiniketan. The President personally supervised the work, and reviewed the daily reports submitted to him by the heads of departments. During his absence from India, Rathindranath Tagore carried on the work of supervision at the request of the Santiniketan-Samiti.

Strenuous efforts were made to keep the expenditure within the sanctioned limits. At the beginning of the year the President issued a circular letter to the heads of departments informing them that they would be held personally responsible for any expenditure in excess of the budget grants. This had a most salutary effect, and for the first time the expenditure at Santiniketan remained within the sanctioned limits.

Santiniketan-Samiti.—The Santiniketan-Samiti met 13 times during the year. Apart from the ordinary work of administration, an important series of bye-laws for regulating the work of the different sections was adopted, and a revised syllabus for the college department was drawn up. Standing Sub-Committees were formed for the Vidyabhavana, Sikshabhavana, Pathabhavana, the Library, Up-keep, Hospital, Sanitation, Sports and Kitchen.

Festivals.—The Vasanta Utsava was celebrated on the 14th February, Varsha Mangal and the Tree-planting ceremony on the 11th July ; there was a performance of "Natir Puja" on the 9th August, and "Sat-bhai-Champa" in March.

Santiniketan Trust.—The small block of houses formerly occupied by the Post Office was thoroughly repaired. The main building and the Mandir are both in need of thorough repairs, but owing to shortness of funds only minor repairs could be undertaken this year.

VIDYABHABANA (RESEARCH INSTITUTE).

Vidhushekha Bhattacharya was in charge throughout the year.

Staff.—During the year under review the whole time staff consisted of the following gentlemen :—

Vidhushekha Bhattacharya (Principal) ; Kshitimohan Sen, M.A. ; M. Collins, Ph.D. ; L. Bogdanov ; Julius Germanus, Ph.D. ; Ten Yun Shan ; Sonam Ngo Drub.

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Students.—There were altogether eight regular students in this department. Besides them three teachers and twenty one students from the other departments of the Visva-Bharati attended courses of studies of the Vidyabhavana. Of the regular students two came from Gujrat, three from Bengal, one from Germany, and two from China. Among them three were graduates of our own institution, one was an M. A. of the Dacca University, two were graduates from Chinese Universities, and one was a graduate of the Calcutta University.

The following table shows the geographical distribution of the students attending courses given by this department.

India 24 :—Bengal (9), Gujrat (7), Malabar (3), Andhra (2), Karnatic (1), Central Provinces (1), Nepal (1).

Foreign (7) :—China (4), Java (1), Germany (1), Switzerland (1).

Stipends.—This year three students were given stipends. All of them worked satisfactorily. The Pocha scholarship was divided between two students studying Tibetan.

Courses of Lectures.—The following courses of lectures were given during the year. The figures within brackets give the number of students in each subject.

Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya :—*Tibetan* (4), *Buddhist* (2), *Buddhist Philosophy* (2), *Sanskrit* (3).

Kshitimohan Sen :—*Nathism Yogi Cult* (1), *Bengali* (1). He also took classes in Bengali and Sanskrit in the Sikshabibhaga.

M. Collins :—*Comparative Philology* (1), *Old Persian* (1), *Avesta* (1), *Vedic Sanskrit* (1), *Greek* (1).

L. Bogdanov :—*Arabic* (2), *Persian* (3), *French* (15).

J. Germanus :—*Arabic* (6), *Islamic Culture and History (General Lectures)*.

Tan Yun Shen :—*Chinese* (4).

Sonam Ngo Drub :—*Tibetan*. He was mainly engaged in copying Xylographs for the department.

V. Trapp :—*German* (16).

B. P. Shukla :—*English* (3).

N. Goswami :—*Prakrit* (1).

N. Chowdhury :—*Sanskrit* (1).

S. Mukherjee :—*Sanskrit Grammar, Panini* (1).

Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala delivered four general lectures during the year on Iranian subjects.

Research Work by Students.—Sujit Kumar Mukherjee :—(1) Restoring in Sanskrit from Tibetan a treatise *Nairatmaparipracccha*, with notes and introduction. (2) Restoring in Sanskrit from Tibetan the intro-

ductory part of the *Mulamadhyemaka-Vritti* of Buddhapalita. (3) Preparing an edition of *Trisvabhavanirdesa* of Vasubandhu comparing the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions.

Prabhubai Patel :—(1) He finished the edition of the *Chitta-Visuddhi-prakarana*, attributed to Aryadeva, comparing its Tibetan version. He has discovered another Tibetan translation of the same work in the Tanjur which is called there Chitta-Visodhanam and is attributed to Raja Indrabhutipada. It has also been utilized in that edition. He is restoring in Sanskrit from Tibetan of the introduction to Akutobhaya, a commentary by Nagarjuna himself on his *Mulamadhyamaka Karika*, (3) and preparing a new edition of *Subhasitasamgraha*.

Nagendranarayan Chowdhury :—Preparing a new and critical edition of the *Dakarnava*, a difficult and abstruse work in Apabhramsa, not yet clearly understood, with the help of its Tibetan version.

Research work by the members of the staff.—Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya :—(1) He edited jointly with Prof. G. Tucci a work on Buddhist Philosophy, namely *Madhyantavibhagavrittitiika* by Sthimmati. This is a Tika on Vasubandhu's commentary on *Maitreyanatha's Badhyantaribhaga*. Only one mutilated manuscript of the work was discovered by Dr. Tucci in Nepal, and it is being now restored and edited with the help of its Tibetan version. Maitreyanatha's original work, which is lost and is only preserved in its Tibetan and Chinese version and in Sthiramati's Tika, will also be restored in this edition.

Kshitimohan Sen :—(1) He has begun to write a history of the religious movements in Mediæval India, an outline of which was given in the lectures delivered by him in the Calcutta University as the Adhar-chandra Mukherjee lecturer last year. (2) The collection of Rajjaba's Vanis, and the Songs of *Bauls* is also progressing.

Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya writes in this connexion :—“I should mention that as his work requires extensive tours in Western India ; he should be given facilities for such tours and he should also be given pecuniary help for this purpose.”

L. Bogdanov :—During the year he has written the following papers
 (1) Notes on the Afghan Periodical Press (Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, Jan., 1929 pp. 26-80), (2) The Afghan weights and measures (J. A. S. B. September, 1929), (3) Stray notes on Kabuli Persian (J. A. S. B. in press), (4) Afghan names and titles (in preparation), (5) The Life and Home in Persia: three lectures delivered in the Nagpur University (ready for publication), (6) Two miniatures, the work of Riza Abbasi, translated from the Russian of F. Rosenberg (ready for publication), (7) On Wine and Feasts in the Iranian National Epic, translated from the Russian of F. Rosenberg.

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J. Germanus :—He has written the following papers one of which has been published and another is in course of publication: (1) Have the Munda languages cognates in Europe?, (2) New movements in the world of Islam (Visva-Bharati Quarterly).

M. Collins has completed two papers on the Indus Seals.

Work by the members of the Santiniketan Staff.—Anathnath Basu :—He has written the following three papers: (1) *Silaparikatha* of Vasubandhu, reconstructed from Tibetan with notes and introduction. (2) Some old Bengali songs in Tibetan—reconstruction in Bengali with notes and introduction (for the Haraprasad Vardhapana Lekhamala). (3) A paper on Mirabai (Visva-Bharati Quarterly).

Publications.—The following publications of the Vidyabhavana are in press: Vidhushekha Bhattacharya—Aryadeva's *Chatuhshataka*, Haridas Mitra—*Ganapati*, Kapileswar Misra—*Brahma Sutra*, Amulya Charan Sen—*Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*, Julius Germanus—*New Movements in the World of Islam*.

Collation of Mahabharata MSS.—The collation of the Mahabharata MSS. was continued as usual in collaboration with Bhandarkar Institute of Poona.

Vidhushekha Bhattacharya concludes his report with the following remarks :—“Before concluding I wish to mention that the above report will show that the work done by this department is progressing favourably. The tabulated list of students will also show how the different provinces of India are taking advantage of our courses. Arabic and Chinese classes have been organized, and the Chinese studies particularly have progressed very well. Our Tibetan studies are also progressing very satisfactorily. Our chief difficulty is the lack of serious students. There is no chance of attracting the right type of students unless we can give a few scholarships. Another difficulty, which also arises from want of funds, is that we are unable to subscribe many important Oriental Journals without which work is seriously hampered. We are also unable to purchase many important books of reference. In conclusion, I take this opportunity of thanking my colleagues for their very valuable co-operation, without which no work would have been possible.”

SANTINIKETAN COLLEGE.

The work of the College Department underwent a number of changes during the year under review. The College and the School were completely separated and conducted as distinct units for purposes of administration. Nalin Chandra Ganguly remained in charge of the College as Principal throughout the year. The remarkable progress shown by the College is entirely due to his enthusiasm and personal exertions.

Staff.—The staff was reorganized and considerably strengthened by the creation of two new appointments, one for Mathematics and the other for Economics. These posts were filled by Sailes Chandra Chakravarty, M.Sc., and Dhiren Chandra Roy Chowdhury, M.A., both of whom joined the institution in July, 1929. Bhupati Charan Chakravarty (Sanskrit) tendered his resignation in August, 1929, and B. W. Tucker (English) went on leave in February. Nagendra Nath Chowdhury of the Vidyabhavana (*Research Institute*) and Nalin Behari Mitra, late of the Asutosh College, Calcutta, were appointed respectively to the vacant posts.

The present staff consists of Nepal Chandra Ray, B.A., Probhat Kumar Mukherji (History); Nalin Chandra Ganguly, M.A. (Birm.), Pramadarajan Ghosh, M.A., B.T. (Philosophy); Amiya Chandra Chakravarty, M.A., Sri Chandra Sen, M.A., Nalin Behari Mitra, M.A. (English); Kshitimohan Sen, M.A., Nitaibinode Goswamy, Kavyatirtha Sutravisarad, etc., Nagendra Nath Chowdhury, M.A., Mrs. Sudhamoyee Mukherjee, B.A. (Sanskrit, Pali and Bengali); Sailes Chandra Chakraverty, M.Sc., Dhiren Chandra Ray Chowdhry, M.A., Rathindranath Tagore, B.Sc. (Illinois), Rai Saheb Jagadananda Ray, Sachindranath Mukherjee, M.Sc., Santosh Behari Bose, L.Ag. (Labour) (Botany, Physics and Chemistry); F. Benoit, V. Trapp (French & German); Gourgopal Ghosh, B.Sc., Trigunananda Ray, B.Sc. (Demonstrators).

Students.—In December, 1929 the number on the roll was 50 (37 Boys and 13 Girls) against 15 in 1928. Class by class the number of students stands thus:—Ist. Year—23, IIInd. Year 12, IIIrd. Year—15; total 50. The IVth. Year class could not be opened owing to the discontinuance of the IIIrd. Year class in the previous session.

Four boys are studying for the Visva-Bharati Madhya (Mid-Collegiate) examination, and three students of the last year have become eligible to sit for the Upadhi (Diploma) Examination of the Visva-Bharati. In the B. A. examination of the Calcutta University one of our boys secured IIInd. class honours, and one girl passed in the pass course. Among the I. A. Candidates one was placed in the first division and one in the second.

PATHA-BHAVANA.

E. W. Ariam was in charge of the Pathabhanan (Santiniketan School) throughout the year. We give below extracts from his report:—

General Progress.—The year under review has been one of steady development and all-round progress. The Founder-President took great pains to create among the members of the staff a real enthusiasm for his ideals and his system of education; he directed the work in detail, daily devoting a considerable part of his valuable time and energy for this purpose.

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There has been a marked improvement in the general tone and atmosphere of work and play among teachers and students. We have received many encouraging letters from guardians expressing their satisfaction with the progress shown by their wards.

Self-government is a special feature in the training of students. In order to develop their sense of responsibility and to make them participate in the different activities of the Asrama, an Asrama Sammilani Office was started through the activities of the students, and has been run entirely by them. This has worked very satisfactorily. Manual training received special attention and good progress was made in Carpentry, Weaving, and Gardening. A number of exhibitions of the work of the students were held and were greatly appreciated. Classes in music, vocal and instrumental, were regularly held. Two teachers were engaged to teach the students, especially the girls, Manipuri dances, and the progress has been very satisfactory. Every effort was made to give the students first hand experience of village problems through regular organized visits to Sriniketan, the Institute of Rural Reconstruction. The senior students paid a number of visits to Ballavpur, a centre of rural reconstruction work, and got practical experience in rural economic survey and reconstruction.

Staff.—Early in the year Bhupatinath Chakravarti was appointed a teacher in Bengali and Sanskrit. In July Nitaibinode Goswami of the College Department was taken on the school staff, and Bhupatinath Chakravarti was transferred to the College Department. Satyajiban Pal, who had gone on leave for six months, rejoined after the summer vacation. We were also glad to welcome back on our staff Narendranath Nandy after a year's absence. Tejes Chandra Sen went away after the Puja vacation on six months' leave.

The present Staff consists of Pramadaranjan Ghosh, M.A., B.T., E. W. Ariam, M.A., B.Ed., Jagadananda Ray, Tanayendranath Ghosh, M.A., Haricharan Banerji, Vidyavinode, Nitaibinode Goswamy, Kavyatirtha, Sutravisarad, Hemabala Sen, B.A., Biswanath Mukherji, B.Sc., Satyajiban Pal, B.A., B.T., Anathnath Bose, B.A., Jagannath Prasad Milind, Prafulla Kumar Das Gupta, M.Sc., Nripendranath Dutta, Nagendranath Aich.

Students.—The average number of students for the year was 140, practically the same as last year. There were 48 withdrawals and 48 new admissions. The number in the Sishubibhaga (Children's Section) has been steadily rising, and it is our hope that before long we shall have not less than 100 children in this department alone. Tanayendranath Ghosh continued to be in charge of this department throughout the year.

KALA-BHAVANA (SCHOOL OF ART).

Nanda Lal Bose was in charge of the Kala-bhavana throughout the year.

New Buildings.—The most important event of the year has been the removal of the school to the new buildings especially constructed for the Kala-bhavana. The plans and estimates of the buildings were prepared by Surendranath Kar, a member of the staff, and approved by Rai Amarnath Das Bahadur and Mr. Dharani Kumar Bose, Honorary Consulting Engineers to the Visva-Bharati. The Samsad allotted Rs. 30,000/- out of the Kala-bhavana Fund for the construction of the buildings, and later on a further sum of Rs. 3,000/- out of the same fund for furniture and equipment. This left a balance of Rs. 71,007-1-9 as a permanent fund for the maintenance of the Kala-bhavana. The income from this fund is however not adequate for the maintenance of the institution, and fresh donations are urgently required for this purpose.

The main building has been designed to serve the purpose of a museum. The art collection was removed there from the library building, and all the paintings, archaeological specimens, and examples of art-crafts have been carefully catalogued. The want of furniture, however, stood in the way of their proper display for purposes of study.

The students have been provided with three separate buildings to be used as studios. Of these, one is available for the women students, the others for men. During the current year the need for accommodating the clay modelling section became so pressing that a new shed, which was not provided for in the original plan, had to be constructed.

The Founder-President wishes the whole group of the Kala-bhavana buildings to be known as "Nandayan". The inauguration ceremony was held during the Pous Utsava.

Methods of Instruction.—In our method of instruction chief emphasis is laid on studio-work. Students are given individual attention by the teachers in turns. It is also our constant aim and effort to explore the possibilities of imparting to the students, according to their abilities, a knowledge of allied arts and crafts besides the usual instruction in painting and modelling.

Students.—At present nineteen boys and six girls are taking the regular course of instruction. This is the third batch of students we have had. We also have occasional students (both boys and girls) coming to us from the College and School Departments for drawing and embroidery.

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Nine of the students left the Kala-bhavana this year, of whom the following five completed the full course of instruction :—

- (1) Sukumar Deuskar proceeded to Europe for art studies in Italy :
- (2) Sobhagmal Gelhot shortly proceeding to England for further study :
- (3) Sudhir Ranjan Khastagir studying Bronze-casting in Madras :
- (4) Gosto Behari Singha Roy, appointed a teacher in a school at Auragarh :
- (5) Ramkinkar Baij working independently as an artist.

Among the first batch of our students who received the complete course of instruction, Dhirendra Krishna Deb Barman has gone to England with a State scholarship for further study ; Srimati Hati Singh is studying in Germany ; Satyendranath Banerjee, Mani Bhushan Gupta, Karmbhai Desai are teaching in Karachi and Ahmedabad ; Ardhendu P. Banerjee and Bir Bhadra Chitra are working independently ; P. Hariharan is giving his services to Sriniketan ; while Vinayak Masoji, Benode Behari Mukerjee and Sukumari Debi are now serving in the Kala-bhavana. Ramendranath Chakravarty, who was a teacher here, is now the Assistant Headmaster in the Government School of Art in Calcutta.

Exhibitions.—Works from our school were exhibited in numerous parts of the country : Delhi, Allahabad, Calcutta, Nagpur, Mysore, Madras, and Masulipattam. In Santiniketan several small exhibitions were organized from time to time in which displays of wood-block printings, clay-modelling and embroidered works were shown. These exhibitions brought the visitors and the residents of the place into a closer contact with the activities of the Kala-bhavana. In June last we arranged, for the first time, a public exhibition in the Town Hall, Darjeeling, which was very kindly opened by Sir P. C. Mitter. The success of the Darjeeling exhibition has given us confidence, and we hope to organize other public exhibitions in future.

Other activities.—One of the regular features of our activities is to help in the organization of the festivals of the Asrama, such as the Full-moon, the New-moon, the "Dol-Purnima" (The Spring Festival), "Varsha-Mangal" (The Festival of the Rains), "Briksha-Ropan" (the Arbour Day), "Sítá-Yajna" (the Ploughing Day). This year the services of the Kala-bhavana were also utilized in the production of the "Tapati" in Calcutta for four successive days in September. In this connexion we acknowledge our debt of gratitude to Srimati Pratima Devi who rendered valuable help to us.

Visitors.—We have had the pleasure of receiving numerous visitors during the year of whom many were artists and art-critics. They came from various parts of India, Great Britain and the Continents of Europe

and America. Their keen interest, intelligent sympathy and appreciation of our efforts have been a great stimulus to the students as well as to the members of the staff. We take this opportunity of recording our sincere appreciation of the help and encouragement given by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore. During his stay at Santiniketan he came into intimate personal contact with the members of the Kala-bhavana, and his illuminating discourses and criticisms have given them a deeper insight into the nature of their work.

We are grateful to Mr. O. C. Ganguly, for giving an illustrated lecture on the various schools of Indian painting, which clearly brought out the inner significance of the growth of the present school of art. We also gratefully acknowledge his gift of a copy of "Rajput Painting". The visit of Messrs. N. C. Mehta and K. Venkatachana, and their lectures on Indian art were also very much appreciated.

Mrs. Millward (a pupil of the famous sculptor Bourdelle) stayed at Santiniketan for a few months. Her willing assistance in the clay modelling class, and her illustrated lectures on modern European Sculpture were of great help in developing this new section.

Mr. Childe, a French artist of the Modern School, made a close study of the work in our institution. What impressed him most was the fresco painting and the method of instruction. In a letter, written at the end of his Indian tour, he says that, among the new movements of art, our school appeared to him to possess the most liberal outlook. He has very kindly presented to us some reproductions of European Fresco paintings.

We acknowledge our debt of gratitude to other friends and visitors whose interest and sympathy we have deeply appreciated, but the individual mention of whose names space does not permit.

Nandalal Bose concludes his report with the following words:—"As I conclude, I cannot help enumerating some of the difficulties which hamper our work. Funds are urgently needed for furniture, show-cases, art books and art specimens, to enable us to arrange the art collection in a systematic manner. We are unable to utilize fully the materials we have in hand for lack of proper display. The work of the students and the staff would be facilitated if they could be accommodated in separate hostels attached to the Kala-bhavana. A few endowed scholarships are also urgently needed for our students. We look forward with hope to such of our countrymen as are seriously interested in the progress of Art studies in India."

LIBRARY.

The Visva-Bharati Library comprises the following sections :—

(1) General Library at Santiniketan, (2) Manuscript Library, (3) Art Library, (4) Sriniketan Library, and (5) Tibetan Library.

Administration.—The Visva-Bharati Library was in charge of Probhat Kumar Mookerjee, who was assisted in the General Library at Santiniketan by S. C. Mukherjee, in the Art Library by B. Mukherjee, and in the Sriniketan Library by S. Das Gupta. Since the resignation of Pandit Ayyaswami in 1927 no appointment has been made for the MSS. section for want of funds. The Tibetan Library was in charge of Lama Ngo Drub.

Number of Books.—The total number of books on the 31st October, 1929 was 36,639, including General 32,347, V. Sastri's Library 948, Vakil's Library 200, and Manuscripts 3,144. There was an increase of about 1,305 books only during the year under report. Besides the above, the number of unbound periodicals, journals and pamphlets would come to about three thousand or more.

Accessions.—The general accession this year was comparatively poor. The most notable gift that we received was a collection of German classics from Germany, which included several rare editions of German authors, and a copy of the Dictionary of German Language by Grimms, a work which was begun in 1854, but is not yet complete, and which already comprises a large number of volumes of closely printed pages. We also received publications and journals from the Dutch Government of Java, the French Government of Indo-China, the Government of Siam and the Soviet Government of Russia.

The archæological department of the Ceylon Government sent us its report, and we received certain official publications from the Government of India and Bengal.

The States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Cochin, and Baroda continued to send their publications.

The Universities of Calcutta, Allahabad, Madras, Bombay and Patna sent their publications regularly.

Several public bodies continued to send us their publications ; among these, the Sastu Sahitya Bardhak Society of Ahmedabad, Ahamadia Anjuman of Lahore and Madras, Sahitya Parishat of Bengal, Andhra Research Society, the Mythic Society, and several German societies may be mentioned. Recently our connexion with the Society of Friends in England and America through Nalin Chandra Ganguly has opened another

avenue and we received a large number of books from different Societies of Friends abroad.

A most notable gift received this year was the magnificent collection of books sent by Mr. Praimatha Chaudhury of Calcutta. It is a very valuable collection and the best thanks of the Visva-Bharati are due to him.

The Library owes a deep debt of gratitude to the Founder-President who not only presented a large number of books but subscribed for all the foreign periodicals in the Library. Mr. C. F. Andrews, who has been away from Santiniketan for some months, has always kept the Library in his mind, and we received several big parcels of books from England and America containing books which he personally collected from among his friends. It is not possible to thank all the donors individually, but we take this opportunity of conveying our best thanks to the following persons :—Mr. Puran Chand Nahar who completed the Abhidhana Rajendra by presenting the last two volumes ; Srimati Anurupa Devi who gave a complete set of her works ; Messrs Jagadananda Roy, Kartick Chandra Das-Gupta, Ramananda Chatterjee and J. T. Sunderland.

Issues.—The number of books issued during 1929 was about 12,000, of which about 6,500 were issued to students for study at home.

Seminary Rooms.—In December, 1928 the Kalabhavana Museum and Studios were removed to the new building, and the rooms in the upper storey of the Library Building became available for the Library. They have been arranged as seminary rooms in the following subjects for use by the research workers of the Vidya-Bhavana :—(1) Sanskrit, (2) Tibetan, (3) Mahabharata Collection work, (4) Buddhist and Jain, (5) Arabic and Persian, (6) Chinese, and (7) Philosophy.

The MSS. Library has also been transferred to the first floor.

The Art Library is now accommodated in the new building of the Kalabhavana, and is in charge of Prabhatkumar Mukherjee who is also the curator of the General Library. The Library at Sriniketan contains mainly books on Agriculture and Rural Economics. The Village Circulating Library at Sriniketan however does not form a part of this library, but belongs to the Village Work Department there.

RESIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENTS.

Sreebhavana.—With the completion of the Birla-Kuthi at a total cost of Rs. 40,000/- approximately a long felt want has been removed. The whole of the Girls' Hostel which used to be scattered over four small buildings was removed to the Birla-Kuthi in December, 1929. The new building is a large two storied house with extensive grounds of its own, and is equipped with all conveniences.

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The number of boarders at the end of 1929 was 47 of whom 40 came from Bengal, 2 from Madras, 1 from U. P., 1 from Gujerat and 3 from Ceylon. The distribution according to departments was:—School 26, College 12, Kalabhavana 9.

Miss Hembala Sen was in charge as the Lady Superintendent practically throughout the year.

Kitchen.—There was a marked improvement in the kitchen administration during the year. The deficit for the year's working was only nominal as compared with past annual deficits ranging between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 2,500. Early in the year Rs. 1,200 was spent in purchasing paddy to be turned into rice for the kitchen. This step not only proved economical but was extremely helpful in another direction. While Beri-beri broke out in an epidemic form in the neighbourhood of Santiniketan, in fact throughout the districts of Birbhum and Burdwan, Santiniketan remained wholly free from the disease. The use of fresh and home made rice was probably a factor of great importance in this connexion.

There was a great improvement in the quality of the food, and arrangements were made for obtaining a regular supply of good oil and ghee. Provision was also made for supplying non-vegetarian diet for those who were used to such food at home. The supply of milk and vegetables was considerably increased.

Sasthya-vibhaga.—The Pearson Memorial Hospital consists of an outdoor dispensary and an indoor department with accommodation for 12 patients. One portion of the building was completed last year at a cost of about Rs. 14,000, and during the year under review furniture and equipments were provided to the value of about Rs. 3,000. A sum of Rs. 12,000 is urgently required for completing the remaining portion of the building and for additional equipments.

The number of cases treated in the outdoor and indoor departments of the hospital during the period October, 1928 to September, 1929 was also 2608 and 288 respectively. The number of cases increased slightly in comparison with last year's figures, both in the outdoor and the indoor departments. There were 308 cases of fever, 12 cases of chicken-pox, 3 cases of pneumonia, 6 cases of beri-beri, the remaining cases being of diarrhoea, dysentry, bowel troubles, ear, nose and throat troubles, conjunctivitis, cuts, bruises, thorn pricks, boils, small abscesses and minor skin diseases. Of the fever cases the majority were due to malaria, and a few to influenza. These malaria cases were generally imported ones, students and inmates bringing the infection from outside. This was clearly shown by the fact that most of the cases occurred among students who had gone home during the Puja holidays and returned to the school after the vacation. The chicken-pox cases were also due to infection from outside. One student came with the disease, and infected 5 other students before the spread of the disease was checked by opening a

segregation ward. Unhealthy throat and enlarged tonsils were common among both boys and girls.

The general health of the inmates was quite satisfactory. They regularly vaccinated every year ; boys and girls are thoroughly examined once in each term, and their weights and heights are recorded monthly.

Sports.—As usual the students took great interest in sports games which included foot-ball, cricket, badminton and tennis. During the foot-ball season six matches were played with visiting teams out of which three were won by the Santiniketan team and one game drawn.

Jujitsu.—The Founder-President during his recent visit to Japan was able to secure, for a period of two years, the services of Mr. Nobuyoshi Takagaki, a distinguished exponent of Jujitsu (known in Japan as Ju-Jutsu). Mr. Takagaki was formerly Japanese State-scholar at the University of British Columbia, and before coming out to India held the post of Ju-Jitsu teacher at the Nippon University and at the House of Representatives (Japanese Parliament). He is a qualified medical practitioner of Ju-Jitsu form, and is a member of the Advisory Committee of Kodokwan which is the official training centre in Japan. At present there are very few men with his qualifications even in Japan.

A new gymnasium was built and properly equipped for the Ju-Jitsu classes. Mr. Takagaki joined the institution in November, 1929, and immediately started his classes. The progress made during the short period has been most encouraging. An outstanding feature has been the interest and progress shown by girl students.

Arrangements have been made to hold special classes for the benefit of students coming from Calcutta and other places.

Power House.—We regret to have to report that the storage battery has run down and is likely to go out of order in the near future. It will not be very long before the existing plant becomes inadequate for our growing needs, and the whole question of the electric installation will require careful consideration at an early date.

SRINIKETAN.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Rathindranath Tagore remained in charge of the institution during the year under review.

The Sriniketan Samiti met 8 times during the year, and the attendance of members was satisfactory.

Kalimohan Ghosh, Premchand Lal, Santosh Behari Bose, and Gour Gopal Ghosh were appointed Superintendents in charge of Village Welfare, Education, Agriculture and Industry departments respectively. Premchand Lal was granted study leave for two years for further studies in England. He left India in August, and joined the University of Leeds, where he is taking a course on Education. Kalimohan Ghosh officiated in his place temporarily.

General Progress. The year under review showed signs of great activity and all round development.

Land Development. The whole of the land comprising seven hundred acres, which the Government of Bengal had acquired on behalf of the Visva-Bharati, finally came into our possession in February, 1929. It was rather late in the season, and arrangements were made very hurriedly to lay out the fields and cultivate as much as possible for growing a fodder crop. About 25 families of Santal labourers were given a plot of land to the east of Cheap's Kuthi for starting a Santal Settlement. These new settlers together with the Santal inhabitants of the 3 villages which came into our possession by the Land Acquisition were allotted about 200 bighas of the Khoai and low land for the cultivation of paddy. These paddy fields are expected to yield a good income after three years. A Fordson Tractor was purchased, and with its help about 300 bighas of high land unfit for paddy cultivation were ploughed up and sown with fodder-seed. A new road was constructed connecting Sriniketan with Cheap's Kuthi, and giving access to most of our newly laid out fields. Rs. 700/- approximately were spent for the above purposes.

As Land-Acquisition reference cases are likely to continue for some time it was decided to transfer the services of Purna Chandra Bagchi, Land-Acquisition Overseer, to Sriniketan. He is also helping in the laying out of the newly acquired land.

Capital Expenditure. Over Rs. 25,000/- practically the whole of the cash balance to the credit of Sriniketan was spent during the course of the year for the construction of new buildings and for the equipment of the workshop and laboratories. Chief items are given below.

The roof of the old industry building was reconstructed at a cost of Rs. 11,000. It will accommodate the Weaving section, the Tannery, the Carpentry, the Power House, the Machine Shop etc. Three staff quarters cost Rs. 5,800, and one servants' quarter Rs. 750. The main gate with boundary-walls was repaired at a cost of Rs. 2,400, and Rs. 1,500 was spent for the electric installation, Rs. 1,100 for the Carpentry and the Smithy, Rs. 700 for the laboratory, Rs. 500 for the Power-plant, Rs. 1,000 for furniture and school equipment, and Rs. 700 for land development. A Fordson Tractor was also purchased for Rs. 3,000.

New Section. A Crafts Section was opened last year. It includes Lacquer Work, artistic Book-binding, Pottery, Leather embroidery etc. It has already made good progress. The Chemistry, Physics, and Botany laboratories were equipped for holding practical classes for regular students as well as for light analytic work. The installation of the Power House and the laying out of Mechanical Workshops were also completed. A set of Meteorological instruments were purchased, and regular observations have been started. The starting of the Brati-Balak Magazine devoted to scout work at the beginning of this year by the Village Work Department also marks an important advance.

New appointments. With the opening of many new sections a number of new appointments were made during the year under review. The most important of them are :—

Sachindranath Mukherjee—Science Laboratories.

Subodh Chandra Sarkar—Foreman, Workshop and Power House.

Satish Chandra Roy—Siksha-Satra.

Tarak Chandra Dhar—Siksha-Satra.

Sriniketan Library. The Sriniketan Library was in charge of Sudhindra Kumar Sen. Proper accommodation of the Library was a great problem this year ; and the Library had to be removed three times during the course of the last 12 months, and is at present located in one of the ground floor rooms of the main building. The total number of volumes at the end of the year was about 1000 ; they were catalogued and properly arranged during the year under review. Several important periodicals both foreign and Indian, and two daily papers are kept on the Reading Room Table.

Sriniketan Observatory. The work was started with a number of instruments lent by the Indian Meteorological Department in February 1929. Manindra Chandra Roy was sent to Alipore for training, and after the completion of his course he was placed in charge of this work and was recognised by the Department as an Auxiliary Observer. Daily observations are being sent to the Alipore Observatory, and we receive "The Daily Weather Report" of the Calcutta Meteorological Office free of cost.

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We have at present the following instruments in the observatory :— Mercurial Barometer (Fortin Type), Dry Bulb Thermometer, Wet Bulb Thermometer, Maximum Thermometer, Minimum Thermometer (all these lent by the Calcutta Meteorological Office), Barograph, Wind Vane, Anemometer, Stevenson Screen and Rain Gauge.

Non-instrumental observations are also recorded regularly. Our best thanks are due to Mr. V. V. Sohoni, Meteorologist, Calcutta, for his kind help and co-operation.

Utsavas. The Foundation Day festival in February, 1929 was very successful. In co-operation with the Visva-Bharati Central Co-operative Bank, a Divisional Co-operative Conference was held at Sriniketan on the 9th and 10th of February to discuss the problems of rural welfare. The Conference was opened by our Pratisthata-Acharya who gave an inspiring address on the Philosophy of Co-operation. It was presided over by Sir Daniel Hamilton who delivered a lecture on "India's Best Hope" dealing therein with the pressing economic problems of the villagers and their remedy through co-operative organisations. He rightly said "If Co-operation fails the only hope of all India will fail."

An Exhibition was also organised in connexion with the Conference. The Exhibition grounds and the sheds were artistically decorated, and the activities of the various departments were fully illustrated. A practical demonstration of irrigation by engines and pumps was given on the experimental farm. A Mela was also organised in this connexion ; and it attracted many thousands of visitors from neighbouring and distant villages.

The Hala-Karsana Utsava (Festival of Tilling the soil) was very successful. Our Pratisthata-Acharya took a leading part in this ceremony and all the inmates of Santiniketan spent the day at Sriniketan as its guests.

Visitors. Among the many visitors to the institution the following names may be specially mentioned :—Messrs. S. B. Dey and P. B. Dey (Calcutta), Dr. G. H. Vander Wolff (Java), Srimati Kamala Devi Chattopadhyay (Mangalore), Srimati Bharati A. Sarabhai (Ahmedabad), Messrs. Suhrid Chandra Sarabhai (Ahmedabad), E. C. P. Roger and T. W. Roger (Calcutta), Srimati Mira Bai (Miss Slade of Sabarmati), Srimati K. D. Rukminiaurma (Mysore), Messrs. Duong Van Giao (Saigou, Indo-China), R. Arnold Brown (Paisley, Scotland), Baron Von Koeniger (Germany), Mr. and Mrs. Johnson (Calcutta), Mr. and Mrs. C. L. Singh (Chicago), Messrs. D. F. Modi (Calcutta), Surendranarayan Sinha and Pannalal Sinha (Jiagunj), Nagindas P. Desai (Porbunder), D. N. Wadia (Geological Survey of India), and Ziauddin Ahmed (Aligarh).

Mr. A. T. Weston, Director of Industries, Bengal, visited the institution on the 18th July, 1929. He was much impressed with the Industrial

Section and assured us of his support for further development. We hope to receive material support and co-operation from the Industries Department of the Government of Bengal in the near future. Mr. C. G. B. Stevens, District Magistrate and Collector of Birbhum, took great interest in the activities of the Institution. He visited Sriniketan more than once, and has helped us in many ways.

VILLAGE WELFARE.

The activities of the Village Welfare Department may be broadly grouped under the heads :—

- (a) Organisation: Brati-Balak (Boy Scouts), Mahila Samities (Women's Associations).
- (b) Education: Night Schools, Girls' School, Rural Library, Village Lectures, Training Camps etc.
- (c) Health and Reconstruction: Village Health Societies, Anti-Malaria Work, Village Survey, Village Reconstruction Work.

Brati-Balak. The number of Brati-Balaks (Boy Scouts) in the neighbouring villages rose from 190 to 250 with the formation of new batches during the year.

The Bolpore group started a Co-operative Store and managed it entirely by themselves. The membership at the end of the year was 70 with a capital of Rs. 300/-. The generous donations given by Messrs. Naraindas Bajoria and Rathindranath Tagore have provided them with a suitable building for the store.

A nursing section has also been started. The boys collected small donations from the local people to meet the expenses for nursing the poor, the sick and the cripple.

They have a small Circulating Library which receives its supply of books from Sriniketan.

The Brati-Balaks co-operated with Sriniketan Volunteers to look after the health and welfare of the Melas at Kankalitala and Muluk. They are also receiving training and experience in Village Welfare Work under the leadership of B. N. Chatterji.

The Annual Rally. The Annual Rally was held on the 9th of February and was attended by 250 Brati-Balaks from Bolpore, Labpur, Suri and Sultanpur. In the Annual Sports the Victory Flag was won this year by the Bolpore group, and the prizes were very kindly given away by Lady Hamilton. An exhibition of Brati-Balak handi-work was also organised at the same time.

Mahila Samities (Women's Association). Two Mahila Samities (Women's Associations) were started in Surul and Ballavpore under the

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guidance of Srimati Nanibala Roy who visited both the centres regularly and gave instructions in sewing, cutting, child welfare and maternity work. The number of members in Surul was twelve and in Ballavpore six. They made satisfactory progress and all of them can now deal with first-aid and emergency cases.

Night School. The number of schools maintained during the year was 8 with 178 pupils. The boys are taught games, physical culture, gardening, weaving and nature study along with general knowledge, reading and writing. Two schools had to be closed for want of funds.

Sriniketan Girls' School. The school has made steady progress in spite of various obstacles during the last six years. The total number of pupils is at present 52 and there are two mistresses, Srimati Nanibala Roy and Srimati Mirchand Kasahara. Arrangements are in force for giving a thorough practical training in sewing, cutting (dress making), drawing, gardening, and household duties besides imparting instruction in reading and writing. An encouraging feature is the good use made of the Circulating Library by the pupils.

Sriniketan Rural Library. There are 450 books in the Library at present. It has two branches in Raipore and Bolpore, with which it exchanges books. During the year 729 issues of books were recorded in the fifteen neighbouring villages.

Village Lectures. 26 lectures were given in 19 villages during the year on such topics as Ramayana, the life of Chaitanya, Co-operation, Health and Hygiene, the work of Sriniketan and Santiniketan. The total number of villagers who attended these lectures was nearly 6000.

Training Camps. As usual a Training Camp was arranged during the Puja holidays, and was attended by 10 delegates from Howrah, Hoogly, Birbhum, Tipperah, Murshidabad and Goalpara (Assam). The number of delegates trained so far is 122.

Another Training Camp was organised with the help of the Bengal Co-operative Organization Society, and was attended by 12 Supervisors of the Co-operative Central Bank of the Burdwan Division.

The subjects studied were:—(1) Scout Organization, (2) Cottage Craft, (3) First Aid, (4) Elementary Agriculture, (5) Co-operative and Village Organization etc.

General talks were also given by Dr. Dharendra Mohan Sen (The Child Mind and Mental Fatigue) and Mr. Hiran Kumar Sanyal (Co-operative Work), and a lantern lecture by Rai Saheb K. P. Roy (of the Bengal Govt. Health Department) on Food in Bengal Homes.

Sriniketan Dispensary. Jitendra Chandra Chakravarty, M.B. was in charge throughout the year. 6,760 patients were treated from 114

different villages. Of these 3,004 were members and 3,756 non-members of the Health Societies, and 3,023 patients received free treatment. The number of malaria cases was 2,836 of which 1,517 were among members. The number of surgical cases was 1,223.

Aruna-Amita Nursing. Mr. Sisir Kumar Basu of Sabour, Economic Botanist to the Government of Bihar & Orissa, gave a donation of Rs. 10,000/- in 1927 to form an endowment in memory of his two daughters to be called after them the "Aruna and Amita Endowment." The donor desired that the income out of this fund should be utilised for providing medical relief in the villages by the free distribution of medicine and diet, and if possible, by free nursing of the sick, and also such relief as may be given at the homes of those sufferers whose sense of self-respect prevents them from attending charitable dispensaries and hospitals.

During the year the worker Abani Mukhopadhyaya attended 739 patients in their own homes in 25 different villages. The cases attended to were of pneumonia, bronchitis, typhoid, mumps, gangrene and phthisis. Besides nursing, he also looked after the feeding of the patients. Eighty-six demonstrations in nursing were also arranged in the different villages.

Village Survey. The Rural Survey of Raipur was completed during the year, and the report will be published at an early date. Rural Surveys of Goalpara, Bandhgora, Bhubandanga are also progressing.

VILLAGE RECONSTRUCTION.

In view of the great importance of the Reconstruction Work in villages, we give below a full account of the work done in Ballavpore during the last 5 years (1925-1929).

BALLAVPORE.

Hemanta Kumar Sarkar is in charge of this village which is one of the most successful centres of Village Welfare Work in Bengal. About a hundred years ago this village was very prosperous and had a population of 500 families which has now dwindled to only 23 families. The decay of the old traditional culture and want of proper education were important factors aggravated by malaria and poverty.

Village Survey. A thorough survey of the village was completed in 1924-25.

Progress of Work. Work was begun in this village in 1925. A Co-operative Health and Rural Reconstruction Society was formed, and was registered on the 10th November of the same year. We give below a summary record of the activities year by year.

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1925—Only Health Work.

1926 & 1927—Health Work, Rural Survey, Night School.

1928—Rural Bank, Weaving, Women's Association, Rabindra Sevasram.

1929—Morning School, Brati-Balak Troop, Arbitration Panchayat.

The total population in 1926 was 84, and is at present 91.

Sanitation. In the year under report 272 yds. of new drains were opened ; 18 Dobas were filled up ; 3,600 feet of drains were cleaned twice, and 1½ Bighas of Jungle was cleared.

Up till now 2,829 feet of new road have been constructed, and 6,716 feet of drains have been opened. Every year the roads are repaired and the drains cleaned. 11½ Bighas of Jungles have been cleared.

Medicine. The inhabitants obtain medicine from the Village Welfare Dispensary at a flat rate of 1 anna per phial, and only Re. 1/- is charged for the visit of the doctor. This year three families were treated free, while the other families paid at the above rate.

Anti-malarial Work. 6,682 grains of quinine were distributed in 1929 against 8,428 in 1928. 31 Dobas were kerosinized with 32 lbs. of Kerosine.

In the year under review the percentage of cases from malaria among those who took quinine was 33 as against 17·3 in 1928, 18·0 in 1927, 52 in 1926 and 85 in 1925. The incidence among those who did not take quinine was 52·6 in 1929.

The following facts account for the unsatisfactory increase in the malaria rate :—

(a) The gradual decrease in the number of cases of malaria during the previous years created the mistaken impression among the people that there was no more danger from malaria. This led to a discontinuance of the practice of taking quinine regularly in the year under report, as many as 16 persons taking no quinine at all.

(b) All the dobabs and tanks could not be kerosinized, as some of these are still surrounded by thick jungles. The village could not therefore be made completely free from breeding places.

(c) Most of the people are too poor to use mosquito curtains.

Of the 52 persons who suffered from malaria, 5 suffered for 1 day, 4 for 2 days, 3 for 3 days, 2 for 3 days, 4 for 4 days, 7 for 5 days, 6 for 6 days, and 23 persons suffered for more than 6 days. But the reduction of cases in the 1st week of December was very hopeful, there being only 3 cases in the whole village.

We are very thankful to the Health Officer and the District Board for granting the Society Rs. 100/- for Anti-Malaria work. But un-

fortunately the money came too late to help in the work of the year; it will be very useful next year.

Vaccination. 48 persons were vaccinated against small-pox.

Maternity-work. Four Dais were trained in 1927. This year one of them has successfully attended calls from 8 villages within a radius of 5 miles.

Snakes and Snake-bite. In the last 4 years the greater part of the village has been cleared of jungles, and snakes took refuge in neighbouring houses. This year 4 snakes were killed by digging them out from the walls and floors of the houses of members; one from the bedside of a member at midnight, and more than 50 were killed when cleaning jungles. Some of these were poisonous including many *Kharish Chitti* and *Domkas*.

There were two snake-bite cases this year, both of whom were successfully treated with medicine. There was another case at the dead of night in the Santal Palli one mile away; unfortunately the news came to us too late, and in spite of our efforts we failed to save the patient.

Our thanks are due to Dr. P. Banerji of Mihijam for his kind gift of 2 phials of Lexin for this village.

Education. A night school was started in 1926 with 10 students on the roll. This year the number was 12. All the students can now read and write.

A morning school was also started this year, which is attended by 17 boys and girls from the two neighbouring villages. The boys have a little kitchen garden, the products of which are distributed among themselves. They had a garden festival this year.

Stories from the Ramayana and other tales were told to the children. Elementary lessons in Geography concerning this village, the Birbhum district and the Burdwan division were given to them.

The District Board sanctioned a monthly grant of Rs. 2/- for each of the two schools.

Brati-Balaks. All the boy students of the school are Brati-Balaks and learned Brati-Balak games and drills. They are also being taught to wield the *Lathi* (stick) as weapon of offence and defence.

The Brati-Balaks help in kerosining the *dobas* and in the distribution of Quinine. They have also cleaned jungles, opened drains and tried to fill up a *doba*. Some of them were taught to sing the songs of the Poet.

Adult Education. 14 meetings of the Reconstruction Society were held during the year. 3 lantern lectures delivered, one on small-pox epidemic, another on Co-operation and the third on the history and geographical situation of India dealt with in an elementary way. Up till now 10 Lantern lectures have been delivered altogether. The second

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canto of the Ramayana was read out to the members, and evening talks given to them on the following subjects:—The geographical situation of Birbhum, Burdwan division, Bengal, and India; food, air, sunshine, drinking water, and milk; general health; precautions to be taken in time of Cholera and Small-pox epidemics; Irrigation Society, Co-operative Stores and introduction of new crops in the fields.

All the villagers, irrespective of caste and creed, joined on one occasion in Nagar Sankirtan procession round the village.

Ten books were issued to the villagers from the circulating library.

Arbitration. A *panchait* society has been formed this year and 5 cases have been settled by it. The society has also been the means of consolidating the work of the Samiti.

Bank. A Co-operative Credit Society was organised and registered on the 10th January, 1928. On the 6th November, 1928 its working capital was Rs. 1,964-14-6, with a membership of 18. At the end of October, 1929 its working capital increased to Rs. 5,596-5-10, and the membership to 20.

Last year the members borrowed Rs. 1,950/- to clear their debts, to improve the soil, to buy cattle for cultivation; to meet household expenses and to re-excavate tanks. This year they borrowed Rs. 1,500/- for practically the same purposes. They are also learning to save by making deposits, the amount in deposit at present being Rs. 43-15-0.

Fields & Garden. Mustard has been introduced in the fields, and tomato in the garden for the first time in this village, as a result of evening talks. One member has planted cotton and banana on the bank of a tank with great success; he is making a decent income out of it. Another member has grown brinjals and potatoes in nearly 1½ Bighas of land, which used to be left uncultivated in winter in other years. Twelve members (in the place of nine last year) made small vegetable garden in their houses.

Tanks, Irrigation & Fishery. Four tanks were re-excavated last year, and were filled with rain-water. Two of them are irrigation tanks, and their water was used for irrigating the fields.

Last year rupees forty worth of fish was put in the tanks; this year rupees fifteen worth of fish was again put in. In one year the fish grew from 8 chattachs to 12 chattachs in average weight.

Weaving School. A weaving school was started in 1928 with one loom. This year another loom was added. Two young men are working on the looms and producing fine *sharis* and decorated *chaddars*, which were much appreciated by the public. Yarn is being dyed in 6 different colours, all of them fast. Seven boys have been taught the preliminary works of weaving.

This section is suffering seriously for want of funds, and was almost coming to a stop in September, when a loom was found and the work was resumed. If sufficient funds are available, the problem of the extreme poverty of the local cultivators may be solved to some extent by teaching them the art of weaving and making it a source of supplementary income. We are glad to report that the District Board has recently sanctioned a monthly grant of Rs. 10/- for the weaving school.

Tanning. One person has learnt tanning at Sriniketan. It was our desire to assist him to set up as a muchi in the village, and gradually teach tanning to the other 6 families of his caste. We could not do this however for want of funds.

Poultry. An attempt was made to introduce Poultry-keeping in the village this year, and work was actually started. It did not progress however owing to certain difficulties.

The Brahmins predominate in the village ; as the Muchis and Doms who started poultry-keeping lived near them, the birds strayed into the houses of the Brahmins. This was very much resented by the Brahmins. Besides this, the birds caused some damage to paddy grains and the straw thatchings to the cottages.

Women's Association. Members of this Association have learnt tailoring and needle-work, and made all the garments required for their own use.

Co-operation with the neighbouring villages. Three neighbouring villages have united and are participating jointly in the activities of the co-operative bank and in educational matters. The villagers are also coming together gradually in other matters. For the first time the inhabitants of Ballavpore and Dangapara organised a joint Sankirtan in procession round both the villages.

Propaganda Work through Brati-Balak Activities. We went with the troop in marching order in the three neighbouring villages and exhibited their works four times. The boys sang songs of the Poet, recited poems, played *lathi*, and gave a demonstration of scout drill and scout sports before the villagers who had gathered in large numbers. After the demonstration was over, talks were given to the villagers on the work that is being done at Ballavpore and about various subjects relating to the reconstruction work. Such demonstrations were appreciated very much. They also helped to broaden the outlook of the Brati-Balaks.

Audit. The accounts of the Health and Reconstruction Samitis were audited, and auditors expressed satisfaction with the accounts.

Visitors. A number of visitors came from far and near,

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Some extracts from the Visitors Book are given below: Mr. C. G. Stevens, the Magistrate and Collector of Birbhum, wrote on the 11th February, 1929:

"It has already become a model village; but the reproduction in other parts of this district will not be possible unless a corresponding amount of sympathy and co-operation is to be attained from the educated classes of those places.

"The activities of the society are numerous: the villagers have caught the right spirit and their subsequent progress should be automatic.

"The society can count on my close interest and moral support, if it continues as it has started; many people will be sent here to see it working."

Dr. S. N. Sur, Asst. Director of Public Health, Malaria Research, Bengal wrote on the 27th July, 1929:

"As to the effect of the anti-malarial measures, there is no doubt about it. The villagers themselves admit that in the years before the introduction of these measures they suffered from much Malaria whereas last year they had very little and this year upto date there has been no fever."

The Publicity Officer, Public Health Department, inspected the village on the 15th November, 1929 and wrote:

"The reduction in the Spleen Index figure tells for itself of the Anti-malarial measures adopted by the society. * * * * Of the many anti-malarial societies that I have inspected this is perhaps one of the best and is doing splendid work."

WORK IN OTHER VILLAGES.

The nature of the work done in other villages is very similar to the work in Ballavpore. As regards the health and anti-malarial work actual details are given in tabular form for the different villages. Short notes on particular villages are given below:

BENURI.

Anil Kumar Dutt was in charge.

Population 272. Members 113. The anti-malarial activities began in July. The lack of faith on the part of the villagers in the Co-operative method and quinine treatment was a great obstacle at the beginning. Later on, however, the personal contact of the workers and a first hand experience of quinine treatment and kerosine application made the villagers unusually keen and enthusiastic in health improvement work.

LOHAGARH.

Population 291, Members 133. The population is chiefly Muhammadan. The work of the society has not been satisfactory owing to the irregularity of the members during the year.

BAHADURPUR.

Abani Kumar Mukherji was in charge.

The society is old and very active. Population 311, Members 155.

SAONTHAL-GRAM.

Population 350. Members 99. The Bolpur Brati-Balaks have taken up the work with enthusiasm.

BANDHGORA.

Baidyanath Ghose was in charge.

Population 157. The members have built a spacious road through the village. Kerosine was poured into Dobas, and quinine was given regularly.

The villagers have founded an Agricultural Bank and each of the 37 families has been provided with a Saving Box and these boxes are being used.

The women and boys are being taught to use hand-looms. Of the boys ten can weave tapes. Five women have learnt to weave carpets, and two young men have made a considerable advance in this work.

The number of pupils in the village school is 18. Along with reading and writing, they are instructed in various works and physical culture. The Brati-Balaks did very well in the annual competition.

BHUBANDANGA.

Usha Ranjan Datta was in charge.

Population 178. Members 134. Particular attention was paid to the surroundings of the houses. All the rubbish there, such as old pots and vessels helping to breed mosquitoes, were destroyed.

In the south of the village, there is a Muhammadan population of 30, who had never participated in our work, but have now become convinced of their utility.

The villagers have been taught to grow vegetables at home. Most of the members expect to grow a considerable portion of the fruit and vegetables required for their own consumption.

One hundred patients received successful homeopathic treatment.

Social gatherings are held at the house of the President every evening, when villagers meet in large numbers.

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AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

Santosh Behari Bose continued in charge of this department.

Farm. Paddy of different kinds, potato, sugarcane, onion, cabbage etc. were grown. The effect of Green-manuring with *dhanchia* especially in the paddy field was very marked ; the total yield of paddy rose to above 300 mds. in place of 100, 150 and 250 mds. respectively in the three previous years in a plot of 30 bighas. The effect of ammonium sulphate and nitrate of soda on potato, onion, sugarcane etc. was also perceptible, and nitrate of soda on potato, onion, sugarcane etc. was also perceptible, nitrate of soda gave better results than ammonium sulphate. In every case the salts were mixed with cheap oil cakes, and applied in different doses as top dressing. Sugarcane C 215 appears to grow well in the type of soil found here. A large area has been planted this year with this variety.

The new method of storing potatoes, introduced in 1927 as an experimental measure, was continued and though conducted on a small scale the results were encouraging. This Director of Agriculture, Bengal, and the Assistant Director inspected the experiment last year, and it is being watched with interest by the expert staff of the Agricultural Department of Bengal.

There were eight apprentices, all of the middle class, hailing from different parts of India. The Bengal Co-operative Department sent a number of men on their staff to our Farm for a short period of training.

A large number of enquiries were received by letter from various parts of the Province, and the information sought for was supplied in every case.

Poultry. As the result of a change of policy, this section is now specialising in egg-production in our own Farm, and is supplying birds of a better and hardier stock to the people of surrounding villages. In Ballavpore a few eggs of Chittagong hens were given to certain families for hatching, and the experiment proved very successful. This year the same experiment has been extended to four more villages.

For the next season, a large number of birds, especially Chittagong, are being raised to meet the local demand ; attempt is also being made to reduce the cost of feeding by growing suitable grains for the purpose.

Dairy. The old stock of cows was disposed of ; and only two pairs of heifers, bred locally, were kept for observation. A new stock will be purchased as soon as land is available for growing fodder on a larger scale.

Over 100 acres of waste land was opened with a Tractor plough, preparatory to fodder growing next season. Experiments with *Juvvar*,

rahar and *cowpea* were carried out. Although very late in the season the outturn of *cowpea* was promising.

EDUCATION SECTION.

Student Apprentices. The total number of student apprentices who have received instruction during the year in the various departments of Sriniketan is twenty-five, distributed in the following way: Farming 7, Poultry 3, Weaving 4, Village Welfare 10, and Carpentry 1.

Most of the apprentices are following more than one course and the duration of their training has varied from three months to two years. Three apprentices who came to us with stipends from the Naogaon Ganja Cultivators' Co-operative Society for specialising in Village Welfare work showed excellent progress in the three months they spent here. Two other students from the Prem Mahavidyalaya, Brindaban, also showed remarkable progress in Village Welfare activities.

Special emphasis was laid on Manual Training, individual attention being given to every apprentice in this connexion. They were required to do two or three hours' class-work daily in Agriculture, Poultry, Animal Husbandry, Dairy Farming, and Village Organisation including the Co-operative Movement. They were shown how to make good use of library. Out-door games, excursions, and camping also featured in the programme.

Siksha-Satra. The number of pupils in the village school was 20. The aim in the village school is to give free scope for the development of all the latent powers of the growing child. The project method, adapted to local requirements, is largely used. Emphasis is laid on sense-training, and the boys receive instruction in weaving, carpentry, book-binding, and gardening, which offer considerable scope to the artistic and constructive side of their mind. Out-door games, scout games, and excursions give good opportunities for training the mind and the body. A constant effort is made to stimulate the interest of the child in his surroundings. The school hopes to make satisfactory progress once it succeeds in overcoming the apathy and conventional aspirations of the village people.

INDUSTRY.

A considerable expansion took place in the industrial activities during the year under review. The different sections were badly in need of proper accommodation; the new Industrial Hall, which has been completed at a cost of about Rs. 11,000/- will, it is expected, remove this want.

Weaving. This section was in charge of Manindra Chandra Sen Gupta, who was assisted by a trained weaving teacher and an assistant teacher. Their chief duties are: (1) to impart regular instruction to those apprentices who join this section for training; (2) to supervise the centres

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started by us in different places of this district and outside, and finally (3) to render every assistance to the weavers who, after completing their training in this institution, have started weaving centres elsewhere on their own account.

The course of training comprises the following subjects :—(a) spinning—cotton and wool, (b) tape making, (c) *durrie* and *asan* making, (d) weaving :—cotton, silk and wool, (e) carpet making, (f) dyeing :—yarn and cloth, (g) printing, (h) free-hand drawing, (i) model drawing, (j) design making, (k) analysis of cloth.

In addition to the student apprentices, pupils of the night schools established by the Village Welfare section take a regular course of training here. It is gratifying to note that seven women from Surul village and three from Chandanpore have learnt *asan* and carpet making. Santal villagers are also taking a lively interest in weaving ; frames for making *asan* and two looms have been set up in Santal-Danga, a village entirely populated by the Santals. They have also started weaving in their homes and are being helped by our staff.

That the weaving department has been doing useful work will be seen from the fact that 214 students of various kinds received training in this section up to the present. Among them were weavers 11, students from the Birbhum district 39, from other districts in Bengal 38, from other provinces 10, from the Dacca University 4, from the Guru Training Schools 19, Teachers from H. E. Schools 13, from M. E. Schools 24, Ladies from Women's Associations of Calcutta 3, Co-operative Central Bank supervisors (Burdwan Division) 12, and Santiniketan students 40.

Equipment. The workshop shed was erected only recently, and it is expected that the present accommodation will be sufficient for our requirements for some years to come. Our present equipment consists of :—

Fly shuttle looms 11 (valued at Rs. 715/-), Carpet frame 1 (Rs. 15/-), *Asan* frames 2 (Rs. 30/-), *Durrie* frame 1 (Rs. 10/-), and Tape frames 2 (Rs. 24/-).

Besides these there is a small laboratory and a show-room.

Tannery. Sachimohan Bhowmick was in charge of this section. A cautious policy has been adopted since last year. As already reported it is very difficult to make the tanning of raw hides a paying concern in this locality. We have been therefore trying this year to train a few local *muchis* to make finished articles like handbags, portfolios, purses, etc. from the leather produced in the Tannery. The progress already made has been encouraging, and we believe that there are possibilities in this line.

As usual the training of local *muchis* in bark-tanning, and the supervision of local centres were regularly carried on.

Carpentry. Unfortunately since the death of K. Kasahara, the Carpentry Shop was without a qualified carpentry teacher. The part-time service of Kono, another Japanese carpenter who carries on his own business, is being utilised at present. No regular class is held, but students get their training in carpentry as apprentices under him.

Lacquer Industry. The lacquer industry which flourished in Ilambazar in the time of the East India Company has almost died out. About 14 families still exist who make lacquer toys in a crude way. We have settled some of these families at Surul, and are giving them training to improve their technique and produce more artistic and more profitable goods.

Remarkable progress was made in this section which was directly under the supervision of Mrs. Protima Tagore. She not only took keen interest, but actually helped in the development of the Lac industry by supplying new designs and suggesting improvements in the technique. A new field of work has now been created, and the articles produced have not only attracted the attention of experts but have set up a standard which would be very difficult to find anywhere else in this Province.

Tile making. There is some possibility of introducing the manufacture of tiles in this district. A small tile-making machine was recently purchased from Germany and experiments are going on in this direction.

Pottery and Book-binding. We have also been experimenting with Pottery and Artistic Book-binding in the Crafts section. We hope that these would provide suitable occupation to young men as well as widows of the middle class.

Tailoring. Tailoring has been introduced in the Girls' School at Sriniketan. About 40 girls from the neighbouring villages regularly attend the school and provision has been made to teach them cutting, sewing, embroidery etc.

Mechanical Workshop and Power House. With the development of the industrial section the need of a mechanical workshop was keenly felt. Arrangements have been made in the new workshop building for installing a small power plant and some power machines for wood and metal work. We hope to equip the workshop adequately at an early date for giving training in drawing, smithy, foundry, carpentry, and wood and metal turning. The aim of the workshop will be not to compete with technical schools in turning out engineers or workshop foremen, but to create a class of efficient carpenters, smiths and mechanics to meet the needs of the rural area of this district. In this workshop experiments will be carried out to introduce the manufacture of articles commonly used in the villages, such as cart wheels, household utensils etc. In order to make the workshop a self-supporting or even a profitable concern, we intend

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to undertake the repair works of the rice and oil mills at Bolpur and other neighbouring towns.

Propaganda Work. We have been trying to carry on both intensive and extensive industrial educational propaganda throughout the province. Our Village Welfare Department, with its band of workers, has been working for the last few years as a link between the Institution and the neighbouring villages. The main object of the department is to study rural problems and to offer to the people all possible help that the Institution can render. The Supervisors of the Central Bank situated at Sriniketan are also a link between the interior villages and this institution. They received a complete course of training in weaving and other handicrafts at Sriniketan in June, and we hope that they will be not only more efficient in their work but will also be of great help to the villagers. The villagers who have received instructions and training in our workshop are therefore never left adrift and allowed to revert to their old ways of living ; they are watched by the above agencies and assisted to set up in their own native villages and earn a decent living.

Our products are regularly sent to various exhibitions in the province, and during the year stalls were opened in the following exhibitions :—

Santiniketan, Annual Mela in December ; Calcutta, in connexion with the Congress Exhibition ; Sriniketan, in connexion with the Burdwan Divisional Co-operative Conference ; Suri, during Suri Exhibition and Mela ; Chandernagore, in connexion with a mela.

PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT.

Charu Chandra Bhattacharya was in charge as Secretary, Publishing Department, during the year.

New Books.—The year under review has been a memorable one so far as new publications are concerned. Six new books of the Poet namely, one book of travel—"Jatri", two novels—"Jogajog" and "Sesher Kabita", two dramas—"Paritran" and "Tapati", and one book of poems—"Mahuya" were published during the year. Besides these, a large number of re-prints of the Poet's Bengali Works was issued during the year.

Sales.—The sale of publications has shown considerable progress. The gross sale of the Bengali Books in 1928-29 amounted to Rs. 30,628-15/- against Rs. 27,906-10-6 in 1927-28, Rs. 28,738-4-0 in 1926-27, Rs. 25,039-13/- in 1925-26 and Rs. 16,594-11-9 in 1924-25. The notable feature of the year under review was that the direct sales from the Book-Shop increased considerably, and thereby a large amount of additional profit was earned. The gross sales of the outside publication amounted to Rs. 9,319-8-6, the net profit of which was only Rs. 335-5-0. After making allowances for working expenses, interest on the loan from the Kalabhaban Fund (Rs. 1,400/-), contribution to the Visva-Bharati Quarterly (Rs. 1,000/-), and Royalty to the General Fund (Rs. 6,500/-), the net cash profit of Rs. 4,345-12-11 was carried over to the Balance Sheet.

The net value of the stock has increased by Rs. 941-4-7 (or the retail value by Rs. 3,765-2-4).

Santiniketan Press.—The financial position of the Press improved during the year under review and the Press made a working profit of Rs. 174-13-6 at the end of the year after deducting Rs. 370/- paid as interest to the Indian Studies Fund and Rs. 200/- towards depreciation. It has also repaid Rs. 1,000/- of the loan of Rs. 7,000/- from the Indian Studies Fund.

Visva-Bharati Quarterly.—Surendra Nath Tagore acted as the Editor during the earlier part of the year. Owing to indifferent health he was unable to continue his work as Editor, and Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis was placed in charge of the work in August. The April and July numbers of the Quarterly were published under his supervision in the first week of September. This unavoidable irregularity in publishing the Visva-Bharati Quarterly has had a very bad effect on its finances.

P. C. MAHALANOBIS
Karma-Sachit

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APPENDIX A.

List of Donations received during 1928-29.

B. Earmarked Funds.

Date. B/1. Santiniketan Trust Fund.

				RS. A. P.
	Tagore Estate	...	...	6,675 11 9

B/2/22. Sriniketan Fund.

Mr. L. K. Elmhirst	...	...	...	41,250 0 0
National Council of Education	...	...	...	1,500 0 0
National Fund	...	...	...	250 0 0
				43,000 0 0

B/3/22. Kalabhavana Fund.

8-1-29.	H. H. The Maharaja Jamsaheb of Nawanagar	...	10,000	0 0
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B/4/23. Pearson Hospital Fund.

24-12-28.	Mr. L. Richards, Dr. S. Pearson, Mr. N. Pearson, and Mr. L. Pearson, through Mr. C. F. Andrews	1,324 2 2
15-1-29.	Mr. Prafulla Mahalanobis	...	...	...	150 0 0
23-1-29.	Rai Baradakanta Ray Bahadur	...	...	...	25 0 0
"	Mr. Prasanta Kumar Ray	...	...	...	5 0 0
"	Mrs. Rani Mahalanobis	...	...	...	10 0 0
"	Miss Asha Adhikari	...	...	...	10 0 0
"	Miss Mridula Sarabhai	...	...	...	30 0 0
28-2-29.	Mr. Kamakhya Kanta Ray	...	...	...	10 0 0
"	Mr. Nirapadarajan Sarkar	...	...	...	5 0 0
"	Mr. Haridas Mitra	...	...	...	1 0 0
"	Mr. Mrigendra Gupta	...	...	...	5 0 0
"	Mr. H. P. Morris	...	...	...	10 0 0
"	Mr. Anand Singh Asudamal	...	...	...	100 0 0
"	Mr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee	...	...	...	5 0 0
"	Mr. N. C. Chakravarti	...	...	...	0 8 0
"	Mr. H. L. Dikshit	...	...	...	1 0 0
16-3-29.	Rai Bejoy Behari Mukherjee Bahadur	...	...	...	10 0 0
22-3-29.	Proceeds of Sundara performance	...	...	...	1,334 15 6
	Dr. Devendramohan Bose	...	...	...	20 0 0

24- 7-29.	Mr. Sailendranath Das Gupta	...	...	5 0 0
,,	Mr. Hiran Kumar Sanyal	...	...	10 0 0
10- 8-29.	Mr. Shub Krishna Datta ...	...	...	2 0 0
24- 9-29.	Small Collections (through Sautiniketan-Sachiva)	...	25 0 0	
30- 9-29.	Proceeds of <i>Rituranga</i> performance	...	4,323 15 6	
				7,422 9 2

B/12/25. Zoroastrian Fund.

4-12-28.	Through Mr. D. J. Irani	1,400 0 0
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C/3/28. Friends Service Council Fund.

Society of Friends	3,794 7 4
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C. General Donations.

4-12-28.	Mr. Gurdial Mallik	300 0 0
5- 2-29.	Mr. Promode Kumar Ray Choudhury	2,500 0 0
II- 4-29.	Rev. Canon Davies	...	...	664 5 9
22- 6-29.	Mr. Wilbur K. Thomas	...	...	434 14 0
19- 7-29.	Through Rabindranath Tagore	...	...	699 9 0
24- 7-29.	Bansda State ...	...	...	500 0 0
23- 8-29.	Srimati Mira Devi	...	...	20 0 0
,,	Through Mr. Hiran Kumar Sanyal	...	...	60 8 0
,,	Anonymous ...	...	...	5 0 0
,,	Mrs. Satyendra Sarkar	...	...	10 0 0
,,	Mr. Prabhas Chandra Ghosh	...	...	10 0 0
,,	Mrs. Rani Mahalanobis ...	...	...	10 0 0
,,	Mr. Susobhan Chandra Sarkar	...	...	60 0 0
,,	Mrs. Reba Sarkar	...	...	60 0 0
,,	Miss Lila Ray	...	...	5 0 0
,,	Mrs. Mira Sen	...	...	60 0 0
,,	Mrs. Nalini Bose	...	...	6 0 0
4- 9-29.	Mrs. Rani Mahalanobis	...	...	500 0 0
				5,905 4 9

D. Earmarked Donations.

15-II-28.	Malay Donations (through Rabindranath Tagore) Bhandarkar Research Institute	...	25,700 0 0
		...	300 0 0
			26,000 0 0

1336
0 0
0 0
0 0
I 5 6
9 2
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E. Annual Grants.

5-II-28.	Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai	3,000	0	0
16- 4-29.	H. H. The Maharaja of Tipperah	1,000	0	0
I4- 6-29.	H. H. The Gaekwar of Baroda	...	...	6,000	0	0
30- 9-29.	Mr. Rathindranath Tagore	...	...	1,000	0	0
				II,000	0	0

Summary.

B. Earmarked Funds	...	...	...	72,292	12	3
C. General Donation	...	...	...	5,905	4	9
D. Earmarked Donation	...	...	...	26,000	0	0
E. Annual Grants	...	...	...	II,000	0	0
				Grand Total	1,15,198	1 0

APPENDIX B.

MEMBERS OF THE SAMSAD (GOVERNING BODY), 1929.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President) : Rabindranath Tagore.

Upacharya (Vice-President) : Surendranath Tagore.

Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) : Narendranath Law.

Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) : Prasantachandra Mahalanobis.

Santiniketan-Sachiva (Local Secretary, Santiniketan) : Pramadarajan Ghosh.

Sriniketan-Sachiva (Local Secretary, Sriniketan) : Rathindranath Tagore.

Secretary, Publishing Board : Charuchandra Bhattacharya.

Ordinary Members.

For 1929 : A. C. Banerjee, Pramathanath Banerjee, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Kshitimohan Sen, Kalidas Nag; Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jitendramohan Sen.

For 1929 and 1930 : C. F. Andrews, Devendramohan Bose, Asoke Chatterjee, Amal Home, Jagadananda Ray, Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya, Nepal Chandra Ray, Mrs. Kiranbala Sen.

Members from outside Bengal (for 1929) : D. J. Irani, Gurdial Mallik, Ambal Sarabhai, Atul Prasad Sen.

Representatives.

Santiniketan-Samiti (for 1929) : Miss Hembala Sen, Nandalal Bose, Premsundar Bose, Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee.

(1929-30) : E. W. Ariam, Gourgopal Ghosh, Tanayendranath Ghosh, Surendranath Kar.

Sriniketan-Samiti (for 1929) : Kalimohan Ghosh, P. C. Lal.

(1929-30) : Santosh Behari Bose.

Asramik Sangha (for 1929) : Sudhakanta Ray.

Co-opted Members.

For 1929 : Satyananda Bose, Subodhchandra Mukherjee, Apurva Kumar Chanda, I. B. Sen, Susobhan Chandra Sarkar.

Nominated Member.

For 1929 : Kishorimohan Santra.

APPENDIX C.

MEMBERS OF THE KARMA-SAMITI (EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE), 1929.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President) : Rabindranath Tagore.

Upacharya (Vice-President) : Surendranath Tagore.

Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) : Narendranath Law.

Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) : Prasantachandra Mahalanobis.

Ordinary Members.

Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Rathindranath Tagore, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jitendramohan Sen, Pramadarajan Ghosh, Nepal Chandra Ray, Devendramohan Bose, Susobhan Chandra Sarkar.

Co-opted Member.

I. B. Sen.

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APPENDIX D.

MEMBERS OF THE SANTINIKETAN-SAMITI, 1929.

Rabindranath Tagore, Narendranath Law, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Apurva Kumar Chanda, Devendramohan Bose, Rathindranath Tagore, Pramadarajan Ghosh, Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya, Nalin Chandra Gauguly, Nandalal Bose, E. W. Arian, Surendranath Kar, Tanayendranath Ghosh, Jagadananda Ray, Nepal Chandra Ray, Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee, Premendar Bose, P. C. Lal, Hembala Sen.

APPENDIX E.

MEMBERS OF THE SRINIKETAN-SAMITI, 1929.

Rabindranath Tagore, Narendranath Law, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Pramadarajan Ghosh, Rathindranath Tagore, Jagadananda Ray, Kalimohan Ghosh, Gourporal Ghosh, Santosh Behari Bose, Prem Chand Lal, Dhirananda Ray, Manindra Chandra Sen-Gupta, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jyotiprakash Sarkar.

APPENDIX F.

MEMBERS OF THE PUBLISHING BOARD, 1929.

Rabindranath Tagore, Surendranath Tagore, Narendranath Law, Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Rathindranath Tagore, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, HiranKumar Sanyal, Ramananda Chatterjee, Amal Home, A. K. Chanda, Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee, P. C. Mahalanobis, Kishorimohan Santra.

APPENDIX G.

MEMBERS OF THE SAMSAD (GOVERNING BODY), 1930.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President) : Rabindranath Tagore.

Upacharya (Vice-President) : Sudrendranath Tagore.

Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) : Narendranath Law.

Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) : Prasantachandra Mahalanobis.

Santiniketan-Sachiva (Local Secretary, Santiniketan) : Pramadarajan Ghose.

Sriniketan-Sachiva (Local Secretary, Sriniketan) : Rathindranath Tagore.

Secretary, Publishing Board : Charuchandra Bhattacharya.

Ordinary Members.

For 1930 : Devendramohan Bose, Amal Home, Jagadananda Ray, Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, Nepalchandra Ray, Mrs. Kiranbala Sen.

For 1930 and 1931 : Pramathanath Banerjee, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Kshiti-mohan Sen, Kalidas Nag, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jitendra Mohan Sen, Sisir Kumar Mitra, Indubhusan Sen.

Members from out-side Bengal (for 1930 and 1931) : A. P. Sen, Ambala Sarabhai, R. Uchida, M. R. Jaykar.

Elected under Statute 14 (i) (for 1930) : Miss Hembala Sen, Nandalal Bose, Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee, Nalin Chandra Ganguly, F. Benoit, C. F. Andraws.

Representatives.

Santiniketan-Samiti (for 1930) : E. W. Ariam, Gourgopal Ghose, Surendranath Kar.

Sriniketan-Samiti (for 1930) : Santoshbehari Bose.
(for 1930 and 1931) : Kalimohan Ghose.

Co-opted Members.

For 1930 : A. C. Banerjee, Surendranath Mallik, Jatindranath Basu, Amiya Kumar Sen, Susobhan Chandra Sarkar.

APPENDIX H.

MEMBERS OF THE KARMA-SAMITI (EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE), 1930.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President) : Rabindranath Tagore.

Upacharya (Vice-President) : Surendranath Tagore.

Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) : Narendranath Law.

Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) : Prasantachandra Mahalanabis.

Ordinary Members.

Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Devendramohan Bose, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Surendranath Kar, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Nepal Chandra Ray, I. B. Sen, Jitendramohan Sen, Rathindranath Tagore.

APPENDIX 1.

BALANCE SHEET AND ACCOUNTS

for the year ended 30th September, 1929.

Ray & Ray.
Chartered Accountants.

6, Church Lane, Calcutta.
Dated the 18th December, 1929.

THE SECRETARY,
Visva-Bharati, Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

We have compiled the attached Balance Sheet and Accounts of Visva-Bharati for the year ending 30th September, 1929, from the books and vouchers presented to us and from the information and explanations supplied, and we have signed the Balance Sheet subject to the following report:—

1. *Kalabhavana Fund*.—Last year a separate Income and Expenditure Account was prepared for this Fund, and the excess of Expenditure over income was carried to the Kalabhavana Fund Balance Sheet. This year however the Kalabhavana Income and Expenditure Account has been incorporated in the Santiniketan Income and Expenditure Account and the deficit on this account has been carried to the General Revenue Account.

In this connection, we think that the old deficit on this Account amounting to Rs. 7,180-4-9 should be written off against the General Revenue Account, if it is now decided that no separate Income and Expenditure Account need be prepared for this Fund.

We also find that this year the interest received from the Loan made from this Fund to the Publishing Department has been reduced to Rs. 1,400 instead of Rs. 1,560 paid last year.

2. *Limbdi Fund*.—The whole of Rs. 10,000—of this fund has been drawn by the General Fund and the General Fund has allowed interest at the rate of 6 per cent. to this fund.

3. *Caution Money*—Rs. 1,113/8/- This amount is included in the General deposit at Santiniketan. We have not been able to verify the exact liability under this head for want of detail information. In our opinion a detailed list should be prepared containing the names of students to whom the amount is due.

4. *Loan at General Office.*—Rs. 4,888/13/-.—This amount is an old liability due to Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore and to Babu Rathindra Nath Tagore, which is being carried forward from year to year since 1923. We suggest that the debt being barred by limitation the amount may be transferred to Capital.

5. *Deposit Account—Quarterly.*—We find that this deposit has been outstanding for a long time, and there is no chance of any claim being made for the refund of this, and so we think that this sum should be adjusted.

6. *Suspense at Publishing Department.*—This sum is included an amount of Rs. 12/7/- which is not refundable and we think this should be adjusted.

7. *Government paper and Port Trust Debenture.*—The Government Paper and Port Trust Debenture have been shown on the Balance Sheet at their face value, except in the case of the Government Paper held on account of the Nizam's fund which is shown at cost and includes the interest paid for on the date of purchase.

8. *General Investment.*—We have not seen the Share Certificate for the Share in the Co-operative Bank Ltd.

9. *Outstandings at Santiniketan.*—This includes a sum of Rs. 732-4-6 being Tution Fees for the year 1927-28, which has not yet been realised. We are doubtful as to whether this can now be realised at all. In this connection, we would like to draw your attention to our remarks under the head of Tution Fees in last year's report.

Interest on Investments.—The accounts have in each case been credited with the actual interest received, and no account has been taken of outstanding interest.

Capital Expenditure.—We find from the Budget that Capital expenditure whether at Santiniketan or Sriniketan can only be made under the authority of the General Secretary at Calcutta, but during the year Rs. 1,489/3/- has been spent at Santiniketan for Hostel Furniture for which we have seen no proper authority.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd). RAY & RAY.

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VISVA=BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September 1929

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.			Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
SERIAL FUND—	...	...	5,57,088	2	3	50,778	4
As per last account ...	...	...	5,43,097	15	4	3,46,635	12
Old Malay Donation	...	...	24,500	0	0	5	
			5,67,597	15	4		
CCE Deficit from Total Revenue Account	...	...	10,509	13	1	2,19,667	4
			10,509	13	1	8	
Public Fund	...	...				4,586	0
MADRASAH FUND—	...	...	2,43,150	14	6	Dormitory Fund	6
Global Prize Fund	...	...	1,12,006	0	0	TUBE WELL (Kaddoorji Water Works).	0
Prossad Night School Fund	...	...	1,000	0	0	STUDENTS' DORMITORY—	0
Indian Studies Fund	...	...	10,000	0	0	Dormitory Fund	0
Chestonji P. Pocha Fund	...	...	5,005	0	0	General Fund	0
Harman History Fund	...	...	2,000	13	4	General Fund	0
Library Fund	...	...	2,000	0	0	Ratan Kuthi	0
Aruma Amita Endowment Fund	...	...	10,000	0	0	BIRLA KUTHI—	0
Izazat's Fund	...	...	1,01,145	1	2	PEARSON HOSPITAL—	0
						KALABHAWANA—	0
PROPERTY AND ASSETS.			LAND AT SANTINIKETAN—				
As per last Account ...			BUILDING AT SANTINIKETAN—				
GENERAL			GENERAL				
TUBE WELL (Kaddoorji Water Works).			TUBE WELL (Kaddoorji Water Works).				
Students' Dormitory—			Students' Dormitory—				
Dormitory Fund			Dormitory Fund				
General Fund			General Fund				
HIRA BAI PANTHASALA—			HIRA BAI PANTHASALA—				
Hirabai Fund			Hirabai Fund				
General Fund			General Fund				

3,97,414 0 8

Carried over ...

Rs. 8,00,239 0 9

Carried over

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[Magh, 1.]

VISVA=BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1929.—(Contd.)

COPYRIGHT (as per last Account)
LIBRARY BOOKS (as per last Account)

7.17.243 5 11

VISVA-BHARATI.

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ANNUAL REPORT, 1929

Carried over

VISVA-BIHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1929.—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward	...		10,35,851	0	10		Brought forward	...	7,17,243	5
AN TO GENERAL FUND (as per Contra.)—			26,571	12	2		WITH IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA—			11
Simbdi Sanatorium Fund	...		10,000	0	0		Pearson Hospital Fund	...	231	11
Sriniketan Grant Fund	...		8,517	4	7		WITH PATISAR KRISHI BANK	...	1,29,660	6
Publishing Department	...		10,054	7	7		Nobel Prize Fund	...	964	7
							Kadonji Water Works Fund	...	14,310	7
							Person Hospital Fund	...		8
							Kalahavana ...	...	

DEPOSIT AT GENERAL OFFICE (as per Contra).—		13,836	5	0	IN GOVERNMENT PAPER & PORT TRUST
DEBENTURES—		...	...	...	...
Pestonji P. Pocha Fund	...	204	4	0	Nizam's Fund
Chairman History Fund	...	0	13	4	Kalabhabavan Fund
Aruna Amita Endowment	...	848	10	0	Aruna Amita Endowment
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	...	1,498	3	6	Bai Hirabai Fund
Bai Hirabai Fund	...	281	0	0	Pestonji P. Pocha Fund
Kalabhabavan Fund	...	4,496	10	1	...
Kadoorji Water Works Fund	...	3,776	2	0	...
Indian Studies Fund	...	1,000	0	0	LOAN TO DEPARTMENTS (as per Contra)
Society of Friends	...	1,153	13	4	Kalabhabavan Fund to Publishing Dept.
Pearson Hospital Fund	...	546	0	9	Indian Studies Fund to Printing Prees
Drosad Night School Fund	...	30	12	0	...

LOAN TO DEPARTMENTS (as per Contra)	
Kalabavana Fund to Publishing Dept.	26,000 0 0
Indian Studies Fund to Printing Press	6,000 0 0
	<hr/>
LOAN TO GENERAL FUND (as per Contra).—	
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	10,000 0 0

LOAN TO GENERAL FUND (as per *Contra*):—
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund

10,782	59	2	0				
<hr/>				Carried over	...		
							10,45,480
							9
							9

Carried over ...

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Jan]

VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1929.—(Contd.)

PITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Brought forward					
BALANCE FROM GENERAL OFFICE (as per Contra.)—	10,78,259 2 0	20,067 4 2	Brought forward ADVANCE FROM GENERAL OFFICE (as per Contra.)—	10,45,480 9 9	20,067, 4 2
Sharman History Fund	... 15 4 3	... ...	Sharman History Fund ...	... 15 4 3	... ...
Kalabhavana Fund	... 7,180 4 9	... ...	Kalabhavana Fund ...	... 7,180 4 9	... ...
Nizam's Fund	... 5,083 1 11	... ...	Santiniketan Trust ...	... 3,893 1 6	... ...
Santiniketan Trust	... 3,893 1 6	... ...	Ratan Kuthi ...	... 344 7 9	... ...
Dutan Kuthi	... 344 7 9	... ...	Birla Kuthi ...	... 3,551 0 0	... ...
Mirla Kuthi	... 3,551 0 0	... ...	Nizam's Fund ...	... 5,083 1 11	... ...
GENERAL BANK LTD. (In GUIDATION)—	95 11 9	95 11 9	DEPOSIT AT GENERAL OFFICE (as per Contra.) ...	13,836 5 0	13,836 5 0
GENERAL BANK OF INDIA—	13,549 4 9	13,549 4 9	Pestonji P. Pocha Fund ...	204 4 0	204 4 0
General Office	... 4,888 13 0	... 4,888 13 0	Sharman History Fund ...	0 13 4	0 13 4
(AS PER LAST ACCOUNT)	2,312 13 1	2,312 13 1	Aruna Amita Endowment ...	848 10 0	848 10 0
COLLECTOR—			Limbdi Sanatorium Fund ...	1,498 3 6	1,498 3 6
Santiniketan (as per last account) —	2,204 9 1	2,204 9 1	Bai Hirabai Fund ...	281 0 0	281 0 0
General Office	102 2 0	102 2 0	Kadoorji Water Works Fund ...	4,496 10 1	4,496 10 1
Quarterly (as per last Account)	6 2 0	6 2 0	Indian Studies Fund ...	3,776 2 0	3,776 2 0
GENERAL EXPENSE AT SANTINIKETAN—	8,742 8 3	8,742 8 3	Society of Friends ...	1,000 0 0	1,000 0 0
GENERAL EXPENSE AT GENERAL OFFICE—	1,925 0 0	1,925 0 0	Prosad Night School Fund ...	1,153 13 4	1,153 13 4
Carried over	11,29,840 9 0	Carried over	Pearson Hospital Fund ...	30 12 0	30 12 0
				546 0 9	546 0 9
			LOAN FROM GENERAL FUND TO PRINTING PRESS—	14,524 15 3	14,524 15 3
			Carried over	10,93,909 2 2	10,93,909 2 2

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Carried over 10,93,909 2 2

Carried over

11,29,840 9 0

Carried over

VISSVA-BHARATI.*BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1929.—(Contd.)*

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Brought forward	...	11,29,840	9 0	Brought forward	...	
				GENERAL INVESTMENTS—	...	100,000
				Government Paper	...	10,93,909 2 2
				Bengal Provincial Co-Operative Bank Ltd.	...	2,086 9 7
				Shares in Santiniketan Samavaya Bhandar	...	1,500 0 0
				Shares of Co-operative Bank	...	170 0 0
				Postal Savings Bank	...	300 0 0
					16 9 7	
						5,399 5 3
				OUTSTANDING AT SANTINIKETAN—		1,023 9 3
				OUTSTANDING AT GENERAL OFFICE—		1,192 6 0
				SUSPENSE AT GENERAL OFFICE—		926 0 3
				ADVANCE AT SANTINIKETAN—		4,336 2 5
				CASH AT BANKS—	...	
				Imperial Bank of India (Treasurer's Account)	...	1,717 1 1
				Allahabad Bank Ltd. (Santiniketan Office)	...	520 9 4
				Visva-Bharati Central Co-Opera- tive Bank (Santiniketan Office)	94 3 0	
				" (President Fund)	2,004 5 0	
						11,08,873 2 11
				Carried over	...	
						11,29,840 9 0

Carried over

THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY

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VISVA=BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1929.—(Cont'd)

DEFICIT FROM INCOME & EXPENDITURE

ACCOUNT OF FUND

KALABBHAVANA FUND (as per last Account)		7,180	4	9
Sharman History Fund	...	...	15	4
Santiniketan Trust	...	3,893	1	6
Nizam's Fund	...	5,083	1	11
<hr/>		<hr/>		
SRINKETAN—		...	...	...
LAND AT SRINKETAN—		...	...	...
As per last Account		...	...	...
Since Added		...	...	...
<hr/>		<hr/>		
KETAN—				
AL FUND—	...	...	...	...
per last Account	...	1,53,845	4	9
Excess of Income over				

VISHNU=BHARATI

[*agh, 1st, January, 1930]*

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VISSVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1929.—(Contd.)

LIBRARY & MUSEUM—								
(As per last Account)	...	...	262	7	0			
LIVE STOCK—	...	...	1,325	0	0			
LABORATORY—	...	...	304	11	9			
FURNITURE & FITTINGS—	...	...	1,569	10	8			
As per last Account	...	...	1,056	10	6			
Less depreciation	...	...	52	13	4			
Since Added	...	...	...	...	...	1,003	13	2
			565	13	6			

Carried over 12,71,018 0 7

12,864,691 10 2

Carried over

THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY

VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1929.—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.		Rs. A. P.
Brought forward		12,86,469	10 2	Brought forward		12,71,018 0 7
Stock—		...	...	WORK-SHOP—(Carpentry & Smithy)		663 13 6
OUTSTANDING—		...	...	Stock—		2,018 2 0
ADVANCE—		...	...	OUTSTANDING—		1,492 3 9
LOAN TO GENERAL FUND—		...	...	ADVANCE—		371 6 6
SUSPENSE—		...	...	LOAN TO GENERAL FUND—		8,517 4 7
CASH IN HAND—		...	...	SUSPENSE—		2,100 0 0
IMPREST (Smithy)—		...	...	CASH IN HAND—		7 9 3
Cash at Bank ...		...	...	IMPREST (Smithy)—		250 0 0
				Cash at Bank ...		31 2 0
PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT—				PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT—		
FURNITURE		...	...	FURNITURE		120 0 0
STOCK		...	...	STOCK		31,382 5 1
OUTSTANDING		...	...	OUTSTANDING		891 9 0
ADVANCE		...	...	ADVANCE		220 0 0
DEPOSIT (Calcutta Corp.)		...	...	DEPOSIT (Calcutta Corp.)		...
LOAN TO GENERAL FUND		...	...	LOAN TO GENERAL FUND		...
SUSPENSE		...	...	SUSPENSE		...
CASH AT BANK—				CASH AT BANK—		25 0 0
American Express Co., ...				American Express Co., ...		10,054 7 7
CASH IN HAND (as certified by Secretary)				CASH IN HAND (as certified by Secretary)		163 12 3
						66 13 0

13,34,335 4 5

Carried over

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Carried over

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VIŚVĀ-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET, as at 30th September, 1929.—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.

	Rs. A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs. A. P.
Brought forward	13,34,335 4 5	Brought forward	13,34,335 4 5
PRINTING PRESS—		PRINTING PRESS—	
loan from General Fund	14,524 15 3	MACHINERIES	10,346 8 3
loan from Indian Studies Fund	6,000 0 0	As per last Account	10,891 1 3
		Less depreciation	544 9 0
			<hr/>
OUTSTANDING	...	...	871 8 0
STOCK	...	...	583 4 0
DEPOSIT	...	...	200 0 0
CASH IN HAND (as certified by Secretary)	...	...	540 10 0
PROFIT & LOSS ACCOUNT ...	...		7,983 1 0
Previous Year's Loss	8,157 14 6		
Less this Year's profit	174 13 6		
			<hr/>
Total Rs.	<hr/>	Total Rs. ...	<hr/>
	13,54,860 3 8	13,54,860 3 8	

We have compiled the above Balance Sheet and attached Accounts from the books and vouchers presented to us and from the information and explanations supplied. Subject to our letter addressed to the Secretary, we are of opinion that the Balance-Sheet shows true and correct view of the Society's affairs as disclosed by the books produced to us in accordance with the information and explanations received.

RAY & RAY.
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS
AUDITORS.

6, Church Lane,
Calcutta, the 18th December, 1929.

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Ja

VISVA-BHARATI.

Total Revenue Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929.

Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Deficit from Santiniketan ...	18,623 7 0	By Donation ...	... 6,423 14 6
Deficit from Visva-Bharati Quarterly	2,361 10 0	" Ncbel Prize Fund	7,840 0 0
MALAY DONATIONS ...	832 5 0	" Royalty on Books	6,500 0 0
Office of the President ...	532 5 0	" Royalty on Outside	290 8 0
Kanjur Manuscript ...	300 0 0	" ANNUAL GRANT	5,500 0 0
		Ambala Sarabhai ...	3,000 0 0
		Tipperah State ...	1,000 0 0
Contribution to Visva-Bharati	83 0 0	Rathindra Nath Tagore	1,000 0 0
Contribution to Provident Fund	1,213 7 0	Mrs. P. C. Mahalanobis	500 0 0
Publication	427 4 2		
C. C. Audit Expenses	328 2 0	" Subscription	1,367 1 4
Rates & Taxes	432 15 0	" Life Member's Fund	872 12 0
Travelling	1,316 5 6	" Mahabharat Collation	300 0 0
Postage	243 8 9	" Net Deficit to Balance Sheet	10,509 13 1
Printing	41 0 0		
Stationery	201 1 6		
Rent	325 0 0		
Light	57 6 0		
Telephone	230 0 0		
Establishment	982 5 9		
Sundries	311 5 3		
Interest	952 13 9		
Calcutta Exhibition	30 0 0		
Viceroy's Visit	99 6 6		
Land Acquisition Charges	1,759 2 3		
Mahabharat Collation	259 6 0		
	110 1 1		

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VISSVA=BHARATI.

Total Revenue Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929. (Contd.)

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VISVA-BHARATI.
SANTINIKETAN

Total Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929.

	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
DEFICIT AT—		By Net Surplus from Sports ...
Pabbhavana	557 8 9	„ Admission Fee—Less disburse-
shavana ...	1,315 12 0	ment for Hostel Furniture ...
Na-Bibhaga (College)	2,696 7 9	„ Transfer Fees & Fines ...
do (School)	1,871 8 9	„ Net Deficit transferred to Total
... ...	27 14 6	Revenue Account ...
Ary	2,445 11 3	
Den	334 11 9	
ary	1,545 0 9	
en	1,930 0 0	
ital	3,690 1 3	
... ...	2,487 10 0	
Keep	52 4 0	
... ...		
Contribution to Asram Sammilani		
Total	18,954 10 9	TOTAL

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VISVA-BHARATI.
SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929.

YABHAVA—		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Establishment	...	5,835	7 9
Scholarship	...	695	0 0
Books & Journal	...	177	12 0
Zoroastrian Professor	...	1,800	0 0
Contingencies	...	176	9 0
Printing	...	80	4 0
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		8,765	0 9
		<hr/>	<hr/>

KALABHAVANA (ART)
Establishment
Scholarship
Books & Journal
Photo Embroidery
Crafts
Contingencies
Net Surplus to Kalabhavana
(Music) ...
Public Domain Collection, Haridwar

VIDYABHAVANA—		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
By Baroda Grant	...	6,000	0 0
," Zoroastrian Fund	...	1,400	0 0
," Interest from Pocha Fund	...	250	0 0
," Interest from Indian Studies Fund	...	557	8 0
," Deficit to Total Income & Expenditure Account	...	557	8 9
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		8,765	0 9
		<hr/>	<hr/>

KALABHAVANA (ART)—		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Tuition Fee	...	1,536	0 0
," Interest from Funds	...	4,935	11 6
		<hr/>	<hr/>

KALABHAVANA (Music)
Establishment
Scholarship
Instruments
Contingencies
Musical Performances

VISVA-BHARATI.
SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929 (Contd.)

RS. AS P.	RS. A. P.
SIKSHA VIBHAGA (COLLEGE)—	
Establishment	3,998 0 6
Books	132 2 0
Contingencies	45 10 3
Advertisement	510 8 0
Holiday Allowance	61 12 6
	<hr/>
	4,748 1 3
SIKSHA VIBHAGA (SCHOOL)—	
Establishment	12,624 13 3
Geography Materials	26 0 0
Books	149 9 0
Manual Training Materials	199 15 3
Apparatus	80 10 6
Contingencies	158 8 9
Transfer to Hostel (Fee)	2,685 0 0
,, Office	125 0 0
	<hr/>
	16,049 8 9
HOSTEL—	
Establishment	2,436 1 3
Toilet	46 11 0
Light	213 5 9
Contingencies	150 9 6
Contribution to Kitchen	480 0 0
Santiniketan Sabha	7 7 0
	<hr/>
	2,334 2 6
VISVA-BHARATI.	
SANTINIKETAN.	
Establishment	3,306 4 0
Contribution from Staff	79 13 6
Sharma History Fund	125 0 0
Deficit to Total Income & Expenditure Account	2,696 7 9
	<hr/>
	16,049 8 9
HOSTEL—	
Establishment	3,306 4 0
Contribution from Staff	79 13 6
Deficit to Total Income & Expenditure Account	2,696 7 9
	<hr/>
	16,049 8 9
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Rs. As. P.

LIBRARY—		LIBRARY—	
Establishment	...	2,040	0 0
Books	...	197	12 0
Bindings	...	246	6 6
Contingencies	...	86	8 9
		<u>2,570</u>	<u>11 3</u>

SPORTS—		SPORTS—	
Punting Goods, etc.,	...	758	13 3
Surplus to Total Income &	...	94	10 9
Expenditure Account	...		
		<u>853</u>	<u>8 0</u>

KITCHEN—		KITCHEN—	
Establishment	...	1,898	3 9
Books	...	19,626	11 3
Bindings	...	178	13 9
Contingencies	...	240	0 0
Bind	...	290	7 0
Library	...		
		<u>334</u>	<u>11 9</u>
		<u>22,234</u>	<u>3 9</u>

THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY

VISVA-BHARATI.
SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1939—(Contd.)

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
HOSPITAL—			
Establishment	... ...	1,116 12 3	By Fees from Staff
Bags	... ...	566 15 6	," Private Fees
Book Diet	... ...	198 7 9	," Sale of Medicine
Fit	... ...	26 15 9	," Deficit to Total Income &
Contingencies	... ...	121 6 6	Expenditure Account
		2,030 9 9	2,030 9 9
LIGHT—			
Establishment	... ...	1,500 0 0	By Fees
... ...	1,774 9 6	,"	Deficit to Total Income &
Chairs	... ...	298 4 6	Expenditure Account
Contingencies	... ...	36 3 6	
		3,609 1 6	3,609 1 6
UP-KEEP—			
ARM—	... ...	242 7 6	By Seat rent from Staff
Establishment	... ...	" House Rent	..."
Maintenance of Bullocks	... ...	" Farm & Garden Produce	..."
Miscellaneous	... ...	" Sale of Materials	..."
		," Deficit to Total Income &	Expenditure Account
GARDEN—			
Establishment	361 2 0	
Plants & Manures	268 0 0	
Contingencies	64 12 0	
		8 6 0	3 9 2

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VISVA-BHARATI.
SANTINIKETAN*Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929 (Contd.)*

	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Brought forward		
SANITATION—		
Sweepers	603 9 6	Brought forward
Watchmen	965 9 6	
Contingencies		
REPAIRS—		
Establishment	480 0 0	
Materials	402 4 3	
Labours	83 5 3	
House Rent for Ex-Students		
Quarter	88 0 0	
	3,678 14 9	
OFFICE—		
Establishment	299 8 0	
Postage & Telegram	1,542 12 6	
Stationery & Printing	1,748 10 3	
Contingencies		
	5,248 1 9	
OFFICE—		
Establishment	1,788 0 6	
" Postage & Telegram	281 11 0	
Stationery & Printing	380 14 9	
Contingencies	162 0 3	
	2,612 10 0	

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VISVA-BHARATI.
SRINIKETAN.

Total Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929.

NET DEFICIT TRANSFERRED FROM—	Rs. A.s. P.	BY ANNUAL GRANTS—	Rs. A.s. P.
Village Welfare	...	8,367 10 3	Mr. L. K. Elmhirst
Education	...	899 13 6	National Council of Education
Sikshasatra	...	4,866 3 9	National Fund
Agriculture	...	8,012 13 9	...
Industry	...	4,667 10 6	...
Up-Keep	...	6,366 13 3	...
Crafts	...	210 0 0	...
Office	...	6,822 12 3	...
DEPRECIATION—		143 9 10	
Machinery @ 7½ per cent.	...	90 12 6	
Furniture @ 5 per cent.	...	52 13 4	
Collection, Hardiyar			
LOSS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE			2,642 8 11
			43,000 0 0
			43,000 0 0

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VISVA-BHARATI.
SRINIKETAN.

*Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929***VILLAGE WELFARE WORK—**

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
Establishment	6,669 8 0	By Income during the year ...
Education	501 8 6	,, Net Deficit to Total Income &
Adult Education	163 7 0	Expenditure Account ...
Public Health	597 9 6	
Travelling	248 8 9	
Extension Work	402 9 0	
Contingencies	176 10 0	
Brahmi Balaka	291 6 3	
		9,051 3 0	9,051 3 0

EDUCATION—

	By Income during the year ...	Rs. As. P.
Library	300 5 9
Laboratory	307 10 0
Games	94 14 9
Students Mess Establishment	177 3 0
Contingencies	99 12 0
		979 13 6

Domain, Gurukul, Haridwar
Lahaul, Spiti, Himachal Pradesh
Kashmir, Jammu, Ladakh, Jammu & Kashmir
Students Contingencies, Haridwar

**VISVA-BHARATI.
SRINIKETAN.**

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929—(Contd.)

SIKSHASATRA—

Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
	By Income during the year ...	
	" Net Deficit to Total Income & Expenditure Account ...	
Opening Stock (Manual Training Materials)	105 2 6	
Establishment	3,978 11 0	
Maintenance	589 1 3	
Manual Training	77 6 6	
Games	53 7 9	
Contingency & Light	85 14 9	
Uniform	70 8 0	
		4,960 3 9

AGRICULTURE.—

GENERAL ESTABLISHMENT.—	3,750 0 0	By Income from Farm during the year ...	1,724 6 0
EXPENSES FOR FARM.—	3,259 6 0	" Income from Dairy during the year ...	984 10 0
Establishment	660 0 0	" Income from Poultry during the year ...	216 5 6
Labour	1,190 15 0	" Income from Garden during the year ...	4 9 6
Seeds & Manure	385 6 3		
Cattle Feeds	282 1 9		
Repairs & Contingencies	69 0 3		
Extension	19 14 0		
Tractor Running	652 0 9		
		7,009 6 0	

Carried over

Carried over

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SRINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929.—(Contd.)

AGRICULTURE.—

	Rs.	As. P.	Rs.	As. P.
Brought forward			7,009, 2,922	6 9
EXPENSES FOR DAIRY.—			Closing Live Stock.—	Brought forward
Opening Stock	...	485 0 0	,, Poultry	205 0 0
Establishment	...	1,139 0 0	,, Dairy	520 0 0
Feeds	...	1,200 12 3	,, Farm	600 0 0
Contingency	...	97 13 0	" STOCK OR STRAW (FARM).—	80 0 0
EXPENSES FOR POULTRY.—			2,053 13 9	
Opening Stock	...	302 8 0		
Establishment	...	989 0 0		
Feeds	...	490 2 6	" Net deficit to Total Income and	
Incubator Running	...	29 1 6	Expenditure Account	
Repairs & Contingency	...	146 12 9	"	
Extension	...	96 5 0		
			361 15 9	
EXPENSES FOR GARDEN.—				
Labour	...	274 5 3		
Seeds & Manure	...	75 4 6		
Contingency	...	12 6 0		
			12,347	12 9

VISVA-BHARATI.
SRINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929—(Contd.)

GENERAL ESTABLISHMENT.—		Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
EXPENSES FOR WEAVING.—			
Opening Stock	... 782 1 0	By Income from Weaving during the year	2,077 5 2
Establishment	... 780 0 0	,, Income from Tannery during the year	86 8 6
Labour	... 825 8 9	,, Closing Stock.—	1,407 14 0
Raw Materials	... 1,242 0 0	Weaving	973 1 0
Travelling	... 54 13 0	Tannery	434 13 0
Experiment	... 46 3 0		
Contingency	... 181 8 3	" Net Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure Account	4,667 10 6
Extension Work	... 522 5 0		
EXPENSES FOR TANNERY.—			
Opening Stock	... 282 6 0		1,486 12 0
Establishment	... 996 0 0		
Raw Materials	... 152 8 0		
Tanning Materials & Chemicals	... 43 11 9		
Contingencies	... 12 2 3		
EXPENSES FOR CARPENTRY AND SMITHY.—			
Establishment	... 489 6 3		518 3 3
Raw Materials	... 20 10 6		
Contingencies	... 8 2 6		

8,230 6 3

January, 1930]

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**VISVA-BHARATI.
SRINIKETAN.***Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929.—(Contd.)*

UP-K.E.R.P.—

	Rs. A. P.	Rs. As. P.
Establishment	1,464 0 0	By Income ...
Repairs	3,854 7 9	,, Net Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure Account ...
* Light (Power House)	721 3 6	
Tube Well Running	158 3 0	
Roads Repairs	209 13 0	
Disinfectant & Contingencies	93 2 0	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	6,500 13 3	6,500 13 3

CRAFTS.—

GENERAL ESTABLISHMENT.—	250 0 0	
EXPENSES FOR LACQUER WORKS.	362 6 6	By Income from Lacquer Works ...
Establishment	181 13 0	,, Income from Book Binding ...
Materials	147 6 6	CLOSING STOCK.—
Contingencies	33 3 0	Lacquer Works Book Binding ...
	<hr/>	<hr/>
EXPENSES FOR POTTERIES.—	11 5 0	" Net Deficit to Total Income & Expenditure Account ...
Establishment	9 5 0	
Contingency	2 0 0	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
EXPENSES FOR BOOK BINDING—	201 8 0	
Establishment	52 0 0	
Materials	97 8 0	
Books	49 0 0	
Contingency	3 0 0	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Carried over	825 3 6	Carried over

THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY

VISVA=BHARATI.
SRINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929.—(Contd.)

CRAFTS. (Contd.)

	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Brought forward		970 15 6
EXPENSES FOR BASKET MAKING.		
Establishment	7 14 0	

EXPENSES FOR TILES MAKING.—		22 14 0
Establishment	10 4 0	
Contingency	12 10 0	
		<u>970 15 6</u>

EXPENSES FOR TAILORING EQUIPMENT.—		115 0 0
		<u>970 15 6</u>

	970 15 6
	<u>970 15 6</u>

OFFICE.—

By Miscellaneous Sale of Stationery		306 7 0
Stationery & Printing	434 5 0	etc. ...
Postage & Telegram	114 4 0	" Net Deficit to Total Income &
Travelling	239 11 3	Expenditure Account ...
Publications	1,981 8 0	
Anniversary	628 7 0	
Guest	22 5 3	
Exhibition	536 13 6	
Contingency	358 12 6	
Law Charges	560 13 0	
Viceroy's Visit	498 15 3	
Ita Yajna	171 4 6	
TOTAL	7,129 3 3	

[Magh, 13th Jan]7,129 3 3

VISVA-BHARATI.

January, 1930]

ANNUAL REPORT, 1929

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VISVA-BHARATI.
PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT.

Trading and Profit and Loss Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929.

Rs. As. P.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
Stock	30,441 0 6	By Sales	29,108 10 6
Paper	3,353 1 9	," Stock	31,382 5 1
Printing	3,103 4 0		
Binding	1,807 1 6		
Royalty	7,363 5 0		
Gross Profit carried down	14,423 2 10		
	<hr/> 60,490 15 7		<hr/> 60,490 15 7
		" Gross Profit	14,423 2 10
Salary	2,461 10 0	" Commission	278 9 0
Rent	107 6 0	" Interest	182 7 10
Postage	1,010 0 0		
Stationery	55 10 3		
Contingency	205 3 6		
Advertisement	683 11 6		
Telephone	1,006 0 0		
Calcutta Exhibition	125 0 0		
Interest (Kalahavana Fund)	170 0 0		
Contribution to Quarterly	1,400 0 0		
Commission	1,000 0 0		
Net Profit	2,313 13 6		
	<hr/> 4,345 12 11		<hr/> 14,884 3 8
		Total	... <hr/> 14,884 3 8

THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY

VISVA-BHARATI.
PRINTING PRESS.

Profit and Loss Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
Establishment.	3,044 2 0	By Printing .
Electric Power & Light	360 0 0	" Binding.
Contingency	361 8 9	" Interest (Bank)
Paper.	646 0 3	" Stock of Paper.
Interest on Loan	370 0 0	
Depreciation.	544 9 0	
Net Profit to Balance Sheet.	174 13 6	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	5,501 1 6	
	<hr/>	<hr/>

VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY.

Profit and Loss Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
Printing	1,704 8 0	By Subscription .
Paper	773 9 9	" Contribution from Publishing Dept:
Binding	157 10 6	" Contribution from
Establishment	491 11 9	General Fund .
Postage	467 9 0	" Old Liability
Contingency	230 7 0	Written off .
Stationery	92 0 3	" Net Loss transferred to Total Revenue Account .
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3,017 8 3	TOTAL .
	<hr/>	<hr/>

[Magh, 1st
Jan]

3,017 8 3

TOTAL .

VISVA-BHARATI.

gh, 1st January, 1930]

**VISVA-BHARATI.
PERMANENT FUNDS.**

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1929.

BITAL AND LIABILITIES.

PROPERTY AND ASSETS.

A-1111 Nobel Prize Fund.

FIXED DEPOSIT WITH PATISAR

(22 per last account) =

卷之三

**OF INCOME OVER
EXPENDITURE AS PER FUND
ACCOUNT & LOSS ACCOUNT.—**

(as per last account) —

A Collection, Haridwar

REVENUE AND ASSETS

P_{As}

A-1/14, Nobel Prize Fund.

L,12,000-0-0 **KRAVAN BANK =**

4-21/20 Prosad Night School Fund
KUSHI BANK.

(as per last acco

OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE AS PER FUND

T & LOSS ACCOUNT.—

Collection, Haridwar

ANNUAL REPORT, 1929

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VISVA-BHARATI.		PERMANENT FUNDS.	
		MEET as at 30th September, 1929.	
	Rs. A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	
A-1/14,	Nobel Prize Fund.		
1,12,000.0-0	FIXED DEPOSIT WITH PATISAR KRISHI BANK.—	1,12,000	0
A-2/20,	Proasad Night School Fund		
1,000	0	Deposit with Bengal Provincial Co- Operative Bank Ltd.	1,000
		Deposit with General Office.	30
30	12	0	12
			0
		1,030	12
A-3/22,	Indian Studies Fund.		
10,000	0	Deposit with Bengal Provincial Co- Operative Bank Ltd.	3,000
		Loan to Printing Press	6,000
		Deposit with General Office.	1,000
			0
		10,000	0
A-4/24,	Pestonji P. Poch'a fund.		
5,005	0	G. P. Notes	5,000
199	4	General office	204
5,204	4		0

TOTAL (as per last account).—
 Loss of income over Expenditure
 per Profit and loss account

VISVA-BHARATI.
PERMANENT FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1929.—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.

Rs. A. P. PROPERTY AND ASSETS.

	Rs. As. P.	
A-5/25, Sharman History Fund.		
2,000 13 4	Deposit with Bengal Provincial Co-	2,000 0 0
15 4 3	Operative Bank Ltd.	0 13 4
	Deposit with General Office ...	
	Excess of Expenditure over Income	15 4 3
	from Fund Profit & Loss account	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2,016 1 7	2,016 1 7
A-6/25, Library Fund.		
2,000 0 0	Deposit with Bengal Provincial Co-Operative Bank Ltd.	2,000 0 0
A-7/27, Aruna Amita Endowment Fund.		
10,000 0 0	G. P. Notes	10,000 0 0
	Deposit with General Office ...	848 10 0
EXPENDITURE AS PER FUND		
REVENUE ACCOUNT.—		
848 10 0	<hr/>	<hr/>
	10,848 10 0	10,848 10 0
A-8/27, Nizam's Fund.		
1,00,000 0 0	G. P. Notes	
EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE AS PER FUND		
AL (as per last Account).—		
REVENUE FROM INCOME & EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT.—		
1,145 1 2	<hr/>	<hr/>
1,01,145 1 2	1,01,145 1 2	1,01,145 1 2
VISVA-BHARATI.		
PERMANENT FUNDS.		

[Magh. 1]

Jan

**VISVA-BHARATI.
PERMANENT FUNDS.**

Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1939—(Contd.)

A-7/27, Aruna Amita Endowment Fund.

A-8/27, Nizam's Fund.

8,764	0	3	By Balance	...	...	2,843	3	0
1,145	1	2	," Interest	...	..."	1,982	12	6
"			," Excess of	Expenditure	over			
			Income	...	..."	5,083	1	11
<hr/>								
9,909	1	5				9,909	1	5

January, 1930]

VISVA-BHARATI.
EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1929.**Rs. As. P.****PROPERTY AND ASSETS.****Rs. As. P.****B-3/22, Kalabhabana Fund.**

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	
Capital	
Rs per Last Account	... 1,03,000 0 0
dd Donations	... 10,000 0 0
	<hr/>
Finance from General Fund.—	
Rs per Last Account	... 7,414 4 9
Outstanding Fees	... 234 0 0
	<hr/>
Capital.	
Rs per Last Account	... 1,13,000 0 0
	<hr/>

ANNUAL REPORT, 1929

PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	
Buildings.—	
As per last Account	... 20,106 7 3
Added this year	... 11,886 7 0
	<hr/>
Deposit with Bengal Provincial Co-Operative Bank Ltd.	5,000 0 0
Deposit with Patisar Krishni Bank G. P. Notes & Port Trust Debentures.	14,310 7 8
Loan to Publishing Department	31,200 0 0
Deposit with General Office	26,000 0 0
Deficit on Income & Expenditure account to 30th September, 1928, (as per last Account.)	4,496 10 1
	<hr/>
1,20,180 4 9	7,180 4 9
	<hr/>
B-4/23, Pearson Hospital Fund.	
Buildings.—	
As per last account	... 9,618 14 9
Added this year	... 8,712 9 3
	<hr/>
Deposit with Patisar Krishni Bank	964 7 7
Deposit with General Office	546 0 9
Deposit with Imperial Bank of India	231 11 11
	<hr/>
20,073 11 9	1,20,180 4 9
	<hr/>

**VISVA=BHARATI.
EAR-MARKED FUNDS.**

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1929.—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.

PEAL (as per last Account).—

Dance from General Fund

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gri C

—
as per last Account).

Expenditure from General Fund

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ALL (as per last Account).—

Process of Income over Expenditure

Revenue as per Fund Account

Rs. As. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.			Rs. As. P.
B-5/23, <i>Ratan Kuthi Fund.</i> —				
30,000 0 0	BUILDING & FURNITURE.			
344 7 9	As per last Account	...	29,883 1 6	30,344 7 9
	Added this year	...	511 6 3	
				<u>30,344 7 9</u>
B-7/23, <i>Birla Kuthi Fund.</i>				
20,000 0 0	BUILDINGS.—			
3,551 0 0	As per last Account	...	551 0 0	23,551 0 0
	Added this year	...	23,000 0 0	
				<u>23,551 0 0</u>
B-7/24, <i>Limbdi Sanatorium Fund.</i>				
10,000 0 0	Loan to General Fund	...		10,000 0 0
1,498 3 6	Deposit with General Office	...		1,498 3 6
				<u>11,498 3 6</u>

[January, 1930]

**VISVA-BHARATI.
EAR-MARKED FUNDS.**

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1929.—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.

R.S. A.S. P.

**Rs. As. P.
PROPERTY AND ASSETS.**

8/24, Kadoorji Water Works Fund.				
10,046	7	0	COST OF TUBE WELL.—	
			As per last Account	4,586 0 6
			Added this year ...	2,660 15 6
				1,925 1 0
701	3	0	Deposit with Fatisar Krishi Bank	2,385 7 6
			Deposit with General Office	3,776 2 0
				10,747 10 0
				10,747 10 0

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L (as per last Account).—
ss of Income over Expendi-
re as per Fund Revenue
ount.

(as per last Account).—
 Income over Expenditure as per Fund Revenue Account.

(as per last account).—

(as per last Account).—

B-9/25, Bai Hirabai Fund.

15,200	0	0	BUILDINGS.—			
			G. P. Notes & Port Trust Debentures			
			... Deposit at General Office	...		
- 281	0	0				
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>				
15,481	0	0				

D 10/25 Kalakshetra Fund (Music).

B-10/20, ~~Autumn~~ Deposit with Bengal Provincial Co-Operative Bank Ltd. ...

B-11/25, Dormitory Fund.
Buildings 10,000 0 0

VISVA=BHARATI.
EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.

GC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1929—(Contd.)

R.s. As. P.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

1,153 13 4 Deposit with General Office

1,153 13 4

VISVA-BHARATI.

January, 1930]

VISVA-BHARATI.
EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929.

B-3/22, Kalabhabana Fund.

Re-	Rs. As. P.
Transfer to Kalabhabana Revenue Account	4,935 11 6
Transfer to Fund Account	... 7,489 3 5
	<hr/> 7,489 3 5

Rs. As. P.

4,935 11 6

By Interest	Rs. As. P.
B-4/23, Pearson Hospital Fund.	66 10 3
7,489 3 5	By Interest
	, , Donation
	<hr/> 7,489 3 5

Rs. As. P.

66 10 3

7,422 9 2

7,489 3 5

B-7/24, Limbdi Sanatorium Fund.

By Balance from Last Year	Rs. As. P.
400 0 0	By Interest
	, , Interest
1,498 3 6	<hr/> 1,898 3 6

Rs. As. P.

1,298 3 6

600 0 0

1,898 3 6

B-8/24, Kadoorji Water Works Fund.

By Interest	Rs. As. P.
701 3 0	By Interest
	<hr/> 701 3 0

Rs. As. P.

111 9 6

489 6 0

600 15 6

B-9/25, Bai Hirabai Fund.

By Balance from Last Account	Rs. As. P.
180 0 0	By Interest
139 15 6	, , Interest
281 0 0	<hr/> 600 15 6

Rs. As. P.

62 8 0

62 8 0

Transfer to Kalabhabana
(Music) Revenue Account ...

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THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY

VISVA=BHARATI.
EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1929—(Contd.)

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
B-1, Santiniketan Trust Fund.		
Rs. As. P.	By Endowment Properties	Trust Properties
2,377 0 0	315 12 3	... ...
1,181 0 0	111 3 0	... ...
... ...	254 4 0	... ...
... ...	99 1 9	... ...
... ...	62 4 9	... ...
... ...	1,802 9 6	... ...
Total Income over Expenditure to Fund Account	472 8 6	... ...
	<u>6,675 11 9</u>	<u>6,675 11 9</u>
Society of Friends.		
Expenditure	... ...	... ...
Excess of Income over Expenditure	2,640 10 0	By Donation
... ...	1,153 13 4	... ...
	<u>3,794 7 4</u>	<u>3,794 7 4</u>
President's Fund.		
1,678 15 6	By Donation
	<u>3,794 7 4</u>	<u>3,794 7 4</u>

*[Magh, 1]**1.678 15 6**President's Fund.**1.678 15 6**By Donation*

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I.G.T.S. 15
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE VARSHIKA PARISHAT, 1929.



The Varshika-Parishat (Annual General Meeting) of the Visva-Bharati for the year 1929 was held at Santiniketan at 8 A.M., on Monday, the 23rd December, 1929.

Agenda.

1. Address by the Acharyya or other persons authorised by the Acharyya.
2. Annual Report and Audited Accounts.
3. Election of Members of the Samsad (Governing Body).
4. Appointment of Auditors.
5. Recommendations from the Samsad.
6. Confirmation of Bye-laws and Amendments to Regulations.
7. Notified Resolutions and Amendments, if any.
8. Interpellations, if any.
9. Appointment of a Committee for Confirmation of Proceedings.
10. Miscellaneous.

Present.

The following members of the Visva-Bharati were present:—

RABINDRANATH TAGORE, Founder President (in the chair).

Ariam, E. Williams.	Ghosh, Pulin Behary.
Banerjee, Haricharan.	„ Tanayendranath.
„ Mohit Kumar.	Home, Amal.
Bhattacharya, Vidhusekhar.	Kar, Surendranath.
Basu, Nandalal.	Lahiri, Sudhir Kumar.
„ Santosh Behari.	Mukherjee, Bejoy Behari.
Ganguly, Nalin Chandra.	Mukherjee, Prabhat Kumar.
Ghosh, Jyotish Chandra.	Pal, Satyajiban.
„ Kalimohan.	Ray, Jagadananda.
„ Pramadarajan.	„ Nepal Chandra.

Roy, Sarojendranath.	Sen, (Miss) Hembala.
Ray Choudhury, Sudhakanta.	,, (Mrs.) Kiranbala.
Santra, Kishorimohan.	,, Kshitimohan.
Sanyal, Hiran Kumar.	Tagore, Dinendranath.
Sen, Birendranath.	

Prasantachandra Mahalanobis (*Karma-Sachiva*).

Affirmation of Ideals.

1. The proceedings opened with the chanting of the following Vedic hymn :—

तमौश्वराणां परमं महेश्वरं
 तं देवतानां परमञ्च देवतम् ।
 पतिं पतौनां परमं परस्तात्
 विदाम देवं भुवनेश्वरोऽग्रम् ॥
 न तस्य कार्यं करणञ्च विद्यते
 न तत्समस्याभ्यधिकश्च दृश्यते ।
 परास्य शक्तिर्विधैव श्रूयते
 स्वाभाविकी ज्ञानबलक्रिया च ॥
 न तस्य कर्त्त्वं पतिरस्ति लोके
 न चेश्विता नैव च तस्य लिङ्गम् ।
 सकारणं करणाधिपाधिपो
 न चास्य कश्चिज्जनिता न चाधिपः ॥

 एष देवो विश्वकर्मा महात्मा सदा जनानां हृदये सन्निविष्टः ।
 हृदा मनौषा मनसाभिकृप्ती य एतद्विदुरमृतास्ते भवन्ति ॥

The Pratisthata-Acharyya (Founder-President) then proceeded with the Samkalpa-Vachana (Affirmation of Ideals) as follows :—

READER :

ओं खस्ति भवन्तोऽधिब्रुवन्तु ।

RESPONSE (by members) :

ओं खस्ति खस्ति खस्ति ॥

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READER :

ओं कृष्णः भवन्तोऽधिन् वन्तु ।

RESPONSE :

ओं कृष्णताम् कृष्णताम् कृष्णताम् ॥

READER :

अथेयं विश्वभारतैः ।

यत्र विश्वं भवत्येकनौडम् ॥

प्रयोजनम् अस्याः समासतो व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

एष नः प्रत्ययः—सत्यं च्योकम् ॥

पत्याः पुनरस्य नैकः । विचित्रैरेव हि पथिभिः

पुरुषा नैकदेशवासिन एकं तौर्थमुपासर्पन्ति—

इति हि विज्ञायते ॥

प्राचौ च प्रतौचौ चेति हे धारे विद्यायाः ।

हाभ्यामस्ये ताभ्याम् उपलब्ध्यमैक्यं सत्यस्याखिल-

लोकाञ्जयभूतस्य—इति नः संकल्पः ॥

एतस्यैवैक्यस्य उपलब्धिः परमो लाभः परमा शान्तिः

परमं च कल्याणं पुरुषस्य

—इति हि वयं विजानौमः ॥

सियमुपासनौया नौ विश्वभारतौ विविधदेशग्रथिताभि

विचित्रविद्याकुसुममालिकाभिरिति हि

प्राच्याच्च प्रतौच्याच्चेति सर्वैऽप्युपासकाः सादरमाह्यन्ते ॥

तदिदमनुज्ञायताम्, तदिदमनुमन्यताम्,

तदिदमनुष्ठौयताम् ॥

RESPONSE :

इदमसाभिरनुज्ञायते, इदमसाभिरनुमन्यते,

इदं च वयमनुतिष्ठाम यावच्छक्यं यथाज्ञानं च ॥

तदिदं कृष्णताम्, तदिदं समृष्ट्यताम् ॥

Address by the President.

2. The Pratisthata-Acharyya (Founder President) delivered an address on the ideals of the Visva-Bharati. He then left the meeting.

Election of Chairman.

3. On the proposal of Amal Home seconded by Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya was voted to the chair.

Annual Report.

4. Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Karma-Sachiva, placed before the Parishat the Annual Report for 1929, and the Audited Accounts for 1928-29 (printed copies of which were circulated among members present). After some discussion further consideration of the Annual Report and the Audited Accounts was adjourned.

Members of the Samsad.

5. The following persons were declared duly elected members of the Samsad for 1930-31 :—

- (a) Elected from among members resident in Bengal for 1930-31.
Pramathanath Banerjee, Suniti Kumar Chatterji,
Kshitimohan Sen, Kalidas Nag, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri,
Jitendramohan Sen, Sisir Kumar Mitra and Indubhusan Sen.
- (b) Elected from among members resident outside Bengal for 1930-31.
Atul Prasad Sen, Ambalal Sarabhai, M. R. Jaykar, R. Uchida.
- (c) Representative from Sriniketan for 1930-31.
Kalimohan Ghosh.

Appointment of Auditors.

6. Resolved that the best thanks of the Parishat be conveyed to Messrs. Ray & Ray, Chartered Accountants, for auditing the Visva-Bharati Accounts for 1928-29, and that Messrs. Ray & Ray be reappointed Auditors for the year 1929-30.

Proposed by—NEPAL CHANDRA RAY.

Seconded by—SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI. (Carried nem. con.).

Recommendations from the Samsad.

7. Resolved in confirmation of the resolution of the Samsad that Narendranath Law, Artha-Sachiva be authorised to deal with stocks, shares, investments or other securities belonging to the Visva-Bharati and to sell, endorse or otherwise negotiate the above instruments on behalf of the Visva-Bharati.

Proposed by—NEPAL CHANDRA RAY.

Seconded by—KISHORIMOHAN SANTRA. (Carried nem. con.).

January, 1930]

Adjournment of the Parishat.

The Parishat was then adjourned to 2 P.M. on the same day in the Santiniketan Library.

ADJOURNED VARSHIKA PARISHAT, 1929.

The adjourned meeting of the Varshika Parishat (Annual General Meeting) was held in the Library Hall, Santiniketan at 2 P.M. on Monday the 23rd December, 1929. Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya in the chair.

Annual Report.

8. The consideration of the Annual Report was proceeded with.

Resolved that the Annual Report for 1929 be adopted and published with such verbal additions and alterations as may be considered necessary by a Committee consisting of Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, Amal Home, Rathindranath Tagore, Charuchandra Bhattacharya with Prasantachandra Mahalanobis as its Secretary.

Proposed by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH.

Seconded by—NEPAL CHANDRA RAY. (Carried nem. con.).

Audited Accounts.

9. The Audited Accounts for 1928-29 were then taken into consideration.

Resolved that the Audited Accounts and the Balance Sheet for 1928-29 be adopted and published.

Proposed by—NEPAL CHANDRA RAY.

Seconded by—KALIMOHAN GHOSH. (Carried nem. con.).

Miscellaneous.

10. (i) With the permission of the Chairman and the Parishat, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri drew attention to the desirability of holding meetings of the Parishat on gazetted holidays as far as practicable. The sense of the meeting was in favour of this suggestion which was accepted by the Karma-Sachiva, but no formal resolution was passed.

(ii) With the permission of the Chairman and the Parishat, Jyotish Chandra Ghosh proposed the appointment of a Special Committee for raising funds for the Visva-Bharati. The sense of the meeting was in favour of the proposal. The Karma-Sachiva undertook to place the question before the executive authorities of the Visva-Bharati, and no formal resolution was passed.

[Magh, 1335]

Committee for Confirmation.

II. Resolved that in accordance with Regulation 8 (viii) a Committee consisting of Rabindranath Tagore (*President*), Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya (*Chairman*), Pramadaranjan Ghosh, Nepal Chandra Ray, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jyotish Chandra Ghosh and Prasantachandra Mahalanobis (*Karma-Sachiva*) be appointed to draw up and authenticate the proceedings of the Varshika Parishat, 1929 for confirmation.

Proposed by—E. W. ARIAM.

Seconded by—KISHORIMOHAN SANTRA. (Carried nem. con.).

(Sd.) RABINDRANATH TAGORE (*President*).

„ VIDHUSEKHAR BHATTACHARYA

(Sd.) P. C. MAHALANOBIS,

Karma-Sachiva

(*Chairman*).

„ NEPAL CHANDRA RAY.

„ JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH.

„ SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI.

„ PRAMADARANJAN GHOSH.

(*Members, Confirmation Committee*).

Confirmed in accordance with Regulation 8 Clause (viii) at a meeting of the Karma-Samiti (by circulation) on the 10th June, 1930.

(Sd.) P. C. MAHALANOBIS,

Karma-Sachiva.

January, 1930]

WORK IN VILLAGES.

HEALTH ACTIVITIES

Name of Villages	Total Population	Total Number of members of Health Society	Jungle cleared (Bigha)	Roads repaired and cleared & New Roads opened	Drains cleared & New Drains opened	Dobas filled up	Dobas cleaned & cleared	Dobas Kero-sined	Amount of Kerosine used (lbs.)	Quinine distributed (grains)	MALARIA CASES	
											Member (Percentage)	Non-Member (Percentage)
Benuria ...	...	113	1	$7\frac{1}{2}' \times 2,085'$	$1\frac{1}{2}' \times 3,480'$	33	18	58	54	9,452	2 (1.7)	...
Lohagarh ...	291	133	$\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{1}{2}' \times 2,031'$	$3' \times 4,734'$	3	...	20	10	7,728	3 (2.2)	14 (8.8) 17 (11)
Bahadurpur	311	155	$\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{1}{2}' \times 2,031'$	$1\frac{1}{2}' \times 5,034'$	17	...	35	24	8,020	4 (2.5)	9 (6.) 13 (8.5)
Bhubandanga	350	99	1	600'	900'	15	...	16	16	11,276	2 (2)	27 (10.8) 29 (10.8)
Bandhgora ...	178	134	2	$1\frac{1}{2}' \times 675'$ and 195	3,840'	10	...	...	36	14,116	2 (1.49)	...

[Magh, 1336]

WORK IN VILLAGES.

Name of Villages CC-0. In Public Domain, Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar	RECEIPTS					EXPENDITURE					BALANCE Rs. A. P.			
	Subs- cription	Union Board	District Board	Dona- tions	Misce- llaneous	Total	Clearing Jungles	Road repair	Drains closed	New Drains opened	Dobas kerosined	Miscel- laneous	Total	
Benuria ...	43 0	...	70	...	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A. P.	
Lohagarh ...	30 0	...	100	...	113 0	0 0	22 8	7 8	22 8	...	60 14	...	113 0	
Bahadurpur	100 14	...	100	...	130 0	0 0	5 0	15 0	...	20	15 0	...	55 0	
Bhubandanga	29 0	25	55	...	200 14 0	4 0 0	50 12	60 0	...	50 0	200 12 0 2 0	
Bandhgora ...	102 0	50	100	12 7 4 1 12	3306	3 3	...	120 11	3 3	...	127 2	6 10	9 6 267 0	39 3 3

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VISVA-BHARATI

PRESIDENT: RABINDRANATH TAGORE



MEMORANDUM OF ASSOCIATION

Objects. "To study the Mind of Man in its realisation of different aspects of truth from diverse points of view."

"To bring into more intimate relation with one another, through patient study and research, the different cultures of the East on the basis of their underlying unity."

"To approach the West from the standpoint of such a unity of the life and thought of Asia."

"To seek to realise in a common fellowship of study the meeting of the East and the West, and thus ultimately to strengthen the fundamental conditions of world peace through the establishment of free communication of ideas between the two hemispheres."

"And with such ideals in view to provide at Santiniketan aforesaid a centre of Culture where research into and study of the religion, literature, history, science, and art of Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Islamic, Sikh, Christian, and other civilisations may be pursued along with the culture of the West, with that simplicity in externals which is necessary for true spiritual realisation, in amity, good fellowship and co-operation between the thinkers and scholars of both Eastern and Western countries, free from all antagonisms of race, nationality, creed or caste, and in the name of the One Supreme Being who is Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam."

Membership. "The membership of the Visva-bharati and of its Constituent Bodies shall be open to all persons irrespective of sex, nationality, race, creed, caste, or class and no test or condition shall be imposed as to religious belief or profession in admitting or appointing members, students, teachers, workers, or in any other connection whatsoever."

The Society is at present maintaining the following institutions:—Patha-Bhavana (School), Siksha-Bhavana (College), Vidya-Bhavana (Research Institute), Kala-Bhavana (School of Arts and Crafts) at Santiniketan, Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Surul and Visva-bharati Sammilani at Calcutta and Dacca. The Society manages its own press and publishing department.

The supreme control is vested in the Parishat, the Members in General Meeting assembled. The Governing Body is the Samsad, consisting of members elected by the Sadasyas and the representatives of the different departments.

Life-membership Rs. 250. Annual subscription for ordinary members Rs. 12. Persons desiring to become members of Visva-bharati should fill up a Form of application and send it to the Visva-bharati office.

Treasurer
Narendranath Law

General Secretary
Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis

CORNWALLIS STREET, CALCUTTA; OR SANTINIKETAN, INDIA.

Vol. 8, 1930-31]

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ANNOUNCEMENT.

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THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY.

Vol 8. 1930-31, Parts I & II.

DEDICATION.

By REGINALD A. REYNOLDS.

Through the dark fury of the gale,
Victor, but not inviolate,
Toward an unknown shore I sail
The vast, unchartered, sea of Fate.

The joy that waits the journey's end
Its pain and labour glorifies :
My will, my purpose, cannot blend
When Zove has coveted the prize.

But if disaster guard the strand,
And if to meet it be my task,
A cool head and a steady hand
Is all I need, or dare to ask ;

That you, the solitary goal
Where all my aspirations meet
May know the mettle of his soul
Who dared so much for his defeat.

LETTERS FROM RUSSIA

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

I.

September 19, 1930.

Russia. A palace in a suburb of Moscow. Looking through the window I see an unbroken stretch of forest right up to the horizon. There is wave on wave of green; deep green, light green, green mixed with purple, green with an yellowish glow. Away beyond, stands a village with its line of huts. It is nearly ten in the morning. Clouds pile on clouds, there is no rain, but the sky is busy with its pompous announcement; the tops of the slender poplars are swaying to gusts of wind.

The name of the hotel where I put up during the few days that I was in Moscow is the Grand Hotel. It occupies an immense building which is in a most wretched condition, not unlike that of a millionaire's son gone bankrupt. The trimmings and trappings have been partly sold off; what remain badly require mending and washing—luxuries forbidden in the present destitution. It is the same all over the town. The splendour of old still shines through the extreme squalor, like a pair of gold sleeve-links on a tattered shirt, or a dress of fine muslin disfigured by patches of coarse darning.

Nowhere else in Europe does one come across such utter desolation. Everywhere else, due to the sharp distinction between the rich and the poor, wealth looms prominently before the eye in its massed grandeur, and poverty lurks in the background where everything is disorderly, squalid, unhealthy, dark with misery and destitution and sin. To us, outsiders, in our fleeting view, everything seems so nice, so neat, so prosperous. Were this prosperity to be evenly distributed the fact would be painfully brought home that there is not sufficient food and

(I) Translated by Hirankumar Sanyal from a Bengali letter written to Srimati Rani Devi.

1930-31]

clothing for every one. In Russia, because there is no distinction, wealth has been stripped of its glamour, and poverty is no longer ugly—it is just sheer destitution.

Nothing but scarcity. This is the first impression of Russia, a land where wealth is entirely absent. In other countries there are the masses; in Russia only the masses are. All manner of men pass along the streets of Moscow, among them there is not one who is elegantly dressed. The fact seems obvious that the leisured class is no more; everybody now must work for his living.

There is not the slightest suggestion of luxury anywhere. I had been to see a gentleman of the name of Dr. Petroff, who is a high official and a person of considerable standing in Moscow. He has his office in a building which was once the home of a wealthy man. But there was a minimum of furniture in the room where I was received, of outward refinement there was not a trace. A most ordinary-looking table stood in a corner of the uncarpeted floor. That was all. The whole place seemed to have put on mourning—there was no obligation of appearing correctly dressed in public, no need of decorum. The service at my hotel is far from what one is led to expect by its pretentious title—The Grand Hotel. But there is no air of apology about it; conditions are no better elsewhere.

All this reminds me of the days of my childhood. How modest our style of living was judged by present-day standards. But we were never ashamed of it, because there was no acute difference between high and low—the same plain living was the rule everywhere. What difference there was, was purely cultural, relating, that is, to such things as music, learning, etc. There were also differences in family tradition, which found expression in distinctiveness of speech, manners and conduct. But our food, our dress, the paraphernalia of our life generally, were simple, and would probably excite the contempt of ordinary middle-class people of to-day.

The class consciousness that wealth creates has been imported into our country from the West. At one time in our country salary-earners and businessmen with their pockets filled with newly earned money took to exotic luxuries which became

the fashion. Since then the scale of one's outfit has been the sole measure of one's social position. That explains why to-day in our country the distinction that money confers outshines everything else—birth, breeding, culture. The honour which accompanies monetary distinction is man's greatest dis-honour, and we must be on our guard lest the vulgarity of it taint our lives at the very core.

What appeals to me most in Russia is that nowhere there is the slightest trace of this vulgarity, snobbery has disappeared altogether. In one instant the common people have been awakened to an unrestrained realization of their self-respect. It fills my heart with wonder and joy to find that everybody, today, peasant or workman, carries his head high, no longer borne down by the weight of humiliation.

I have so much more to write about. But just now I must have rest. So I will recline in the long chair opposite the window, tuck my legs up in a rug, and then, if my eyes are heavy with sleep, I will make no heroic attempt to keep them open.

II.

September 20, 1930.

In Russia at last. Everything seems wonderful, not in the least like what we see in other countries. There is a difference at the very root of things. Everybody here, from top to bottom, has been roused to a sense of absolute equality. There has always been in human civilization a set of men—they are the majority—who remain in the background. It is their business to carry others. Having no time to cultivate humanity, brought up on the refuse of the country's wealth, least fed, least clothed, least educated, they serve the rest. Their toil is hardest, their indignity greatest. Every now and then, they die of disease, they die of starvation, they all but die of injuries and insults hurled on them from those above. They are deprived of every necessity, every comfort, of life. They are the lampstands of civilization; standing erect, they support on their heads lamps lighted with oil: the people above get the light, the oil trickles

(II) Translated by Hirankumar Sanyal from a Bengali letter written to Mr. Rathindranath Tagore.

[1930-31]

down their bodies. I have often thought about them, but no remedy has suggested itself to me. Unless some are at the bottom, others cannot be at the top. And, surely, some needs must be at the top, for, otherwise, men will never see beyond their immediate surroundings. Man's humanity does not consist in the mere earning of a livelihood; civilization is in the transcendence of this compelling need. It is in fields of leisure that civilization's richest crops have been cultivated. Therefore, there is need of preserving leisure as an integral feature of civilization. And so, I had always thought that we should promote as best as we can the education, health and happiness of those that are compelled to work at the bottom not by the force of circumstance only, but by the very disposition of their minds and bodies.

The difficulty is that nothing permanent can be achieved by charity. The good that one would do from outside baulks itself at every step. It is only on a basis of equality that true help can be rendered. However, I could never reach a satisfying conclusion. Yet, it is mortifying to accept it as inevitable that civilization will maintain its lofty standard only by degrading a majority of men to a sub-human level. Just think how England prospers by starving India. Many people in England have an idea that in supporting England lies the fulfilment of India's destiny. In order that England may achieve greatness, it is perfectly justified, they think, that a nation should be kept in perpetual slavery. What does it matter if this subject nation is ill-fed and ill-clad? Yet sometimes they will generously concede that something should be done to improve its conditions of life. But over a hundred years has brought us neither education, nor health, nor wealth. Things are no better even where a country's internal affairs are concerned. Unless you can respect a man you can never do him any good; at any rate, a clash of interests will always lead to blows and bloodshed.

In Russia an attempt is being made to solve this problem at the very base. It is too early yet to judge of its results, but what I see even now fills me with admiration. Education is the high road along which we must seek the solution of all our problems. So far, a majority of men the world over have been

denied full opportunities for education ; in India, of nearly all opportunities. It makes one marvel, therefore, to see the splendid enterprise with which education is being carried to every corner of the country in Russia. The measure of education is not in numbers only, but also in the degree of its completeness and of its power. What an elaborate organization, what vast enterprise, that no man may remain helpless and workless ! Fast as a spate, they are spreading education, not in White Russia only, but among the half-civilized peoples of Central Asia, too, sparing no pains to place in their hands the latest fruits of science.

Huge crowds fill the theatres here whenever a good opera or a famous play is on the programme : it is the peasants and workers who make up these crowds. No disrespect for them anywhere. I have visited only a few institutions so far, but everywhere I have been struck by their awakening of mind, their delight in the sense of self-respect. What a difference with the labouring classes in England, let alone the masses in India !

Here they are doing efficiently over an entire country what we have attempted on the smallest scale at Sriniketan. Every day I compare conditions here with those in India and I am led to think of where we are and where we might have been. India, diseased, starving, utterly helpless, how immeasurably far behind does she linger ! Only a few years ago the conditions of the masses in Russia were exactly similar to the conditions of the masses in India. But in the short period since then things have moved rapidly here, while we are still rotting in the quagmire of our inertia, stuck fast up to the chin.

Not that the system here is absolutely perfect. It has its serious flaw which will one day bring about a catastrophe. Briefly, the flaw is that they have made a mould of the system of education. But character cast in a mould never endures. If the law of man's dynamic mind clashes with the principle of his educational theory, then either the mould will be shivered to bits, or man's mind will be cramped and atrophied or, worse still, be reduced to an automaton.

We have to remember that our real field of work is

LETTERS FROM RUSSIA

7

1930-31]

Sriniketan. We must contrive to make our educational system complete in every respect. No smattering will do: science should be taught from the very first, specially applied science. When our electric plants are installed, our boys must train themselves by helping to work them. They should also serve, by turns, as apprentices in the printing press we have at Santiniketan, and learn all about motor driving and automobile engineering, too. The hands of our youths are good for no work except wielding the pen; they must be cured of this by constant handling of machinery. The theory of co-operation should be made the main item in the curriculum and physiology, the next.

In Russia, boys are entrusted with responsible work, in groups. I found different groups in charge of different kinds of work, in connexion with residential arrangements, health, stores, etc. There is only a supervisor, otherwise the management is entirely in the hands of the boys. I have all along tried to introduce this system in Santiniketan, but nothing more concrete has been achieved than framing rules. One of the reasons is that success at the examination has always been the obsession of the department of study; everything else is secondary.

Our idle minds hardly relish the idea of doing any work beyond what we must do. Besides, brought up exclusively on text-books from childhood, our teachers are utterly helpless when faced with anything that lies outside of the printed page. So there is no use in framing rules, for when those who frame them are insincere, the rules are sure to be disregarded.

In regard to rural work and the system of education there is nothing here which I had not thought about. Only, there is energy, there is initiative, and there is the wonderful practical wisdom of the organisers. I think a great deal depends on physical strength. It is impossible to work with full vigour when the body is undermined by malaria and mal-nutrition. Here in this cold climate progress in work is rapid because the people are hardier. Perhaps it would not be fair to estimate the number of workers in our country by a count of heads, for nobody is a whole man.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN RUSSIA.

An Account of the Poet's Visit to Moscow.

Edited by P. C. MAHALANOBIS.

For a long time Rabindranath Tagore had been anxious to visit Russia. In 1926 he received an invitation from the Soviet Government, but was taken seriously ill with influenza at Vienna towards the end of October. It was already late autumn, and news of an early winter were coming in from all sides; Vienna itself was under snow. Dr. Wenkebach had strictly forbidden all visitors, but the poet managed one day to smuggle into his bed room a representative of the Soviet Government, and made all arrangements to go to Moscow. It was with the greatest difficulty that he was finally persuaded to give up the idea. In 1929 on his way back from Canada he intended to go across Russia by the Trans-Siberian Railway, but unfortunately ill health again prevented him from doing so.

Arrival in Moscow.

This year his long felt desire was fulfilled, and on the 11th September, 1930, he arrived in Moscow*, accompanied by Dr. Harry Timbres, Miss Margaret Einstein of Berlin, the Poet's grand-nephew Soumyendranath Tagore, and his secretaries Mr. Ariam Williams and Mr. A. C. Chakravarti. The Poet was received at the White-Russian Baltic Station by the representative of the USSR Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries: D. Novomirsky, Chief, Anglo-American Section; A. Eshukoff, Chief, Exhibition Department, and M. Dobin, Chief, Foreign Reception Bureau, and by prominent members of the Moscow Writers Association such as the author Alexiev, the eminent constructivist poetess Vera Inber and others.

*The present account is based on the diary and notes of conversations kept by Dr. Harry Timbres and the Poet's own letters from Russia. We regret it has not been possible to have this article checked by Dr. Timbres or any other member of the Poet's party.

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Reception at VOKS (Society for Cultural Relations).

A reception was arranged at 12 noon on Friday, the 12th September in the VOKS-building. Prof. F. N. Petroff, President of the Society, explained the aims and objects of the new experiments in Russia. The following notes of the conversation will give some idea of the topics discussed by the Poet.

Conversation at the VOKS-reception.

Petroff.—Please excuse me for my inability to speak your language. I am glad to welcome you to our country. It is a great inspiration to us that you take such interest in our new order of civilization in the Soviet Union.

Tagore.—I thank you for your cordial welcome. I know you are making a tremendous experiment in this country. I am not in a position to give any considered opinion about it, but I cannot help expressing my admiration for your courage, for your keen enthusiasm to build up your social structure on the equitable basis of human freedom. It is wonderful to feel that you are interested not merely in your national problems but in the good of humanity as a whole.

Petroff.—This rebuilding of society on a basis of equality is an inevitable consequence of the abundance of tribes and castes in Russia. We have had to deal with this baffling problem of heterogeneity all through our history. The attempt to realize that our differences are negligible in the light of a common need and a common urge of civilization has imparted a great enthusiasm to all our workers, and we fervently believe that we shall be able to offer definite solutions to many of the outstanding problems which have troubled humanity in the past.

Tagore.—By offering education to vast multitudes of your people who were kept imprisoned in the darkness of ignorance, millions of human beings who never got any chance to realize their humanity, and were obliged to yield to exploitation and oppression in order to preserve their precarious existence, you have made an invaluable contribution to human progress. You are creating a new world of humanity, and for the first time in

history, acknowledging the dignity of man in your scheme of practical work.

Petroff.—We believe, however, that the spread of mass education can only be possible under suitable economic conditions. It is because we could gain full control of the economic resources of Russia that we have been able to spend so much for education and for various forms of cultural work that have now been introduced for the first time in a vast agricultural country.

Tagore.—That is true. No aspect of life can in reality be deducted from another. Education is necessarily connected with economic problems.

Petroff.—After gaining economic control, our first care has been to educate children before they go to school. We bring them up from their very first days in a properly organized social environment, which itself is at once the basis and the superstructure of all educational systems. Nor do we neglect the parents of the children; we carry on a vigorous educational movement among adults. In this way we hope to develop a new race of men with a free and independent outlook co-operating for the mutual good of society as a whole.

Tagore.—Don't you believe that much of what you do today has behind it the accumulated forces of active reaction against the oppressive regime of the past government? It is wonderful that this reaction should have been translated into higher forms of activity and not been dissipated in mere retaliatory politics. You have, of course, as I am sure you will freely admit, made grievous mistakes at the time of your first accession to power, but the sense of responsibility that this power brought along with it has quickly given you a full sense of reality, and you seem to lose no opportunity now of merging your racial individualities into a harmonious social existence. I, as an educationist, am concerned vitally with all the great movements you have initiated for the good of the peasant masses. As you know, our country, like yours, is an agricultural one, and we have amongst our peasantry all the obstacles of ignorance, of bigotry, and superstition that you have already overcome to a great extent with the help of education. If we can learn from

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your experiences in this line, we shall be able to grapple with rural problems in India in an efficient manner.

Petroff.—Our first educational weapon is to launch an intensive campaign in the villages directed to make the peasants conscious of their own dignity, of their inherent rights of which they had been deprived for so long, and of all the possibilities that lie open to them. We are not ashamed to be propagandists, and our propaganda itself is educative. It is scientific, it is human, it is moral, and carries all the fervour of social service that we are capable of igniting in our minds and hearts.

Whatever line of work we undertake to-day has always the welfare of the people as its direct inspiration. We do not want to enjoy any exclusive privileges at all, because that kind of enjoyment is anti-social and therefore non-human, perhaps even inhuman. All the store-houses of wisdom, of joy, of well-ordered social benefits are open to every one of us, because every one of us has equal human rights to them.

Tagore.—I have come to study your educational methods, to draw strength from the atmosphere of creative efforts which surrounds you. I have my educational colony in India which is linked up with the surrounding villages. With meagre means I and my colleagues there try our best to serve our neighbours, to invite them to our festivals, to supply them with medicine, to demonstrate to them the efficiency of up-to-date methods of agriculture. Whatever you can show me, therefore, of your educational work will be of very great use to me indeed. I wish I had more time and energy to study your work properly, but I shall do all that I can to utilize my visit to your country.

Petroff.—Sir, your name is known and loved by the whole country of Russia. We have over 25 current volumes of your works, and a vast public reads them. We shall be only too happy and proud to show you whatever you want to see of our work, and we feel sure you will appreciate our educational activities.

Concert at the Federation of Soviet Writers, Moscow.

On the evening of the same day a concert was arranged jointly by the VOKS and the Moscow Association of Writers in honour of Rabindranath Tagore at the Club House of the Association. Among those present were Prof. P. S. Kogan (President of the Academy of Arts); Prof. Pinkevitch (Director of the Second Moscow State University); Albert Rhys Williams, the writer, Madame Litvinova, and a number of eminent Soviet writers such as Ognyed (author of Diary of Kostya, Ryaptseva, Life of a Soviet School boy), Vera Inber, Fedor Gladkov (who wrote the much-talked-of "Cement"); Eseev (poet, a former futurist and close adherent of Vladimir Mayakovsky) and others.

Speech of Welcome.

Prof. Petroff opened the proceedings with the following speech of welcome :

Representatives of Soviet public life, art and science see among them to-day Rabindranath Tagore, one of the greatest of living poets and thinkers.

Rabindranath Tagore is one of those men who have followed with the closest attention and interest the great events developing during the last ten years in the history of humanity. It is obvious that one so gifted with spiritual and poetic insight could not have gone away without seeing this most important page of human history, that page which bears the name of the Great October Revolution.

We, who have taken part in the October Revolution and assisted at the construction of new forms of human culture, extend a warm welcome to one who has come amongst us, as a profound thinker, to study our culture, to study our strivings for the renewal of human society, and thus of human personality itself.

Rabindranath Tagore is an active worker on the forefront of popular education, as well as a poet and a thinker. He is endeavouring, in the educational institution founded by himself in Santiniketan (near Calcutta), to solve problems regarding the formation of human personality. This branch of work occupies an important place in his activities and makes great demands upon his energy and strength. He has come here to learn about the endeavours of our country, to understand how in new and revo-

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lutionary conditions, the human personality, destined to advance human progress in economic, in social and in cultural conditions which are all new, expands and formulates. Rabindranath Tagore wishes to understand how the human personality can in the conditions of socialist reconstruction, perfect itself and become a varitable creative force in the spheres of art, science, and in human progress of every description.

We welcome the visits of friends who come with an open heart and a pure soul to our country to study our efforts, to try and understand the aspirations of the masses towards a new human life, a new and free system for the perfection of human nature.

Many are the lies which have been spoken and written about us, and monstrous are the rumours industriously spread abroad. There are many who say that culture is languishing in our country, and others that culture has perished altogether in Soviet Russia. It is also said that that the Bolsheviks, after accomplishing the greatest revolution in the world, have been unable to cope with the problems thence arising, and have been unable to substitute that which they have destroyed with something else of equal value.

We have only one answer to all this: come and see for yourself, and meditate upon what we are doing, try to understand our aspirations, study our achievements—not only in the spheres of economics, of construction, of industry and agriculture—but our achievements in the solution of the most subtle problems of human creation in the spheres of pedagogics, of art, of poetry and of the science of social life. Realize the special feature introduced into this creative work when the collective, the massed, the emancipated people came forward to replace the isolated aspirations of the individual, with the whole collective force of goodwill of their national creative powers.

Our Soviet culture is of interest at the present stage of revolutionary creation inasmuch as, emancipating both materially and spiritually the many races inhabiting the USSR, it has enabled the million-strong masses of the backward peoples, as well as the toilers of Russian extraction, to apply their powers and their energy to the progress of all humanity, and these backward peoples are now taking the most active part in that historical movement which we, in our country, call socialistic construction. Any one who has seen the Uzbek theatre and heard Turkoman music, anyone acquainted with the creative manifestations of our Caucasian people, and with the achievements in art and science in the Ukraine, must realize that

the problems of mass culture are solved in our country, not by one, but by many nationalities, by the numerous races in the USSR who are progressing, in their own national forms, towards the creation of an international, free proletarian culture. This in itself is bound to make an impression upon all peoples aspiring towards liberation. All the peoples and races beyond the territory of the USSR are following with profound attention and interest the way in which the USSR peoples, liberated from the Tsarist regime and the yoke of a religious police system, and proceeding towards free creative work in new, in socialist economic conditions, are living and carrying out their affairs.

We believe that our friend, Rabindranath Tagore, who has come to visit us, will approach our intellectual processes and endeavour to understand what is going on in our country, with that serious thoughtfulness which he has shown in all his creative work. We rejoice when a great personality of the contemporary historical moment, such as Tagore, comes to us in true fellowship and speaks with perfect frankness of what he has seen and felt in our Union.

Permit me in the name of VOKS, whose only aim is to demonstrate to the whole world, as impartially, vividly and fairly as possible, all that is going on in our Union, to welcome you; permit me, as a member of the representatives of science and in the name of the representatives of the artistic circles grouped around our Society, to welcome you as a close friend, and to hope that you will understand us and express in fairness and justice your opinion of our socialistic reconstruction to the whole world.

He was followed by Profs. Kogan and Pinkevitch and by the Soviet author Shaklar, the latter speaking on behalf of the Moscow Writers Association.

Rabindranath Tagore spoke a few words in reply.

Reply by Rabindranath Tagore.

I thank you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to your country and also to this feast this evening when I have the opportunity of meeting with some of the greatest representatives of intellectual life in your country. Unfortunately, I do not understand your language, and the language in which I am speaking is neither yours nor mine. I will therefore be brief.

I have come to this country to learn. I want to know how you are solving in your country the great problem, the world

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problem of civilization. Civilization to-day has taken man far away from his normal humanity. It has torn individual personality away from society. Modern civilization has given birth to an extraordinarily artificial life; it has created diseases, evoked specific sufferings and given rise to many anomalies. I do not know what ought to be done to cure modern civilization of its ills. I do not know if the path you have chosen in this country for the solution of this problem is the right one. History will judge the extent to which you have been successful. I do not wish to criticize you. I am filled with enthusiasm for the way in which you have, for the first time, afforded to all, the opportunity of acquiring education. For this I would applaud you. I am myself profoundly interested in problems of education. My idea, my dream, has been to create free human beings who should be surrounded by an environment of creative work. Under modern civilization the human personality is imprisoned in a cage, shut off from the rest of society. In your country you have put an end to this evil. I have heard from many and am beginning myself to be convinced, that your ideas are very much like my own dream for a full life for the individual, for complete education. In your country you are not only giving the individuals scientific education, you are making of him a creative personality. In this way you are realizing the greatest, the highest ideal of humanity. For the first time in history you are giving the hidden wealth of the human mind a chance to express itself. I thank you for this from my heart.

I myself have been working in my own way in my own institutions, and my idea of education is that it should be imparted in contact with life itself; it should be a part of life. By living a true life one can have proper education, and not through the complete withdrawal from the realities of life which you so often see in the colleges and schools in the civilized world, those brick-built prisons in which children are denied the true goods of life.

Since I have come to this place I have been able to realize that your ideal of education is very similar to mine, that the people are living a complete life through which their mind is prepared to receive education in its full richness and not merely hoard up isolated facts of scientific instruction or information. You have

been stimulating the people's mind for creative work which is the highest privilege of man. It has not been possible for me to give effect to this idea in an adequate manner in my own institutions. In this country you have been able to give it a proper form, and you have succeeded in giving the movement a great impetus. I realize that it will be an immortal gift to humanity from your country, this idea of education for everybody.

I can only thank you in these few brief words. I am still waiting to see in detail something of the work of education which you are carrying out in your various institutions. Unfortunately, I have very little time to spare, and also I cannot forget the fact, I am reminded of it every day—that I am no longer young. Yet I hope I shall be able to see something which I can carry back to my own land in my memory and which will help us in our own work. I offer you my heartiest thanks for giving me this great opportunity to learn from you about your pioneer work in the field of people's education.

Musical Recital.

The following artists participated in the concert :

Tsiganov, a young talented violinist, 26 years of age, gave a recital of Gluck, Schubert and some Hungarian national folk songs. The baritone, Sadomov, sang Russian folk-songs and a piece from the new Soviet Opera "Son of the Sun." The famous Soviet harp-player, Miss Erdely, who is an Artist Emeritus of the Republic, gave a recital of the famous Russian folk-song 'Volga' and the 'Ario' from Faust. Barsova, Artist Emeritus of the Republic (Soprano) and a leading singer at the Large Moscow Opera House, sang pieces from different operas. A group of Eastern singers and dancers exhibited the musical art of the Caucasian Republics, and the folk-dancing and songs of the Daghestan Republic (the well-known "Lezginka").

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The First Pioneer Commune.

On the evening of the 14th September the Poet visited the first Pioneer Commune, Isigansky Ploschand, Iovarischesky Pereulok, No. 25, Moscow.

On reaching the staircase of the Commune Building the Poet was greeted by pioneer songs, the boys and girls standing in line on both sides of the steps and joining in the chorus. After the Poet had taken his seat in the central hall, a young pioneer girl of fourteen read a message of welcome in English.

Reply to address of welcome.

The Poet speaking a few words in reply, said :

My friends, I am deeply touched by the warm welcome you have accorded to me. As I look at your bright young faces full of hope and a glorious fortune, I feel stirred to my depths and know that the purpose of my visit to Russia is realized. For, believe me, I have come here, not so much to see what you have done and are doing now, which is great, but to visualize the future which you are creating with such fervour for the welfare of the whole of humanity. In every country I visit I want to come in close touch with the young who have the great privilege of looking ahead and of building up with their lives the basis of a new order of civilization. You know I am a poet, and my work is to give expression to living impulses and youthful hopes, and so I can be one with you to-day in your dreams of the future.

Besides this, I can come close to you because I have spent a great part of my life with children. I have my school in Bengal where I live with them, and where I try to bring them up in an atmosphere of complete life. My idea is to provide them with all possible opportunities for the development of a creative life, and I trust them in their free initiative to make the best use of them.

I believe in freedom, in that freedom which naturally takes upon itself responsibilities in order to express adequately the deeper human impulses of love and service. I have given this freedom to the children of my school, and I am interested to know

how you young pioneers are using the freedom you possess for the good of your community and what methods you follow to give expression to the ideal of the new age which you have realized in your country. I hope this evening to know in detail about your work and your way of life.

I thank you warmly for your reception, and I assure you that I feel very happy indeed to be here with you this evening.

Talk with the Children.

The children gathered round the poet with eager faces and wanted to hear from him about his school in India, and to tell him about their own experiences in the Pioneer Commune which they felt proud to be able to manage by their own efforts.

As soon as the Poet finished a chorus of voices rose, several students wanting at once to answer some of the questions raised by the Poet's speech.

A boy.—Yes, we believe in the good of the Community, we are Communists. The bourgeoisie want their individual profit, but we want that all people should have an equal chance to prosper, and here in this school we want to live in that spirit.

A Girl.—Our freedom is in our own hands, not in the hands of elders, therefore we can consult each other and find out what are the best things all of us want to have.

Another boy.—I will explain it in this way. We pioneers try to show in this school in a small way how the whole country can prosper by not listening to the few powerful autocrats at the top, but by following their own friendly wishes. Here we can make mistakes, and then if we want we can ask for help and advice of those who are older than us, but we try first to do everything ourselves. The younger boys and girls amongst us can consult, if they like, the older boys and girls, and they in their turn can approach those of a higher group and so on till we reach the teachers. Our country has a similar ideal, and we are pioneers to prove the efficiency of this method.

Girl X.—We have no punishments because we punish ourselves, and then punishment becomes something else; nobody minds it.

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Tagore.—I want to know more in detail about it. Supposing some one of you has done something wrong, what do you do to make him understand the nature of his offence, and to check his making a similar offence in future? Do you call a special meeting to try the offender, and do you appoint judges from amongst yourselves to conduct the trial? If you find the person guilty of the offence attributed to him, do you inflict any punishment upon him?

Several students rose up at the same time to answer the question. They were each given a chance one after another to express their opinions.

Girl A.—We have no punishment. The trial itself is the punishment. And if the person is found innocent, why he has no punishment at all.

Boy B.—That is to say, he is sorry and we are sorry that all this trial was for nothing—but that cannot be helped.

Tagore.—But does it never happen that the person accused challenges the powers of judgment of the judges themselves—what opportunity does he possess to appeal to a higher authority if he is not pleased with the trial?

Boy B.—If there is a difficulty in coming to a favourable decision we have to take votes, and the person accused has to abide by the opinion of the majority.

Tagore.—What if the person accused happens to differ from the findings of the majority?

The students were puzzled for a time. One girl got up and said:—Perhaps then we shall ask the teacher. The truth is, such a case has never happened here at all!

Boy B.—I shall answer it thus. We do not commit wrongs, because we are chosen pioneers, and we have to know beforehand what is right for us to do and what we should avoid.

The Interpreter.—The pioneers are chosen from orphanages, they have to show special gifts in order to be admitted to the Pioneers' Commune.

Tagore.—I understand what you mean—the atmosphere of your Community is itself a good check on possibilities of wrong-doing on the part of its members, and it is this moral atmosphere again which makes the members realize in their own minds the

wrongness of any offence made against the spirit of the Community life.

Now I want to know from you something about the work you are doing here.

Several boys and girls got up to answer.

A boy.—We are unlike the bourgeois scouts. They want reward, they want military honours, they want everything for themselves individually, not for the good of every one. We pioneers want nothing for ourselves. Whatever good we do for everybody is also of benefit to us. We go to the villages to teach people how to live in a clean manner, we show them the right way of doing things. We go and live with them at times, we perform plays and we tell them all about the conditions of our country, how they were before, how they are now, and what will be the future if we work properly.

Girl B.—We shall show you how we sometimes give the play and the talk together to make it all both interesting and helpful to the people. We shall act a “living newspaper” for you. We pioneers have to learn such informations so that we can know things ourselves and can therefore also make others know about them. It is only when all of us know facts truly and think upon them that we can do some real work.

Boy X.—We know all this from books, from our teachers, and we have to discuss first with each other what we have learnt before we are allowed to go out and tell people about them.

Tagore.—You will be interested to know that we have in our school *Brati-balakas* and *Brati-balikas*, two organizations for boys and girls which are like yours. I do not believe in Boy Scouts and Girl Guides organizations because they have to take all kinds of oaths, and then, as you say, there are amongst those organizations some wrong notions of a military kind. Our boys and girls go out to serve the villagers, to put out fire when fire breaks out in the neighbourhood, they distribute medicine, they show the villagers how to live properly and well. I am very happy indeed to know that you enjoy doing service of this kind because, as you say, by helping the village people you are helping yourselves, you are serving the whole country.

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I would like to know now something about your daily life inside the school.

The School Programme.

Their daily routine appeared to be as follows. Get up from bed—7 a.m.; exercise,—7.15; breakfast,—7.30. Classes begin after breakfast, and continue till 3 p.m. with a break at 1 o'clock for lunch.

The subjects of study include history, geography, mathematics, elementary physics, elementary chemistry, elementary biology, mechanics, politics, sociology, literature, manual training, carpentry, bookbinding, handling modern agricultural implements, etc.

There are no Sundays, and every fifth day is a holiday. After 3 p.m. the pioneers go out to visit factories, hospitals, business centres, villages, etc., according to programme. Excursion tours in the country are arranged for. Plays are acted occasionally and visits to theatres and cinemas organized.

In the evening there are story-reading, story-telling, discussion circles, literary and scientific meetings. On holidays the pioneers have to attend to their own laundry, tidy up their rooms, attend to the cleanliness of the house and grounds, and do extra reading or go out on long walks to the villages.

The age of admittance is usually 7, sometimes 8, but this rule is not strictly observed; students leave at the age of sixteen or even earlier. Co-education is followed throughout, and boys and girls share the same dormitories.

"The Living Newspaper."

The pioneers then acted a play called "The Living News-paper", the theme being the Five Years Plan. The play depicted graphically the different social and economic stages through which the Soviet Union has recently passed, the effect of the introduction of machinery, the rapid benefits of industrialization, the results of collective control and distribution of goods to the Community.

The Pioneers said they took up different subjects for their performance of the "Living Newspaper," sometimes including topics regarding other countries like China, India, Germany, etc. Their purpose is to supply to the public accurate information about everyday life in an interesting manner.

After the performance the young Pioneers again gathered round the Poet and requested him to recite some of his Bengali verses. He gave them a song he had written years ago : "Jana Gana Mana Adhinayaka." One of the young poets of the Commune then recited a poem he had composed specially for this evening in the Russian Language.

After some light refreshment, the Poet again thanked the young Pioneers for their warm hospitality and expressed his genuine appreciation of the atmosphere of Community life which he found in the Pioneers' Commune, and he wished them a future of greater fulfilment.

As the Poet came down the steps to his car the whole Commune sang together two pioneer songs and requested him to come to see them again on his next visit to Russia.

Visit to the Cinema Union.

In the evening of the 15th September, the Poet and his party visited the Amalgamated Cinema Union and were received by M. Rutin, President of the Cinema Union.

The Poet was shown portions of the Russian film "Warshin Potemkin" and some portions of the Russian film "Old and New." These productions were directed by S. Eisenstein. Later the members of the Cinema Board had a conversation with the Poet regarding his new film-stories of which they had heard. They were deeply impressed by the short versions of the stories by the Poet, and they decided to meet him at the Hotel and discuss in detail the possibilities of filming his stories.

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The Central Peasant's House.

On the morning of the 16th September the Poet visited the Central Peasants' House.

These Houses which are used also as clubs are scattered all over the country, in cities, towns and villages. They carry on a great deal of cultural, social and educational work among the peasant masses. In these Houses are organized lectures on various agricultural and social topics, groups are formed to do away with illiteracy, and special classes are held to impart to the peasants practical knowledge of scientific methods of working the land. Each of these Houses is furnished with Museums of Natural History, of the Origin and Growth of Religion, of Agriculture and of Social Welfare. Consultation Bureaux are also established in these Houses on a variety of subjects, such as Agriculture, Taxation, etc.

Peasants arriving in town are put up temporarily at these Houses (for the period of from one night to three weeks) at a very low charge (25 kopecks, about six annas, per night). They are assisted by the Consultation Bureaux to solve the difficulties connected with their village life. By means of these Peasant Houses the Soviet Government is carrying on a tremendous amount of work among the widest strata of the onetime illiterate peasants, transforming their life into one of rich civic responsibility with a new social order as its basis.

Reception by the Peasants.

On his arrival at the Central Peasants' House Rabindranath Tagore was received in the main clubroom by the Superintendent of the House, the House Council, and some 150 peasants who were boarding there at the time, representatives from the nearest and the far-distant points of the Soviet Union.

The small meeting of welcome that followed was opened by the Superintendent who explained to the peasants that the Poet had come to visit them in order personally to meet them and to learn about them. The Superintendent welcomed the Poet on behalf of the assembled peasants, and hoped that this first meeting between the great Indian Poet and the Soviet peasants

would lay the foundation for a still deeper contact between the peasant masses of both countries.

In his brief reply the Poet emphasized the importance and significance of the strenuous work being carried on by the peasants and workers of the Soviet Republic in the building up of a new life, a new humanity. He expressed his admiration for the great spirit of good will which inspired this new effort, this great undertaking which demanded the utmost self-sacrifice and self-denial on the part of the Soviet population.

Talk with the Peasants.

A number of questions were then put to the Poet, and he answered them to the full satisfaction of his audience.

Question : What is the position of the National Policy in India to-day and what is the reason for the strife between Hindus and Mussalmans?

Tagore : I find from personal observations that this strife has been going on for the past twenty-five years only. Before this period there was, as far as I can recall—and I have lived for many years in the village—no such animosity and enmity between them. I am certain that this strife has been accentuated by the overwhelming ignorance and illiteracy of the Indian peasants. These feelings of religious hostility can, in my opinion, be liquidated only by the introduction of mass education. The possibility of educating the masses, unfortunately, does not exist to-day in India.

Question : Have you written anything about the peasants in your works, and what are your views regarding the future of the Indian peasants?

Tagore : Not only have I written about peasants but I am working among them, endeavouring, as far as I can, to educate them. I am not only educating children in my schools, but also carrying on this work in the surrounding villages. This work is, of course, of a modest nature in comparison with the gigantic educational work that is being carried on in the Soviet Union.

Question : What is your opinion of the collectivization that is being developed in this country?

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Tagore: I realize the great importance of this work (collectivization) that is being carried out by the peasants, but I cannot answer this question as, unfortunately, I know very little about it. Lack of knowledge of how this problem is being solved in the Soviet Union is one of the chief reasons of my visit to your country.

Question: What is known in India concerning our collectivization and about the work of our country generally?

Tagore: Unfortunately, very little, as the existing press in India as well as in other countries is reticent and untrustworthy about all facts concerning your country.

Question: Had you heard before of the existence of the Peasants' Houses and of their work?

Tagore: No, only since my coming to Moscow have I learned of the existence of these welfare centres for the peasants.

Now I would like to hear from the peasants at this meeting of their own opinion about Collectivization and its full significance for the agricultural population.

A young Ukrainian peasant of the name of Semenchiko, about 32 years of age, replied: "I am working on a Collective Farm which was organized two years ago. Our Collective Farm consists of big gardens from which we supply canning factories with vegetables and wheat. We have an 8-hour working day and each fifth day is a holiday." (The 5-day week is now introduced throughout the country and works under the name of "the uninterrupted working week").

"The average crop is twice as large as that of any of the neighbouring individual peasants. In the beginning about 150 individual farms were merged into the common unit. In the spring of 1929, half of them left us owing to faulty understanding and misguided application of the instructions given by Comrade Stalin (the General Secretary of the All-Union Communist Party). He had emphasized that the fundamental principle of collectivization was *Voluntary Social participation* in the organization of these collective farms. This basic principle was not correctly understood in a number of rural areas, and due to its inadequate application and the resulting

bureaucratic mistakes, many peasants withdrew from the collective farms. But now, owing to supplementary explanations and the courageous efforts of the remaining collectivist, about a fourth of those that had left have returned. And to-day we are stronger than ever. We are building new living houses for our members, a new dining-hall and a school."

On this same question further information was advanced by a peasant woman from Siberia. She had been a member of a Commune Farm for ten years. She asked the Poet to bear in mind the intimate connexion between the women's movement and the Collective Farms. She explained how the woman of to-day is more self-reliant than her sisters of even a decade ago. She said : "We have specially organized brigades of women collectivists which travel from one part of the country to the other working among the women, rousing them up, and pointing out to them in detail the economic and cultural advantages of collectivization. In order to lighten the strenuous life of the women collectivists in their farm work, and with a view to making their status truly equal to that of their men comrades, there are in every Collective Farm a nursery, a kindergarten, and a communal kitchen."

A farm-labourer from the famous State Farm (Sovkhoz) "Gigant" also described how the collectivist idea is being realized in Russia. "This farm embraces 100,000 hectares[†] of farm land. Last year, we had 3,000 workers. This year that figure will slightly decrease although the output per man will increase. This is due to the introduction of advanced methods of agriculture such as scientific manuring, the use of tractors and other machinery. We have now more than 300 tractors. We also have an 8-hour working day. Those of us who work longer receive overtime allowances. During the winter months when there is insufficient work for all the workers, some two-thirds of them are permitted to leave the farm to seek work in the cities (building, road-mending etc.). During their period of work in the towns they will receive one-third of their summer

[†] 1 hectare = 2.47 acres approximately (= $7\frac{1}{2}$ bighas nearly).

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wage from the farm and their families continue to reside in the rooms given them at the farm."

Tagore.—I should like to know the opinion of some of the individual peasants who are here regarding the Collective Farm, and the views of anyone here present* concerning the principle of private property and whether they regret their surrender of their individual farm-holdings.

A brief pause ensued before the peasants got up to reply to this question. A number of them confessed that they entertained orthodox views on this subject as the idea of collectivization was not clear to their minds; still more of them were shy and embarrassed.

Eventually, a peasant from Bashkir Republic (Central Asia) spoke up. He was still an individual farmer but in a short time, he would enter the neighbouring Collective Farm. Pointing out his reasons for this desire he said : "The Collective method of land exploitation yields a far better and a higher ratio of crop than the individual system. We need machinery for the better cultivation of the land. We individuals cannot afford to purchase machines. Further, even if we owned machines, we could not cultivate the small strips of land that each individual peasant owns. Only through the collectivization of these small plots into large collective farms can we really begin to build a new order of social existence."

A woman peasant from the Tambov region (some 150 miles south of Moscow) then took the floor and said : "There can be no doubt of the superiority of life in Collective Farms to that outside them, and I do not think anyone regrets this change of conditions." Several other peasants confirmed this opinion. Someone from the audience cried out, "How can we regret changing from our former small, dirty huts to our present large, sanitary, hygienic collectivist houses."

Tagore.—I had the pleasure of meeting yesterday M. Karakhan who said that he is particularly proud of the work done by the Soviet Government and the Soviet social organizations in the

*The great majority of those present were peasants, and about half of them were members of Collective Farms or labourers of State Farms.

sphere of the emancipation of women and the education and upbringing of children. In my conversation with him, I expressed my doubts regarding the future of family life, and even of its existence.

He explained that the Soviet authorities had no explicit desire to destroy family life. The state was trying to assume greater responsibilities for the bringing up of children. If this led indirectly to the extinction of family life that would only prove that family life had no survival value for the future civilization of mankind. I should like to hear what your opinions are upon this matter, and whether you believe that family life will continue to exist under the collectivist social system.

The young Ukrainian Semenchiko, who had spoken before, replied : "What I will tell you will show whether family life is being destroyed or not under the new social régime. When my father was alive, he used to work six months of the year in the cities and for the remaining six months (in summer) I was sent with my brothers and sisters to work as shepherds for the wealthy peasants, and therefore we seldom saw our father. Now, I see my son everyday after he returns from the kindergarten, and we are the best of friends."

Another peasant, a woman, also spoke, stating it as her opinion that the introduction of creches and kindergartens has really helped husband and wife to reach a better understanding and happier relations. They foster the growth of a deeper sense of responsibility and appreciation of their duty as parents.

A young Caucasian woman who had been living, excepting for the last four years, in a small village in the Caucasian mountains, spoke with great pathos and understanding. Addressing the interpreter she said : "Tell the Great Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, that we women living in the Soviet Union, and particularly in the Trans-Caucasian Republics, consider that we are really free and happy only since the October Revolution. The dark days of the past before 1917 have now become distant. We are building up a new life in which we are participating fully, conscious of our duties and

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responsibilities. We are prepared to go to the extreme length of self-denial for the realization of the ideal we cherish in our hearts. Let the Great Poet know that the various peoples and nationalities of the Soviet Union wish him to convey to the people of India their warmest greetings and sympathy in their dark hours."

Tagore.—Our people are still ignorant, our women are helpless, they need the light of the new age in order to find their place in the world of humanity.

The same woman from Caucasus said : "I would leave my home, my children, all that I have, in order to be able to work amongst your people and to help them!"

Tagore.—Who is that Mongolian looking young man on the left?

The Interpreter.—He is the son of a collective farmer in the Kirghisian Republic. He has come to Moscow to study in the Higher Textile Industrial Technicum. In three years time he will become an engineer and return to his Republic to work on a big plant built since the Revolution.

The Superintendent of the Central Peasants' House in closing this meeting said : "The visit of the Poet to the Soviet Union is of the greatest importance. The coming of such an eminent personage to this country, such an outstanding figure of the cultural world, means a new and bigger step in the mutual contact between the toiling peoples of India and the Soviet Union. We hope the Poet will assist in the spreading of genuine and objective information in India concerning the efforts and activities of the workers and peasants of the First Workers' and Peasants' Republic in History."

The meeting terminated with the singing of the International Hymn.

Exhibition of Drawings.

The exhibition of the paintings of the Poet was opened at the State Moscow Museum of New Western Art on the afternoon of the 17th September. In his introductory speech Prof. Petroff said "to-day we were experiencing the pleasure of meeting Rabindranath Tagore, not only as a great poet and philo-

sopher, but also as an outstanding painter of the day. We greet the great Poet and Painter who has come to our country to observe our building of a new economic, political and social order. We particularly appreciate his visit as a man of great vision and deep intuitive understanding of life's essential realities."

Prof. Sidorov spoke on the essence of the creative art of the Poet as a painter. Prof. Ettingov of the People's Commissariat of Education expressed his warmest welcome on behalf of the Commissariat.

Speech of Welcome.

Prof. Kristy, the Director of the Tretiakov-Gallery in his speech of welcome said :—

"We greet you, revered philosopher and writer, in the name of the greatest museum and region-study department of Moscow, and in the name of the People's Commissariat for Education, directing the affairs of art in the Soviet Union.

"We all know Rabindranath Tagore, philosopher and writer, but it was a pleasant surprise for us to learn that he is also a painter. It is with special pleasure that we have arranged an exhibition of his work in order to acquaint our intellectuals and our working masses with them. We are glad that our guest has come to us at the moment when his own native land is on the eve of emancipation, and that he has come to us when we are ourselves making heroic efforts for the reconstruction of our material and spiritual world.

"We believe that by acquainting himself with our country he will take back much that is useful for his own. For ourselves, we believe that our close contact with this great representative of an old and cultured nation and the consequent fertilization of our own ideas will result in far-reaching benefits for us both."

Reply by Rabindranath Tagore.

The Poet in his reply said :

I return warm thanks for the welcome extended to me. I appreciate intensely this opportunity to get in touch with some of the best minds and best hearts of your country. My most

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intimate gift to you are my pictures and I hope that in them we shall truly meet each other. Only this has made me venture to bring my pictures here and exhibit them. I myself value them chiefly because they enable me to get into direct touch with the Western people. Words have failed me, the help of the interpreter has created further distractions in the path of our mutual understanding—let me hope that my pictures will be the messengers of thought between us and bring us close to each other on the plane of harmonious understanding.

Concluding Remarks.

In his concluding remarks Prof. Kristy said :

"We are sincerely grateful for what we have just seen. When we came here we knew Rabindranath Tagore merely as a great philosopher and a poet and supposed that for him art would be merely the hobby of a great man. But the more we acquaint ourselves with his paintings, the more we are struck with the creative skill shown in his pictures. We consider these works to be a great manifestation of artistic life, and that his methods will be, like all high technical achievements assimilated by us from abroad, of the greatest use to our country."

The Exhibition was very successful, and a large number of people including representatives from various art and educational institutions visited it during the days it was open.

Talks with Art Critics.

The keen interest of the art critics* may be seen from the following notes of conversations kept by Dr. Timbres.

Tagore.—I thank you for your welcome and the words of appreciation. I know that the best communication between nations is the communication of mind and heart. The best products of each country belong to all humanity. This is the proper field of exchange—the field of culture. And I shall be only too glad to show you what I have done in this latest manifestation of my own creative mind.

It came to me all of a sudden without any training or pre-

*In our next number we shall give extracts from articles on Rabindranath Tagore's drawings written by other European critics.—Editor, V.-B. Q.

paration, and so it has its psychological value, I believe. In other parts of Europe I must confess, however, those who are very critical of art or products of art, have given me assurance that my pictures not only have a psychological interest, but also a higher interest of art, and they have acknowledged me as an artist, for which I feel very proud. I want now to know what you think of my attempts, because I value your opinion of an very highly indeed.

I have felt a need to bring my pictures to you also because through pictures I can come into direct touch with your mind. I cannot do this with my words owing to the barrier of language. But my pictures, they will speak to you without the medium of an interpreter.

Critic.—What is the idea of this picture?

Tagore.—No idea. It is a picture. Ideas are in words and not in life.

Critic.—What is remarkable in your work is the spirit of youth, and that is why these paintings are so interesting. The spirit of youth meets no difficulty in finding its proper mode of expression and your pictures have created their own technique.

Have you ever painted before?

Tagore.—Never.

Critic.—You are a first-class artists. Every new picture makes a stronger impression and the entire audience is thrilled by this. We are very interested to know when these were made?

Tagore.—These are early ones. They are mainly linear, colours come in later on.

Critic.—Something resembling very much the works of Vrubel, whom you have never seen perhaps?

Tagore.—I do not believe I have seen any of his pictures.

Critic.—We shall be glad to show them to you.

We shall be glad to take your paintings and exhibit them as our own—as those of a Russian artist!

Critic.—We ask whether your paintings have any names?

Tagore.—None at all. I cannot think of any names. I do not know how to describe my pictures.

Critic.—Is this a portrait of Dante?

Tagore.—No, it is not a portrait of Dante. I did it on the

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steamer on my way from Japan ; last year my pen followed its own impulse which led to this figure you see before you.

Critic.—(With regard to a picture made the day before) An impression of Moscow ?

Tagore.—Well, I did it yesterday. I do not know if Moscow has anything to do with it—perhaps it may be so, who knows !

Critic.—We wish to express our deep pleasure. Professor Kristy says he has known you for a long time as a great poet, and here he expected to see some productions of a dilettant-artist, but what he has seen has amazed him. He was struck by the virility of the paintings he had the pleasure to see. He is sure that your paintings represent a very great event in the history of art. He believes your pictures will have a deep effect on our artists and give them a fuller sense of life.

Tagore.—It gives me great delight to be able to gain your approbation and to know that this came from the expert critics and artists of your land. I almost feel vain of my productions. My pictures being too new, I am not yet accustomed to this, and I always feel the greatest delight when they are praised because I have some diffidence in not having any standard within myself, and have to rely upon those who have a great background of artistic experience.

Visits to Moscow Art Theatres.

On Sunday evening the Poet and his party attended the Second Moscow Art Theatre and saw the play—"Peter the First." The Poet was received at the gate of the Theatre by the Director and the leading actors of the play. He expressed great appreciation of the play and spoke enthusiastically about the fervour of dramatic power with which the play was performed.

The next few days were spent in visiting different institutions and meeting with prominent residents of Moscow. In the First Moscow Art Theatre the Poet saw a performance of Tolstoy's "Resurrection," and had a conversation with the famous Soviet actress Knipper, the widow of Tchekhov. On the 20th he attended the performance of "Biaderka" (an Indian love legend) at the First State Opera House, where he was received by Directoress Malinova Kaya.

In Moscow many distinguished scholars like Prof. Veltman, Prof. Shor and others came to see him, and as usual he had a large number of interviews with scientific workers and students.

Notes of conversations with students kept by Dr. Timbres are given below.

Talks with Students.

Tagore.—I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity of coming into close touch with you.

But I do not know how to have proper communication with you. Through translations we cannot say very much. I do not feel encouraged to talk in English about any subject which is important and serious. I would like to know about your aspirations and also if you still have any misgivings about the society under which you are working and growing up. But these are serious questions which cannot be answered through translations. If you have any curiosity to know about anything which I am doing or any other subject concerning India, I shall be glad to answer your questions.

Maria Steinhaus.—Before I ask you a question I would like to greet you in the name of the scientific workers of Moscow and tell you how glad we are to meet you. Your famous name is known all over our country, and we know that you are interested in our schools and educational work. And our comrades would be glad and happy to show you our work.

I have heard that yesterday you spoke about your educational work in India, and I would like to know how you have combined education with the realities of life.

The Poet's School.

Tagore.—You ought to know one thing—that I am by nature a poet. From my very young days, my only vocation was to express my ideas in verse, give shape to my dreams in my poems.

What was it that impelled me to take up this work for which I am not naturally fit?

When I was young, as usual, I was sent to a school. Some of you may have read from the translation of my *Reminiscences*

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about the misadventure I had when I began my career as a student in a school. It was a miserable life, which became absolutely intolerable to me. At that time I did not have the capacity to analyse the reason why I suffered; but then when I grew up, it became quite clear to me what it was that hurt me so deeply to be compelled to attend my class in that school where my parents sent me.

I have my natural love for life, for nature, and for my surroundings where I have my dear ones; and to be snatched away from these natural surroundings with which I had all my deeper life of relationship, and to be sent as an exile to the school, to the class with its bare white walls, and its stare of dead eyes, frightened me every day. When I was once inside these walls, I did not feel natural. It was a fragment torn away from life, and this caused me intense misery because I was uprooted from my own world and sent to surroundings which were dead and unsympathetic, disharmonious and monotonously dull.

It was not possible for the mind of a child to be able to receive anything in those cheerless surroundings, in the environment of dead routine. And the teachers were like living gramophones, repeating the same lessons day by day in a dull manner. My mind refused to accept anything from my teachers. With all my heart and soul I repudiated what was put before me. And then there were some teachers who were utterly unsympathetic, and did not understand at all the sensitive soul of a young boy, and tried to punish him for the mistakes he made. Such teachers in their stupidity did not know how to teach, how to impart education to a living mind. And because they failed, they punished their victim. And this was how I suffered when I was thirteen years old.

And then I left school, and in spite of all the efforts of my guardians, I refused to go to school.

Since then I have been educating myself, and that process is still being carried on. And whatever I have learned, I have learned outside the classes. And I believe that that was a fortunate event in my life—that avoiding the schoolmaster when I was still young. And whatever I have done in later life, if I have shown any special gift or originality, I feel certain it was

owing to the fact that I did not have a respectable education drilled into me.

I took to my own work. I retired to a solitary place near the Ganges, and a great part of my life I lived in a houseboat, writting my poems, stories and plays, dreaming my dreams.

I went on till I gradually became known to my own countrymen and claims were made on me from all parts of the country for writings and for various kinds of help. But I kept to my solitude for a long time. It is very difficult for me to say what it was—how the call came to me to come out of the isolation of my literary life, and live among my fellow-beings to share their life and help them in their living.

And it is also a surprise to me how I had the courage to start an educational institution for our children, for I had no experience in this line at all. But I had confidence in myself. I knew that I had very profound sympathy for children. And about my knowledge of their phychology, I was very certain. I felt that I could help them more than the ordinary teachers.

I selected a beautiful place, far away from the contamination of the town life. I myself, in my young days, was brought up in that town, in the heart of India, Calcutta, and all the time I had a sort of homesickness for the open country where my heart, my soul, could have its true freedom. Though I had no experience of the outer world, I had in my heart a great longing to go away from my enclosure of those walls and from that huge, stony-hearted step-mother, Calcutta. I knew that the mind has its hunger for the ministrations of mother-nature, and so I selected this spot where the sky is unobstructed to the verge of the horizon. There the mind could have its fearless freedom to create its own dreams, and the seasons could come with all their colours and movements and beauty into the very heart of the human dwelling. And there I got a few children around me and I taught them. I was their companion. I sang to them. I composed musical pieces, operas and plays, and they took part in the performances. I recited to them our epics, and this was the beginning of this school. I had only about five or six students at that time. People did not have any confidence in a

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poet for bringing up their children and educating them. And so I had very few students to begin with.

My idea was that education should be a part of life itself, and must not be detached from it and be made into something abstract. And so when I brought these children around me, I allowed them to live a complete life. They had perfect freedom to do what they wished, as much liberty as was possible for me to give them. And in all their activities I tried to put before them something which would be interesting to them.

I tried to arouse their interest in all things, in nature's beauty and the surrounding villages, and also in literature. I tried to educate them through play-acting, through listening to music in a natural manner, and not merely by class teaching.

They knew when I was employed in writing a drama, and they took an intense interest as it went on and developed, and in the process of their rehearsals they acquired a real taste for literature more than they could through formal lessons in grammar and class-teaching. And this was my method. I knew the children's mind. Their sub-conscious mind is more active than the conscious one, and therefore the important thing is to surround them with all kinds of activities which could stimulate their minds and gradually arouse their interests.

I had musical evenings—not merely music classes, and those boys who at first did not have any special love of music would, out of curiosity, listen to our songs from outside, and gradually they too were drawn into the room and their taste for music developed. I had some of the very great artists of our land, and while they went on with their work, the boys could watch them and saw day by day how those works of art developed.

An atmosphere was created, and what was important, this atmosphere provided the students with a natural impulse to live in harmony with it. In the beginning it was easier to feel this, when I had only a few students ; I was then almost their only companion and teacher and it was truly the golden age of our school. I know that the boys who had then the privilege of attending my school look back on those days with much love and longing. But as the number grew it became more and more expensive for me to carry on the school in my own way.

According to the old tradition of our country it was the responsibility of the teacher to give education to those who came to him to be taught, and in our country students used to have free tuition and also free lodging in their teacher's house. The teachers acknowledged their responsibility : they themselves had the privilege of being educated, and they owed it to society that they should help their students in return, and should not claim anything in the shape of fees or remuneration.

And I also began like that. Free tuition, lodging and boarding and all necessities of life, I supplied to my students out of my own poor resources. But you can easily imagine that under modern condition of life it was not possible to continue like this, because now you have to get the help of teachers whose salaries are high, and there are other expenses which daily seem to increase. I could not maintain the old tradition that it is the duty and the privilege of the teacher to impart education to his students, and that an educational institution is not a shop where you can buy commodities with money. I was compelled to give up this idea, and now gradually it has taken the shape of an ordinary school.

Only I tried my best to have certain things in the school which they did not have in the orthodox schools. The teachers shared the common life with the boys, it was a community life. In the sports and festivals the teachers and the students fully co-operated with each other. It was not like a cage in which the birds are fed from the outside, but it was like a nest which students themselves co-operated in building up with their own life, with their love, with their daily work, and their play.

I believe that we still have this true to a great extent. It is difficult to maintain this atmosphere owing to the fact that my colleagues with whom I have to work are brought up in a different tradition, not having the same chance as I had to play truant when they were young. They have their own ideas about education, and it is difficult to wholly get rid of them. And so something alien to the central ideal does creep into this institution through those who are there to help me. I had in the beginning to struggle very hard with my teachers, not with the students, as very often happens in other schools. I had to take

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sides with the boys when they were punished for no fault of their own, but that of their teachers. I had to be firm and defend the boys, which often offended the teachers. I remember, one day a new teacher came and when he found that some of the boys were doing their lessons up on the tree, he was furious because of this want of discipline on their part. I had to protect the boys from the schoolmaster. I told him that when these boys grew up to his age they will not have the great privilege of climbing up the trees to do their lessons; they would become more respectable and keep away from mother-nature.

But I believe that an atmosphere has been created and it is there. The school has grown. The number of students is increasing year by year, which is not always an advantage. But it cannot be helped.

Another feature which is of later growth is that the number of girls has been increasing. The co-education system is quite a new thing in India. But it is working perfectly in my school. We have had no cause for complaint. Very often the boys and girls go out together on excursions; the boys help the girls in bringing fuel and fetching water, and the girls cook the dinners for the boys and everything is managed by mutual help. That is a great education in itself.

There is another factor which I consider to be important. I always try to get from outside of India, from Europe and from the Far East, lecturers, who come to the school to teach and also to share the simple life of the school with our students. This contributes to the creating of a favourable atmosphere. Our boys are very natural in their relationship with the foreign guests and visitors. My idea is that the mind should find its freedom in every respect, and I am sure that our children have, through their early training, freedom from the barriers of country and race, and creeds and sects. It is always difficult to get rid of these prejudices after we grow up. It is often sedulously cultivated in our school-books, and also by the patriots who wish the boys to be proud of the exploits of their own country by running down other countries. In this way nationalistic prejudices are cultivated. With the help of my visitors from abroad I have tried my best to make our boys' minds hospitable

to the guests who come to us, and I think I have been successful.

Then there are other activities. We have in the neighbouring villages some primitive people who need our help. We have started night-schools for them and our boys go there and teach. Then we have the village work in connexion with our institution ; and there our boys have the opportunity to study the conditions of our village life and to know how to help them efficiently through scientific and up-to-date methods of cultivation and of fighting diseases. To impart not merely academic information, but how to live a complete life is, according to me, the purpose of education.

The only thing I have not been able to provide our boys with is science, owing to the enormous expense it would entail, which in a poor country like ours is difficult to meet. I have not yet been able to arrange for it. Our students and I hope that some day it will be possible for me to make up this deficiency.

This is the idea which I have in my mind and in spite of my lack of means, my poor resources, I have done something. Those who have been able to visit our institution can tell you how we have been helping the villages. It is not only for providing needed relief to the villages but also for the educational value of the work itself that children should be trained in the heart of such activities. The villages are the cradles of life, and if we cannot give it what is due to it, then we commit suicide. Modern civilization is depriving the villages of life-stuff, and draining away everything from the villages to the pampered towns. To counteract this I have brought my students around this village work which we have started in order to give them the proper training for helping the villagers.

I think this is, in short, the idea which I have in mind in my school.

Village Schools in India.

Question : What is the condition of women in India as compared with the position of women in this country?

Tagore : This is a very comprehensive question.

Question : What is the social origin of the generality of your pupils? Are they peasants, workers and so on?

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Tagore : In the neighbourhood of the village where we are working, we have opened a special school for the villages. You may ask why I should make such a distinction. Why should I not allow the children of the villages to come and attend the other school which is for the children of the upper class people? The reason is that these students who come from comparatively rich families, all want to pass their examinations and get their degrees in order to earn their livelihood. Therefore it is not possible to give to them the ideal kind of education. For instance, they cannot waste their time in manual training, or even in such cultural training as music and art, and they want to cram themselves for their examination and somehow get through. I had to submit to this because otherwise there would be no chance of having a single student in my school. One of the reasons is that our country is exceedingly poor, and it is natural for these boys to want to earn their livelihood and maintain their family when they grow older, and they must have some opportunity to pass their examinations in their schools. So I had to start a parallel school where the villagers who do not have ambitions for finding government employment or employment in merchants' offices, come and join. There I am trying to introduce all my methods which I consider to be absolutely necessary for a perfect education. Before long, this village school, I believe, will be the real school, the ideal school, and the other one will be neglected.

Question : A representative of the literary organization of the people would like to know which are the most interesting currents in Indian literature. Are there in India any institutions for training workers for literary activity?

Tagore : We do not have any organized effort to help the working men to stimulate their creative activities. There have been started various night schools, but that is for the purpose of teaching them how to read and write and to get elementary information of various kinds. We cannot say that we have many schools which are of a higher class than that. One of the reasons is that we should not have any students even if we did start such a school. With some encouragement we can induce villagers to attend the night schools in order to be able just to read and

write, for they consider this quite enough. Only occasionally there are a few intelligent individuals who have the ambition to join the higher classes, and pass through their examinations to get degrees. But their number is very small, and even they after passing their examinations lose touch with their village. They do not want to live in the village. They try to come to the town and take up some kind of work which they consider to be of higher nature.

So we hardly have any institution for training the peasants or the working-men in order to do their own vocation properly in an educated manner. I think the only exception in Bengal which I may mention is this school which I have started in the neighbouring village near our institution. There the real people of the village get a proper training, a real education, not merely a smattering of some elementary subjects.

Institutions of Moscow.

The strenuous programme told heavily on the Poet's health. Prof. Zelinin, the eminent Soviet physician, made a thorough medical examination and advised him to take a good rest. While the Poet himself was resting quietly, the members of his party visited many important institutions. One of the most interesting among these was the Industrial Labourers' Commune for homeless waifs and incorrigible children. Dr. Timbres sends us the following notes.

The children are roughly from 14 to 18 years of age. There are 100 youngsters living in at the colony, and another 100 dine during the day. The period of retention is not longer than 3 years. This labour commune has not only school rooms but also a number of workshops. The idea is to give an industrial training to these one-time homeless waifs, and thus give them that re-education which will mould them into honest social youths.

This commune has self-government, and is managed by the youngsters themselves. There are no warders. The inmates do 4 hours practical work in the workshops, and have 3 hours theoretical study in the classrooms. From 5 to 10 at night they are free for social work or their own amusements. They require

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no special permit to leave the Colony to visit the town. All that is required is that they should inform their "brigadier" or squad leader (for convenience' sake they are divided into military groups) of their absence. During the past year the Commune has made experiments endeavouring to discover whether the children going through its course of training are permanently reclaimed from the streets. To discover how far this aim has been achieved, 30 young volunteers worked for 3 days and nights in the reception centres of the homeless waifs, assisting in their distribution among the labour communes in the various towns. The colony youth go regularly each summer to the Crimea for a holiday. The money for these holidays is raised by renting the premises of their winter colony to the excursion departments of the Commissariat of Education.

The Central Ethnographical State Museums for the study of the peoples of the USSR are housed in the former palaces of a favourite of Catherine the Great. They present a scientific and illustrated description of the ethnographical and economical regions of the Union. There are more than 120 different nations inhabiting the territory of the Soviet Union with a total population of 155,000,000. The Soviet Union itself covers an area of one-sixth of the world.

Among the other institutions visited by the members of the party were the Children's Creche and Kindergarten of the Dynamo Works, the Timiryazev Agricultural Academy with nearly 3,000 students under training for agricultural engineering and organization, the Central Station for Educational Experiments of the People's Commissariat for Education which was originally started by M. Shatsky in 1912, the Museum of Handicrafts, the Tretyakov Gallery, the Museum of Revolution and the Lefort House of Isolation.

Farewell Meeting at Dom Soyouzov.

On the evening of the 24th September, the day before the Poet's departure from Moscow a big public meeting was arranged in Dom Soyouzov, the Central House of Trade Unions. This House was formerly the General Meeting Hall of the Moscow aristocracy and was known as "Dvoryanskoye Sobraniye" in

pre-revolution days. More than 2,000 persons were present. On the dais, with Rabindranath Tagore in the centre, sat the distinguished personages of Moscow including Prof. Petroff, Prof. Kogan, D. Novomirsky, A. Eshukoff and a number of eminent writers and artists.

Prof. Petroff opened the proceedings with a few words. The Soviet poet Shingalee then recited the Ode to Rabindranath Tagore which he had specially composed for the occasion.

Rabindranath Tagore gave a short speech in reply.

Farewell Speech by Rabindranath Tagore.

I am highly honoured at the invitation to appear in this hall and I am grateful to Dr. Petroff for the kind words he has said about me. I am thankful to the people for giving me the opportunity of knowing this country and seeing the great work which the people are doing in this land. My mission in life is education. I believe that all human problems find their fundamental solution in education. And outside of my own vocation as a poet I have accepted this responsibility to educate my people as much as lies in my individual power to do. I know that all the evils, almost without exception, from which my land suffers are solely owing to the utter lack of education of the people.

Poverty, pestilence, communal fights and industrial backwardness make our path of life narrow and perilous owing to the meagreness of education. And this is the reason why, in spite of my advanced age and my weak health, I gladly accepted the invitation offered to me to see how you are working out the most important problem of education in this country. I have seen, I have admired and I have envied you in your great opportunities. You will know that our condition in India is very similar to yours. She has an agricultural population which is in need of all the help and encouragement that you have given the people in this country. You know how precarious is the living which depends exclusively upon agriculture, and so how utterly necessary it is for the cultivators to have the knowledge of up-to-date method of producing crops in order to meet the increasing demands of life.

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Our people are living on the verge of perpetual famine, and do not know how to help this because they have lost their faith and confidence in their own humanity. This is the greatest misfortune of our people, three hundred millions of men and women burdened with profound ignorance, without any hope in life.

So I came to this land to see how you deal with this problem, you who have struggled against the incubus of ignorance, superstition, and apathy which were once prevalent in this land among the working-men and peasantry. The little that I have seen has convinced me of the marvellous progress that has been made, the miracle that has been achieved. How the mental attitude of the people has been changed in such a short time, it is difficult for us to realize, we who live in the darkest shadow of ignorance and futility. It gladdens my heart to know that the people, the real people who maintain the life of society and bear the burden of civilization, are not deprived of their own rights and that they enjoy an equal share of all the advantages of a progressive community.

And I dream of the time when it will be possible for that ancient land of Aryan civilization also to enjoy the great boon of education and equal opportunities for all the people. I am thankful, truly thankful to you all who have helped me in visualising in a concrete form the dream which I have been carrying for a long time in my mind, the dream of emancipating the people's minds which have been shackled for ages. For this I thank you.

Musical programme.

Then followed the first and second parts of the musical recital of a composition by Borchtman, executed by a company of singers with Borchtman himself at the piano. The author Galperin then recited in Russian three pieces of Tagore's poems, and Ruslanov, an actor of the Vaghtanov Theatre, recited two prose pieces from Tagore's works.

This was followed by the third part of the Borchtman programme. Other musical selections were given with the author-composer Dzegelyanka at the piano, and also a special recital, in honour of the Poet, by Kozlovsky, Artist Emeritus of the Re-

public, of the Ario from the Russian Opera "Sadko" by Rimsky-Korsakov. A rough translation of a few lines of this song is given below :

"Oh, wonderful land, India,
Where on the white shore of
the beautiful warm sea grows
the tree of wisdom.

Many coloured birds sing the music of heaven,
and all is forgotten in bliss
.....in Far India of miracles."

The actor Simonov gave selections from the Post Office.

Rabindranath Tagore then recited two of his poems in Bengalee, "the rain song" and "a love poem." These were received with tremendous applause and aroused great admiration and enthusiasm. After a short interval an exhibition of dancing and folk music was given by various artists such as Zagoraskya, the famous Russian folk-singer, Messerer of the First Moscow Opera House who danced the "Ribbon Dance" from the Red Poppy ballet, Ryabtsev and his group from the first Moscow Opera House who gave a demonstration of Russian village songs, Yablotchka in the sailor's "Apple Dance," and Madame Chevtchenko, the Russian folk-singer. The programme terminated with a recital of Russian folk-songs and dances of Northern and Central regions of the USSR by a peasant choir directed by Piatinitksy.

At the close of the evening the whole audience gave a great ovation to the Poet as a farewell expression of their admiration.

Impressions of Moscow.

On the 25th September, just before the Poet's departure from Moscow a reporter from the "Izvestia" came to see him. We give below a translation of the reported interview.

The Poet was asked to say what things in Moscow had impressed him the most.

He replied :—The Orphans at the Home of the Young Pioneers showed great confidence in their ability to realize their ideal for a new world. Their behaviour to me was so natural

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Their conduct impressed me very deeply. Then at the Peasants' House I met the peasants. We questioned each other quite frankly. Their problems are similar to the problems of the peasants in my own country. I was deeply impressed by the attitude of mind of your peasants.

Places which I have not been able to visit have been visited by my secretaries. My doctor tells me of the fine work you are doing in sanitation, hygiene, scientific research. You are accomplishing a great deal in these lines under conditions not nearly as favourable, economically at least, as in other countries. My secretaries tell me of your splendid work in training students of agriculture, in caring for and training the homeless children left by war and famine, and of the outstanding experiment in practical education being carried on by Mr. Shatsky in his colony. Mr. Shatsky did me the honour of coming to visit me. I find that the ideal of his institution I also share. I am certain that your methods of education would be of great benefit in other countries where there is so much in education that is merely academic and abstract. Yours is much more practical and therefore moral, and it is closer in touch with the varied aspects and purposes of life.

The Poet's Comments on Soviet Activities.

On being asked if he would express a few words in regard to his general impressions of Moscow, the Poet replied :

I wish to let you know how deeply I have been impressed by the amazing intensity of your energy in spreading education among masses, the most intelligent direction which you have given to this noble work and also the variety of channels that have been opened out to train their minds and senses and limbs. I appreciate it all the more keenly because I belong to that country where millions of my fellow-countrymen are denied the light that education can bring to them. For human beings all other boons that are external and superficial, that are imposed from outside, are like paints and patches that never represent the bloom of health but only disguise the anaemic skin without enriching the blood. You have recognized the truth that in

extirpating all social evils one has to go to the root, which can only be done through education, and not through police batons and military brow-beating.

But I find here certain contradictions to the great mission which you have undertaken. Certain attitudes of mind are being cultivated which are contrary to your ideal.

I must ask you : Are you doing your ideal a service by arousing in the minds of those under your training, anger, class hatred and revengefulness against those not sharing your ideal, against those whom you consider to be your enemies? True, you have to fight against obstacles, you have to overcome ignorance and lack of sympathy, even persistently virulent antagonism. But your mission is not restricted to your own nation or own party, it is for the betterment of humanity according to your light. But does not humanity include those who do not agree with your aim? Just as you try to help peasants who have other ideas than yours about religion, economics, and social life, not by getting fatally angry with them, but by patiently teaching them and showing them where the evil lurks in secret, should you not have the same mission to those other people who have other ideals than your own? These you may consider to be mistaken ideals, but they have an historical origin and have become inevitable through combination of circumstances. You may consider the men who hold them as misguided. But it should all the more be your mission to try to convert them by pity and love, realizing that they are as much a part of humanity as the peasants whom you serve.

If you dwell too much upon the evil elements in your opponents and assume that they are inherent in human nature meriting eternal damnation, you inspire an attitude of mind which with its content of hatred and revengefulness may some day react against your own ideal and destroy it. You are working in a great cause. Therefore you must be great in your mind, great in your mercy, your understanding and your patience. I feel profound admiration for the greatness of your things you are trying to do, therefore I cannot help expecting for it a motive force of love and an environment of a charitable understanding.

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There must be disagreement where minds are allowed to be free. It would not only be an uninteresting but a sterile world of mechanical regularity if all of our opinions were forcibly made alike. If you have a mission which includes all humanity, you must, for the sake of that living humanity, acknowledge the existence of differences of opinion. Opinions are constantly changed and rechanged only through the free circulation of intellectual forces and moral persuasion. Violence begets violence and blind stupidity. Freedom of mind is needed for the reception of truth; terror hopelessly kills it. The brute cannot subdue the brute. It is only the man who can do it.

Before leaving your country let me once again assure you that I am struck with admiration by all that you are doing to free those who once were in slavery, to raise up those who were lowly and oppressed, endeavouring to bring help to those who are utterly helpless all through the world, reminding them that the source of their salvation lies in a proper education and their power to combine their human resources. Therefore, for the sake of humanity I hope that you may never create a vicious force of violence which will go on weaving an interminable chain of violence and cruelty. Already you have inherited much of this legacy from the Tsarist régime. It is the worst legacy you possibly could have. You have tried to destroy many of the other evils of that régime. Why not try to destroy this one also? I have learned much from you, how skilfully you evolve usefulness out of the helpfulness of the weak and ignorant. Your ideal is great and so I ask you for perfection in serving it, and a broad field of freedom for laying its permanent foundation.

Departure from Moscow.

On the 25th of September the Poet left Moscow.* He rested quietly for 3 or 4 days in the house of Dr. and Mrs. Mendel at Wannsee in Berlin, and left for the United States of America on the 3rd of October.

*The Poet has written a large number of letters which not only give a vivid picture of Soviet Moscow but contain a critical appraisement of the communistic experiments in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We are publishing translations of two letters in this issue, and intend to publish translations of extracts from other letters in our next number.

PROGRESS AND PERSONALITY.

By DHURJATI PRASAD MUKHERJEE.

Chit said to Mr. Bleetteworthy, "part of your madness, Lunatic is to be for ever talking of this Progress of yours. Are there no Megatheria in your world?—that world of yours that keep going on and on. Does nothing in your world refuse either to breed or die"?

A student of sociology perplexed by books on Progress may very well reply :—

"There are too many ideas in our world; they breed but they refuse to die. They are the catchwords of other days. Equality, Fraternity, Liberty, General Will are notable examples from the 18th century ideology. Group-mind and Progress are typical examples of the 19th. With us, Progress is an article of faith. Like many other similar articles, it is either a wish-fulfilment or a defence-mechanism set up against a fear of the loss of social prestige and service. In league with leaders in other spheres of knowledge we have established a group-equilibrium of mental patterns which is sacrosanct. Scientists had postulated the continuity and immutability of natural laws, the uniformity of nature and the conservation of energy. Politicians had posited the stability of government and the virtues of the representative system or of Democracy. Philosophers had spun out their systems round free-will and necessity. The theologians had placed the divine order high above the world of change. Even classical economists had their theory of laissez-faire, the inherent virtues of competition and self-interest. Our ideas of Progress are no less fixed than any of these hypotheses. That every day and in every way every thing is becoming better and better is the cult of our order."

In such an intellectual climate all individual questionings are quashed. The individual, to escape his own awkward queries resigns himself to Alexander's Time, Bergson's elan vital, Spengler's Cyclic History, Croce's Unfolding of the

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Waror Nicefero's statistical aggregates, indices and averages, are peace is best preserved by the surrender of intelligence to mystic symbols. The idea of progress has become clouded in a maze of abstract theories all of which agree in completely ignoring the life of the individual in the concrete.

Progress, according to the sociologist, is either a fact to be measured in terms of numbers and indices, or a theory to be described in terms of spirals, cycles, or evolutionary concepts. But common sense tells us that it is neither a master-idea, nor a myth, neither a fact, nor a fiction. The nature of progress is a challenge to our intellect and therefore a problem.

Generally speaking, a problem can arise only when a new fact is discovered, and must be related to the known series of facts, or when it is felt that the old ordering of facts is not adequate and it is considered desirable to attempt a new organization of facts.

Neither facts nor generalizations are isolated. They have meaning only in reference to life in the concrete, primarily that of an individual, living in association with other individuals, in a region, at a particular time, in the line of certain beliefs, customs and traditions. In other words, both facts and ideas are events. Before events fall in order, there must be an effort to order them. (This effort is interpreted as conflict by a certain school of sociologists). The consciousness of this effort varies in different individuals in different stages of civilization, and according to different degrees of organization of facts and ideas. The urge for making this effort varies from a vague feeling of tension to a detached scientific curiosity.

At first there is a sort of logical ambivalence in which A may be both A and not-A at one and the same time, a state of mind generally observed, both in primitive and modern societies, when potentialities are held in balance. Even when the relationship between two groups of events is causal, the common idea of cause as a force and a compelling agency introduces a sense of conflict. Another type of relationship may be called mutuality. Logically, mutuality is the settle-

ment of a problem, rather than its *dénouement*. Yet mutuality becomes a problem when the settlement has to be adjusted to a previous result. The need for adjustment signifies the presence of tension. The problem of progress* can be understood only as a succession of tensions, in other words, as a problem of the co-ordination of events, of facts and ideas.

In the 19th century, faith in Progress received a tremendous impetus from Darwinism. The political and economic optimists of the period seized upon the concept of evolution to support their own theories. It was applied indiscriminately to every form of organization which was considered to have any analogy to an organism. In the heyday of Darwinism, the validity of the analogy was never seriously questioned (except by Butler in England); instances of regression and futile evolution were ignored; the fallacy of formulating a universal law by generalization from one limited series of facts was not noticed; the part played by conscious selection as a modifying factor was not taken into account; and the importance of personality was not properly appreciated. The utmost that the theory of evolution could teach the sociologist was that changes took place and happened in course of time, and that such changes could possibly be interpreted as a movement with a direction.

With the evolutionary sociologist, progress is not a problem to be tackled, but a natural phenomenon to be described accurately. Soon there was a change initiated by Ward. His emphasis was on man, i.e., on man's ability (and duty) to modify nature in the light of human purpose. From Ward to Hobhouse, we notice an attempt to emphasize the importance of social selection, social choice and social purpose. But when

*In recent years numerous books have been written on the nature and history of the idea of progress: Delavaille, Todd, Bury, Hertzler, Weatherly, Dean Inge, Giddings, Ward, Park, Burgess, Dewey, Allport, Willcox, Julian, Huxley, Niceforo, Radhakamal Mukherji and others. Among older writers, I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Spencer, Comte, Condorcet, Bodin and Lucretius. I am not directly concerned with a classification of their ideas. I do not believe in their formulae. With a majority of them, belief in Progress is an act of faith which releases the energy to write books. Dean Inge among others however, calls it a superstition which has enslaved the philosophies of Hegel, Comte and Darwin.

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Ward writes, 'progress is in proportion to the opportunities and facilities for exercising the faculties and satisfying desire,' he is primarily concerned with the means of attaining progress (and only indirectly concerned with the question of values), that is, with the problem of determining which faculties are to be fostered by exercise and education, which are to be allowed to die of disuse, which desires are to be cultivated and which are to be socially controlled and inhibited. When Hobhouse writes, 'there is progress just where the factor of social tradition comes into play and just so far as its influence extends,' he is primarily concerned with the psychological aspect of progress, and leaves undiscussed the valuation of particular social traditions and the reciprocal inter-actions of social traditions and individual judgments.

Dewey recognizes the problematic nature of progress. He writes, 'it is a problem of discovering the needs and capacities of collective human nature as we find it aggregated in racial or national groups on the surface of the globe, and of inventing social machinery which will set available powers operating for the satisfaction of these needs.' Dewey rightly mentions the needs and capacities which form the framework of values. Be it noted however that the needs and capacities are not values; they have to be translated into terms of values. When Dewey refers to the invention of a social machinery to utilize the capacities for the satisfaction of these needs, he obfuscates the real issue by his pragmatist leanings and a sentimental attachment for Demos made in U.S.A. Besides, when Dewey refers to 'collective human nature aggregated in racial or national groups', he is artificially limiting the extent of collectivity and inviting a new series of conflicts, the only virtue of which is their gigantic scale. If progress is national or racial, it is easy for a powerful nation or race to justify the exploitation of less powerful groups on the ground that such exploitation advances the cause of progress. (To enact anti-immigration laws becomes incidentally a moral duty). Progress is certainly a problem; it involves the attempt to erect social machinery for the elimination of losses and conflicts, but it is not merely a national or a racial problem.

The recent tendency among evolutionist-philosophers is to substitute new words for old. Thus 'elan vital', 'the Will to Live,' 'the Life-Force' have taken the place of natural selection. The first two were made current by two philosophers and the third by a dramatist who himself has been a most merciless critic of catch-phrases. The great literary gifts of these three writers have been responsible for the wide currency of their phrases, and the phrase-mongers of universities have borrowed these phrases in order to make up for their own lack of style and original thought.

Bernard Shaw and Bergson both believe in progress. In describing the modes of progress, both of them make use of evolution. Beneath the shifting exterior of adaptation, there is a Life-Force which is essentially purposive. The function of man is to make this purpose conscious. Here is an instance of drawing right conclusions from wrong premises. We are unable to trace the reforming spirit of Mr. Shaw to a tape-worm, for despite natural and nurtural differences, our vanity makes us remember that Mr. Shaw and ourselves are born of human chromosomes. Amending D'Israeli's statement, we might say, as sociologists we are on the side of human beings. When our insufficient knowledge of genetics prevents us from accepting the transmission of acquired characters, the primitive purpose of the tape-worm can only escheat to the Divine State —the rightful owner of such mystic properties. As Shaw's Life-Force is 'Lamarckism in caricature' so is Bergson's 'elan vital' nothing but 'Orthogenesis translated into vitalistic terms, a mere metaphor.' As Prof. Haldane has shown in his Gifford Lectures, the chief defect of vitalism is its uselessness as a working hypothesis. Elementary physico-chemical and biological processes, reproduction with its tendency towards over-population, and factors of selective mortality are sufficient to account for what is sought to be explained by the vitalist in terms of a highly mystical and poetic, and often brilliant, language. In spite of M. Bergson's half-hearted denial, this elan vital is purposive on his own showing, for 'unassisted by such material considerations as the struggle for existence and the elimination of the less fit by natural selection, it makes

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tactfully, but firmly, for movement onward and on the whole upward in Evolution.'

Bergson might be wrong, like Bernard Shaw, in his biology. The element of purposiveness they have laid stress on might be totally absent from the processes of natural evolution, but it is a useful concept for the study of social changes. Variation and selection might be random and purposeless in the non-social world; 'the prevision of an end and a determination to reach that end' which are implied in purpose might not have become manifest in the non-human species, and yet it must be admitted that purposiveness has emerged as a factor of importance in the case of human beings. It is a more efficient method than that of trial and error, and is likely not only to accelerate the process of human evolution but also to open out new possibilities of human progress.

The conclusion I want to draw is that in so far as progress involves an element of purpose we can think of it with reference to human beings only. Angels, animals or vegetables, are out of court. Evolution, as a scientific theory, has no connexion with moral or social values, while the concept of progress involves the determination of values. Only in so far as valuation has reference to adjustments with non-social nature is it necessary to take cognisance of purely scientific aspects of the theory of evolution in which no clear distinction is made between progress and mere change as a process in time. In other words, development is not distinguished from growth. The emergence of values and their dynamic character are not given due consideration in discussions of progress by the evolutionary sociologists.

The idea of ceaseless change, first brought into fashion by evolutionists, has gained a further accession of strength from the Time-Philosophers of the 20th century. A new cult with an esoteric doctrine of a transcendental *cum* immanent Time-God has found favour among historians, sociologists and professors with the result that there is hardly any branch of recent thought which has remained unaffected by it. Spengler furnishes a typical example of this outbreak of a new religion.

According to this writer, history is 'becoming' in strict accordance with certain laws, which operate in temporal cycles. With the help of these laws, he comes to the conclusion that the modern West has entered into the declining phase. However alluring the picture of a declining West might be to the vanity of an inhabitant of the East, accustomed on one hand to theories of predetermination and cycles of *Kalpas* and embittered on the other hand through a scientifically efficient exploitation by the West, a careful examination of the theory will show that it has little reference to reality. In the hands of Spengler, 'becoming' has become inexorable and acquired a fatality with which no becoming, as such, is ever charged. Inexorability is extraneous to change and is generally imposed on it by interested motives. (The only value of such an idea seems to be that it might help the West in getting rid of its easy self-complacence. But the practical result has been a reaction against the East and what it stands for. From more than one point in view, Massis is a consequence of Spengler. In India, Spenglerism is feeding fat the ancient grudge against England. It has pandered to the culture-chauvinists to the detriment of the East and the West alike). But in recent years the mystic philosophy of time has gained a tremendous prestige and has clouded the critical spirit of the intellectuals. It has found particular favour with the sociologist who is now snobbishly trying to rise into the superior caste of scientists by denying his own mind and cultivating the 20th century spirit in an attitude indiscriminately reverential to all esoteric doctrines. We are anxiously waiting for a sociologist of time who, in the name of the external flux or social morphology, would tell us that Time, (with a capital T), moves society, and teach us to possess our soul in patience until the days of Final Social Resurrection. So long as he does not emerge on the scene, the concept of time is to be understood only as a means, a mechanism, of social adjustment. The extent to which a balance between conventional or public time and private time is struck is a measure of the direction, the purpose, and the sense of values of the individual. For it is quite clear that an individual who has no private time of his own, who does not lend meaning to the public

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time to which he is expected to conform, is no better than a social butterfly.

There are yet other sociologists, with a more rigorous discipline, who would discover indices of progress. Figures for optimum population and the increase in the average expectation of life are for them measures of social progress. They would seek to establish an equitable distribution of opportunities by a survey of abilities, and try to measure the advance of material comforts by investigating whether a happy balance had been struck between resources and human needs. Another series of statistical tests would include "lower death rates, higher wages, better balanced family budgets, more years of schooling, extension of the life-period, increase of reading, higher productivity of machines and workers." Prof. Hertzler has drawn up a series of multiple tests of progress in five closely written pages under the following headings :—moral, economic, political, biological, educational, religious, domestic, aesthetic, intellectual, recreational and racial. These tests number nearly two hundred and yet they are not complete. The very attempt shows the futility of any series of individual tests. The infinite possibilities of life cannot be exhausted by counting.

Yet in one sense figures are more assuring than ideas. For such social phenomena as lend themselves to quantitative measurement, these indices are more reliable than vague generalities. Not that these indices are fixed and eternal. Even the optimum population varies from time to time and from region to region. Besides, no test is to be trusted by itself. If a raising of the status of women is adopted as a test, even a modern American girl would find it hard to compete with a Khasi or an Iroquois matron. Divorce-rates may only indicate laxity of marriage-laws; lower crime-rates stricter police control; homogeneity may mean dead levelism and a stagnation. We all know the limitations of the statistical method. Le Play, the initiator of social survey, had no tolerance for 'the disdainful method of invention.' He did not want to leave anything to 'the imagination, presupposition or prejudices of the observer'; he was all for scientific exactitude. By a study of different family-systems he had come to the con-

clusion that a family-group on the model of the Chinese or the English type was the best solution of the evils of individualism. He was so convinced of the merits of this particular type that he offered a 'reward to anyone who could show him a single happy family except under conditions of this kind.' 'But,' he adds, naïvely, 'all my efforts proved fruitless.' In fact, the prejudices of the statistician, chiefly his temperamental optimism or pessimism, are too deeply entrenched in the sub-conscious to be driven out by equations. For what are these tests after all? They are nothing but symbolic representations of certain general features drawn from an enthusiastic study of a favoured country in a favoured epoch. Almost invariably the favoured country is the fatherland of the statistician and the favoured epoch is the period adorned by him. It is Athens, Rome, Florence, Geneva, London, Berlin, Paris, Boston or Philadelphia. The scientific detachment is offset by a natural egotism, by personal, class, and national bias. On such insecure bases, comparisons cannot be just, especially when all the countries are changing and changing differently.

The fundamental difficulty is that the behaviour-patterns which are compared are on different levels. Some are on the level of instincts where survival-value is the predominating consideration. Some others are only on the hedonistic level where value is governed by the greatest good of the greatest number. Yet other patterns are there which are of the 'non-advantageous type.' Different groups of people lay different emphasis on different patterns of behaviour at different times. No one series of tests will be valid for all peoples, or for the same people for all time. Tests or indices are merely symbols of value; as values differ the significance of tests also must vary. Possibly it is this limitation of the statistical method which sometimes gives rise to contradictions between different tests. For example, although homogeneity is a great asset, the diffusion of culture is more possible when a nation is racially heterogeneous than otherwise. Again, the cultural productivity of a people or the birth of creative geniuses is not always a function of universal literacy. I do not know whether 'the paradoxical symptoms of superiority in progress,' which H. Ellis calls 'ambiva-

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lent,' like the growth of population and the decline in the birth and death-rates, are due to this inherent defects of the statistical method or to the very nature of civilization itself which, as Nicoforo was forced to concede, 'is never an exclusive mass of benefits, showing an upward tendency, but a mass of values, positive and negative.'

Progress can be best understood as a problem covering the whole field of human endeavour. It has a direction in time. It is a means or tactics of development. Fundamentally it is a problem of the balancing of values.

The scope of the problem is as wide as human society and as deep as human personality. In so far as human values arise only in contact with human consciousness at its different levels, the problem of progress has unique reference to the changing individual living in a particular region at a particular time in association with other individuals who share with him common customs, beliefs, traditions, apperceptions and possibly a common temperament. The dynamic unit is the individual. Social progress in the sense of a movement of the milieu of folk, place and time becomes an abstraction, a process without values, if we exclude the individual. Such exclusion may be convenient for preserving the sanctity of an *a priori* and dogmatic theory of society but is bound to give rise to misleading conclusions. It is not denied that factors other than the individual also change, but the study of such changes properly form the subject-matter of other sciences like Ecology, Climatology or Ethnology. Such changes are not charged with meaning or purpose; for values, meanings, and purposes arise only in connexion with human beings. Social change (including changes of the environment) is only the means for the attainment of the social objective, namely the development of individual personality. The term social progress may in this sense be used to denote the attempt to make social conditions—a set of indispensable means—congenial to the growth of individual personality. It is assumed that the individual personality changes under the given social conditions, but the conditions do not change of their own accord. They can be changed only by the effort of individuals consciously or unconsciously acting in the

light of their own inheritance, biological, social, or temperamental, and in accordance with their needs, desires and values. When conditions are adjusted to individual needs, desires and values, the stage is set for the development of personality. In this drama, the scenes change but only with reference to the hero of the piece, and strictly in accordance with his necessities and initiative. The action of the drama is the adaptation of events to the individual.

Sociologists who are not committed to the theory of evolution often talk of harmonious adjustments of the different sets of factors. Thus, Prof. Ellwood conceives of progress as an 'increasing adaptation to the requirements of social existence which shall harmonise all factors, whether internal or external, present or remote, in the life of humanity, securing the greatest capacity for social survival, the greatest efficiency in mutual co-operation and the greatest possible harmony in all its varied elements.' Prof. Hobhouse also had laid great stress on harmony and orderly adjustment as necessary conditions for progress.

The desire for smooth adjustment implicit in these statements looks suspiciously like the projection of the uneventful life of academic groves. It betrays a theological type of mind that must needs seek unity in diversity. This recognition of progress as a process is only a half-hearted concession to the evolutionist. The type of adjustment-process that is relevant to the study of progress is, as Prof. Carver has pointed out, an active adaptation by which environmental conditions are modified by human agency.

Certain superstitions have clustered round the word 'adaptation.' In a strictly scientific sense the differences between individuals constitute variation. Variation is the mark of individuality. The given environment does not suit all individuals equally. Individuals for whom the environmental conditions are not suitable die. The survivors necessarily possess qualities better suited to the environmental conditions. Such qualities are handed down to succeeding generations through the mechanism of biological heredity. This process of natural (or survival) selection is in operation all the time. The individ-

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dual qualities which persist in virtue of their survival-value are called adaptations. The process of adaptation is not stressed in Biology; what is emphasized is the selective accumulation and propagation of variations. Adaptations are merely individual differences which have survived, and are good examples of the adage, 'nothing succeeds like success.'

Let us enquire a little more closely into the mechanism of natural selection and adaptation. When a stag grows huge antlers, or when a sun-fish grows out of its relative diodon, 'it is not in the least necessary that each part of the body should be separately moulded by natural selection. The development of one very active growth-centre near the hind end of the body will automatically bring about the bulk of the changes, and selection need only polish, so to speak, and modify detail'—this is with reference to the sun-fish. With reference to the stag with big antlers, 'a mere change in the amount of growth in one region or in one direction can wholly transform an animal.' There are simultaneous and automatic adjustment of other parts if one part is changed by the call of the environment. A most important point is that these adjustments take place within the life-cycle of the individuals as a result of a particular small change. 'The adaptations are made to build themselves anew in each generation; they are not fixed by heredity, and so mutation and selection are never called upon to help produce them.' A vast amount of the detailed adjustment of the body of this sort depend not on racial adaptation but on the functional adaptation of the individual, and the existence of all this functional adaptation means that there is so much less for mutation and natural selection to do.

What is the result of the process of natural selection? It is a temporary balance or a state of relatively good adjustment due to structural adaptation of the organism as a whole. Any change in the environment upsets this balance, and the process of sifting of variations begins again. Ultimately what happens or may happen, the biologist is not concerned with. But in the main natural selection works for stability. There are of course meteorological or biological cataclysms that Huntington and De Vries speak of. But such changes are rare. In this humdrum

life, natural selection is like *Vishnu* the Preserver (and unlike *Mahadeva* the Time-God) all for conservation, and the Wheel is plied against the out-of-the-ordinary who may be suspected of any intention to upset the balance. Mutations are not easily tolerated. On the whole, they are rejected from the germ-plasm of the species, 'the reduced vigour which they entail leads to their automatic elimination.' Usually natural selection is very much against extreme novelties. It may be safely concluded from the above generalization that there is an inertia of the environmental adjustment. It might mean (if environments are comparatively stable) at first an increasing specialization, and finally a perpetuation of such specialization. But owing to constant changes in the environment what actually happens is this—'the result of Evolution and Natural selection is a constant increase in fitness. But there are limitations to the perfection of fit attained. Trial and Error is a rough and ready method. What it produces is something that will work, by no means necessarily something that will work perfectly. The creatures that exist are those that happen to have survived; taken together they represent an equilibrium which manages to be more or less stable, rather than life's best possible way of utilising and sharing the resources of earth'.

Natural selection is thus merely the description of a process, and a rough and ready process at that. It is not a force, it is not a cause, it does not produce anything. It is only a 'non-energetic factor' of evolution, 'simply a passive stop or release of what others had produced.' 'It is a filter; it is a sieve; it is a balance to reject or accept.' It has no purpose. But it must be admitted that 'on the average, the upper level of biological attainment has been continuously raised.' We can even say that it is likely to go on raising the level, and that it is our duty 'not to oppose, but to crown the natural order; to transform it to a better, not by taking a new direction, but by accelerating and intensifying the old.'

I have taken pains to explain the nature of adaptation at some length for the simple reason that many sociologists use the word social selection as an active force operating on social norms or human beings living together. They tacitly assume

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that social selection is an active force. We have seen that its original model, natural selection itself, is not a force; it is merely a wasteful process which serves mainly to conserve the existing order through a rough selection of random variations and occasional mutations. Social evolution is on a different footing altogether. It starts with human invention and proceeds through the interaction of human minds. Human inventions are not simply chance combinations, but rational reconstructions of past experiences having a cumulative effect on the whole. Rational inventions, as opposed to random variations and mutations, are stimulated by wants which with the march of time cease to be primary and instinctive and begin to be secondary and creative. Besides these wants and propensities there are other occasions which stimulate invention or creation. 'Instinctive activities, and after the beginning of social evolution, the habits that are built up about instincts and supplement them with conduct almost as automatic as the functioning of instincts and involving only a minimum of attention, flow on unchanged until an occasion arises in which this instinctive and habitual conduct does not satisfy the wants, so that the propensities are unusually stimulated and attention unusually excited; then inventions may occur.' Natural selection is blind. Social change is not, and if there are intelligent people in society, i.e., if knowledge and reason are spread in the community, and the facilities for imitation, of rational conduct are present, social change can very well afford to have both eyes wide open. The non-immediate, the non-instinctive, the non-necessary, the non-hedonistic, and the non-blind urges of human beings living together and communicating with one another break up the linear unity of nature into two main gradients. The emergence of human purpose is a fact of supreme importance in sociology. It may itself be the outcome of natural selection, but its distinction from natural selection is clear and decisive for social evolution.

A study of psychological adjustment between man and his social environment is therefore of greater importance to sociology than a study of biological selection. The social environment lengthens and weakens the chain that binds man with nature.

The word environment must be used with great caution with reference to society. There is something of givenness in its concept, but in fact the social environment which creates the stimuli for human beings to respond to is essentially artificial in the sense of man-made. For any particular individual the environment is more or less given. But considering the environment as a whole it consists of nothing but a series of inventions, not all of the highest order, but nevertheless inventions.

Mr. Bernard has given a valuable analysis of the different types of environments.* The social environments are divided into two main categories, (1) the Physico-social, like machines, tools, communications, etc, including all mechanical and scientific inventions. In this category are 'the products of the human reaction upon the physical environments, and by means of which cosmic processes, chemical factors in the soil, other inorganic resources, such as the metals and the natural fuels, and natural dynamic agencies, such as falling water, winds, tides, etc., are so transformed as better to meet the needs of man'; (2) the Bio-social, consisting of domesticated plants and animals and in some cases human beings used as tools; the inventions transform 'the organic world in such a way as to render it more serviceable to man as a means to his adjustment to nature and to other men than it is in its natural form.' It must be admitted that inventions under these two heads, even when accidental and environmental, have some element of conscious adaptation of means to ends and some sort of purposiveness. Then we come to another type of environment, itself a by-product of the previous two types, but having such a unique element of its own that it exercises a most potent influence on man. (3) The Psycho-social environment, consisting of the inner behaviours of individuals, such as attitudes and ideas, of the 'uniformities of inner behaviour occurring in collective units and perceived as customs, folk-ways, conventions, traditions, beliefs, mores, etc., and language-symbols, requiring a new type of invention, and necessarily a new type of communicable content, viz., science.'

*Introduction to Social Psychology, Ch. VI. American Journal of Sociology, 1925. Davis and Barnes: Introduction to Sociology, Book II, Ch. II.

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Social institutions emerge as a result of the interaction of the derivative environments for social control. The distinguishing feature of the psycho-social control is the predominance of the psychic element in the inventions. Says Prof. Bernard, "the psychic element is even more marked in the recent inventions which are made projectively and abstractly rather than empirically. The more complex modern inventions are made not as step by step improvements of existing instruments or compounds of the same class or kind, but as new synthetic creations which utilise the formulas of science for the building of wholly new objects. Such inventions are created first in the imagination, perhaps by the use of mathematical or other symbolic formulas and are later transformed into visible material structures. Such a process of invention is in the highest degree Psychic." With written language, a new gradient of social environment is discovered. Once man learns to respond to words and their meanings, the reproduction of responses and behaviours is made communicable. The possibility of such a human behaviour marks the highest gradient of the past series of adjustments for controlling nature. Language has put man on a different level altogether.

Such is the picture of the history of social adjustment in gradients. The main direction of change is indicated by the history. The direction, however, is not linear. Social evolution has passed through many phases, and it is not possible to trace a uniform tendency everywhere. It will be probably better to call the tendency a directivity rather than a direction. This directivity is not a force or a cause. Primarily it is the description of movement, an interpretation of changes or transformation taking place in time. In the process of adjustment between man and his social environment, directivity is posited in the transition from the levels in which controls of the automatic nervous system (concerned with nutrition, reproduction, protection and well-being) are dominant, to the stage in which cortical controls, through the integration of past experience, establish new modes of development. Through repression and sublimation, symbols are created by which previous modes of action and thought-patterns are either reinstated or rejected.

These symbolic psycho-social controls in their turn begin to dominate the cortical and the automatic process. This transition from the dominance of automatic controls to the dominance of storage symbols is the most important aspect of the element of directivity involved in social progress.

It is all right to stress the true point of view, but, at the same time, it is equally necessary to understand why the true point of view is so easily missed. I believe there are three chief reasons for the misunderstanding. The first is that the symbolic controls, *i.e.*, words and ideas, become stereotyped in course of time. Thus the idea of progress or of equality or liberty lose their meaning after a certain period when they no longer 'serve as suggestion stimuli for the release of conditioned responses.' A reconstruction of their original significance is next to impossible. The second reason is that the tempo of social change or movement is wrongly supposed to be of a uniform quality. This error is the corollary to a mistaken application of the theory of evolution by which species were at first believed to be fixed, and when the idea of fixity of species was shaken, the tempo of natural selection working through variation was assumed to be unchanging. But even more striking than the survival of the fittest is the belatedness of the fitting. This is with reference to Nature, the evolution of which may either become a graceless drift towards a dead end or a triumphant procession towards perfection, with the choice governed by chance or Providence. In social evolution, however, there are many cross currents. For example human beings often show a surprising degree of adjustment to misfits. According to Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji, in certain extremely congested areas the hopelessly low standard of living has made Indian peasants perfectly contented. Prof. Hocking says, 'no being is so domiciled in mutilations as man. . . . His fitness for the unfit must have its scope.' If it is so in the case of the ordinary man, for the genius the maladjustment is tragic. The tears of the hungry man of genius drown all the philosophy of the struggle for existence, and no sermonizing on his lack of character, *i.e.*, his incapacity for achieving success in this world of social selection, is adequate compensation for the loss sustained in the meanwhile. The third reason for

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the misunderstanding is that social change is often mistaken to be a rectilinear and unilinear advance in time.

A discussion of the last source of misunderstanding is necessary. Time is the hero of the piece. Optimists fondly believe that just because a certain number of years have been added to the 1st year after the death of Christ, everything is for the good, and all is right with the world. They find virtue in mere quantity and accumulation. They are the liberal reformers who must do good. There are also the pessimists who, for the very same reason, condemn whatever has happened. They are the conservatives and historians of ancient times who would reconstruct the present in the light of the past. In one case, anticipation, and in the other, memory, governs the attitude towards change. As anticipation and memory are extensions of the specious present forward and backward in time, they have no intrinsic quality of their own except their appeal to sentiment. We must know something more about time, for another very important problem of progress is whether time moves the universe or time is only a feature of the unceasing flux of events, whether time is superior to man or man is out to conquer time.

Religion, Mathematics, Physics and the Philosophy of Evolution have all tried to comprehend the nature of time. I shall not attempt to describe what religion has achieved, for the reason that religion being the tactics of a particular line of development cannot have any disinterested understanding of the problem of development itself. When there is a hiatus between individual death and general final resurrection, the soul can only hope, and hope in the faith it was born in. The nature of time involved in such conceptions is often nothing but a compound of faith and hope mixed in different proportions by the priest. I know nothing about Mathematics and Physics. But this is what I am told by eminent scientists in their lucid intervals. Before Einstein, it was considered that all purposes would be served in all circumstances if there were a single physical space and a single public time unrelated to each other, but correlated to the private space and time of any individual. Now Einstein denies the sufficiency for all purposes of this construct, a single physical space and a single public time,

independent of each other, as affording the basis of a system of spatial and temporal measurements which will completely accord with the spatio-temporal experiences of all observers under all circumstances. There is this much of truth in the new metrics that different individuals in different situations may have different rhythms of time which need not necessarily coincide; in other words, the flow of time is not necessarily uniform, the lapse of time of which alone men can be ordinarily conscious is not simply the difference of two numbers of a simply ordered manifold, the arithmetic continuum, which is the sole element of temporal intuition allowed by Newton. On the other hand, the new notion of space-time, based as it is on a new geometry and a new kinematics, reduces every item of our experience to a system of singularities in the metric system and leaves us more or less in the air. The disciples of Einstein are humble enough to admit however that it is not their business to prove that space-time is real. For them the question of reality does not arise. If physical events and entities can be suitably represented in the new geometry (4, 5, or more dimensional) they are satisfied. We therefore bid adieu to Mathematics and Physics, for we as laymen refuse to read more in Einstein than Profs. Whitehead, Hobson, or Eddington can do. We appreciate their humility and pass on with the remark that their admirable views of space-time cannot serve as the basis of a new conception of Reality or Progress.

As an ordinary individual is not a *Yogi*, he must co-ordinate his life with other individuals living in association with him. The individual has got a private time of his own determined by his own memory and anticipation, *i.e.*, the ensemblage of his mental patterns. As he lives in society he is obliged to adjust his private time in terms of conventional time which is divisible into units of the same length and quality but distinguishable by numbers. Apart from these two aspects there is an universal aspect of time, for societies are related to one another, and we must think of the world as an integral whole. As adjustments are made between the private and social aspects of time in terms of a single time-order, so must we relate social events to world history in the same unique series. A further generalization

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yields time as a mystic, abstract, entity flowing eternally in a set measure but divisible into past and future according to the dictates of memory and purpose. Beyond these three there is yet another aspect, timelessness, a state in which there is no sequence, no change, no movement, no direction, no division of attention. Mystics claim to have reached this state and conquered time. But it is a Pyrrhic victory for at the moment of triumph (called *nirvikalpa samadhi*) movement, direction and all dynamic experiences vanish. A glimpse of this state may perhaps be had in dreamland or 'sushupti,' the world of the Unconscious, where there is no time or only a different order of time, as Dunne has recorded, because of its sheltered existence from the world of change.

For our purpose, it is therefore best to understand time as 'a concept constructed by each individual under the influence of society in which he lives.' It is a part, a mechanism of social adjustment. Psychologically speaking, time has no structure. Metaphysically, if it is made prior to the universe, it becomes nonsense. 'It cannot be made an independent terminus of knowledge,' as Prof. Whitehead himself has pointed out. We can experience duration only through our senses. The specious present is the 'vivid fringe of memory tinged with anticipation. This vividness lights up the discriminated field within duration.' In other words, time is, because events happen. Events happen to individuals who lend them meanings. Events happen to groups of men also, in which case they are invested with social meanings. Social organization of time, as Mary Burt has shown, is centred in the content of time. But this content is purely mental. Mental organization differs from individual to individual, and even in the same individual in different situations. As soon as the individual succeeds in relating events, he can be said to have partially transcended the colourless, meaningless and barren uniformity of conventional time. When he relates them to his own changing experiences, he establishes meanings. This mental act of giving meanings endows conventional time with values. With the endowment of values time ceases to be an extraneous entity thrust upon the individual from outside. The investment of conventional time with values may

therefore be considered to be a process in which the individual attains freedom from the necessity of conforming to an external series of temporal succession.

Progress, so far as time adjustment is concerned, is therefore a movement of freedom. I have noted how this freedom is incompatible with any theory of 'History as Becoming.' One confession of M. Bergson is highly significant in this connexion. 'An inner life with well-distinguished moments and with clearly characterised states will answer better the requirements of social life.' How far this inner life is intuitive or not is not important here. What is of vital significance is that our time-adjustments should be made in such a way that we should be free from the necessity of remaining in social contact for every moment of our life. This is an important condition of progress. In leisure alone can man conquer the tyranny of time, by investing it with a meaning, a direction, a memory and a purpose. Obstacles to leisure, including the demands of a hectic social life often mistaken for progress, must be removed in order that the inner personality of man may get the opportunity for development. This is why the Hindu philosopher wisely insists on the daily hour of contemplation, and after a certain age a well-marked period of retirement from the turmoil of life. The bustle of modern civilization is growing apace and the need for retirement is becoming greater.

So Natural Selection and Time do not furnish men with the motive-power of progress, for they are not forces at all. The real motive-power is the individual's sense of values. When this sense is creative the process of adjustment with directivity and purpose is transformed into progress. The choice of values of course has its own background of natural environment in so far as it is conditioned by the region to which the individual belongs. It has also the background of social environment which is chiefly the recruiting ground of acquired traits. These two environments supply the appetites and needs which must be satisfied. If they remain unsatisfied, the individual's freedom to guide his conduct, private and social, and thus control his environment, becomes limited. It is a matter of common knowledge that maladjustments are drags on progress. The sense of

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values, *i.e.*, the capacity for judgment and selection is a result of experience. Once experience in one sphere is gathered, the sense of values of that gradient may become the starting point of another set of experiences leading to a new gradient. (The new gradient may be called 'higher' or 'lower'; this point is not important.)

The sense of values is not simply intellectual discrimination. It includes instinctive attractions and repulsions, tropisms and reflexes, as well as cognitive, affective and conative elements. The sense of values is not stationary. It changes with the life of the individual, and at any given instant may be considered to be a resultant of the whole body of his past experience, conscious and unconscious. In other words, the perception of values has a history, but a history not in the sense of Spengler or Croce, as becoming or unfolding in accordance with its own secret laws, obliterating all marks and periods and closing with a flourish in the present, *i.e.*, the moment when the author is composing his grandiose sentences. The sense of values is cumulative, for the past acts of evolution leave their trace. A cumulative sense cannot but have a direction and a richness of purpose. This purpose must not have its origin referred to the present moment, either to make us feel infinitely superior to all that had preceded, or to make us abjectly humble before the potentialities which are in the lap of the future. A sense of superiority or inferiority has nothing to do with the values themselves. The element of purpose in the sense of values is again not to be understood as purely teleological. This purpose is primarily the satisfaction of needs and appetites. But as has been noted already, with increasing cortical dominance, new needs and appetites are created which have no basis in the mere preservation of life. From this point of view, valuation can be disinterested. Each need or appetite is a store of energy. Its energy is liberated by the opposition of another need which demands immediate attention. The need creates a behaviour pattern which is more stable and real than the need itself, which, it must be admitted, never works singly, but always in alliance with other subsidiary needs and is coloured by emotions. The instability of a behaviour-pattern is the only index available to the urge of the

appetite. This behaviouristic explanation goes a great way towards explaining the process of valuation.

In the needs created by social and biological environments the behaviouristic explanation may suffice. There the unifying element is supplied by the homogeneity of common customs, beliefs, traditions and folkways. There is no need to postulate the third device of intuition for the explanation of spiritual appetites. It is a consequence of the further development of individuality.

But there is point about the behaviourist explanation of values regarding which I am not clear. By meaning, I generally understand the relation of needs to a human being. Einstein's theory (or explanation, whatever it may be), might appear useless to an ordinary man, or to a composer, or to an architect, but it was certainly full of meaning for Einstein himself and also to his disciples. Yet the behaviourists assert that value is self-generated. I can never persuade myself to think that behaviourism is the complete explanation of values.

There is something residing somewhere which eludes the grasp of the behaviourist. That residual something need not be god, need not be soul, nor any other such mystic substance. Let us give it any name we like, the fact remains that it is there and that it exercises potent influence on the acts of valuation. Let us provisionally call it Personality. There is some justification for doing so. It has been observed that beneath or behind the different behaviours of different 'personalities' of the same individual, there is one ultimate personality which is indissoluble. We know little that is definite regarding this unanalysed element. There cannot, however, be any doubt that it has an important function in our lives. It is that guiding force which co-ordinates and binds together different patterns of behaviour; and in its act of co-ordination it gives rise to meanings and values.

But change, purposiveness, directivity, or meanings all fail to give a completely satisfactory solution of the problem of progress. The very nature of the human mind is such as to seek a basic foundation. This foundation is called Reality by the philosophers. It has been sought to be described in many ways and with the help of many names. One out of these many factors

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is usually conceived as the active principle in terms of which the remaining elements are explained. The choice of the particular principle which is thus seized upon for the purpose of explanation depends entirely on the personal predilections of the individual philosopher. It is ultimately a matter of individual choice.

Probably a better way of comprehending Reality is to look upon it as the ensemble of the whole system of reals (known and unknown) possessing an independent value of its own which transcends the separate values of the individual reals. On this view, however, it is still necessary to construct the system of reals. And here the difficulty of personal choice again crops up. This difficulty, however, is inherent in the problem itself, for in a question of values we can never completely eliminate the personal factor.

The description of Reality given by the Upanishads has an irresistible appeal for the Indian mind : Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam. The first is the principle of harmony which sustains the universe amidst all its incessant changes, movements and conflicts. The second is the principle of co-ordination in the social environment. The third gives expression to the Unity which transcends all the diverse forms of states, behaviours, and conflicts, permeates thought and action with ineffable joy. We reach three ultimate values ; Peace, Welfare and Unity. The motive power of progress is the urge towards Joy in Harmony, Welfare and Unity. There are different levels at which this urge operates, but it is only when the individual begins to realize the three-fold principle that life becomes fully charged with meaning. In and through such realization the life of the individual attains its personality. On this view, progress ultimately depends on the development of personality, on the realization of the principle of Harmony, Welfare and Unity.

How far existing social agencies help the growth of personality is a different question. In modern times Science probably fulfils this purpose more than anything else. But Science itself will be futile unless it is related to the co-ordinating principle in the life of the individual, namely, the personality of man.

MODERN MOVEMENTS IN ISLAM

By JULIUS GERMANUS.

III. Persia.

The Persians take a unique position among the peoples professing Islam. Numberless centuries before the revelation of the Koranic religion Persia had a remarkable culture and a highly developed civilization. In ancient times it was the cradle of thoughts and aspirations which illuminated mankind with deep religious ideas radiating to Iranian and non-Iranian peoples. It was the centre of a mighty political organization which brought forth imperial influences reaching even to the far-off Balkans and stirring up the evolution of Greece. The arts and crafts of administration and of military organization were first developed to a paramount superiority by Persians in their defensive actions against their Northern foes, the ever-roaming restless hordes of the Central Asiatic plains, the Turanians. Their strategy and state-craft became a model to the Turks who adopted and further developed Persian achievements on the field of warfare.

Speculative and fanciful, but endowed with an uncommonly rich intellect, the history of Persian culture is one of the most splendid spectacles in the evolution of civilization. Every external influence which has enriched their mental store in the course of their history, became blended with their character, which augmented, embellished and variegated, has still in its innermost recesses retained an irradicable fascination for the spiritual, the fantastic, the extravagant, and the artistic. Islam, with its matter of fact theology, grew through contact with the Persian intellect into a vivid transcendentalism which reared a metaphysics, the exuberant foliage of which threatened to crush its very roots and foundations. Islamic doctrine even in its most sober aspects gained an allegoric meaning in the eyes of Persians with whom everything was so highly spiritualized that contact with reality was often lost. Islam suffered more

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heresies at the hands of Persians than of all other races professing the religion of the Prophet. The dogmatism of Semitic Islam blossomed into metaphysical speculations in which lie embedded the memories of Persian mental history. We therefore find that the same old theme crops up again and again in a new garment and under a new name and is always hailed with boundless enthusiasm.

In modern times a movement which has rapidly gained ground not only in the East but also in Europe and America and which has become a religion supposedly professed by millions has its roots in Persia. A new religion has arisen, a religion of humanity, a universal creed for the whole of mankind which in its present form is not only a factor of social and perhaps of political importance in Persia, but to judge by its literature written in English, seems to have been enthusiastically accepted by many Americans. The religion of Baháísm is a characteristic example of the Persian spirit. It is a remarkable phenomenon that in countries which show such a deep contrast in cultural matters as America and Persia, this religion has made such an amazing progress. This alone would justify our interest in its study.

It is known that after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the Muslim community soon split asunder into hostile parties which in the course of time developed into distinct theological sects: the Sunnis and the Shiites, the latter being the partisans of Ali. According to the Shiite view Muhammad appointed Ali to succeed him as the spiritual head of Islam but his rights were usurped by the first three Caliphs (Abu Bakar, Omar, and Othman). The Shiites of course do not approve of and do not believe in the legality of the election of a Caliph, as this office, or as they call it, the Imámate, is inherent in Ali and his descendants. It was conferred by God first upon the Prophet, then upon Ali by the Prophet and afterwards on Ali's descendants. It has, therefore, nothing to do with popular choice or approval. The Caliph of the Sunnis is an outward, visible, defender of the faith; the Imám of the Shiites is the divinely ordained successor of the Prophet, endowed with all

perfections and spiritual gifts, whom all the faithful must obey, whose decision is absolute and final, whose wisdom is superhuman; and whose words are authoritative. The Imámites are descendants of Ali's son Husayn who according to popular belief had married the daughter of the Persian-Sassanian king, Yazdigird III, and who died a martyr's death at Kerbela (A.D. 680). This explains the affection in which the Imáms are held in Persia, since they are regarded as the direct descendants not only of the Prophet but also of the royal house of Sassan. The Imámites are divided into the Ismáilis or adherents of the seven Imáms, and the Ithna Ashariya or adherents of the twelve Imáms. We are mostly concerned with the latter here.

The twelfth Imám left no male issue, but as the world cannot do without an Imám, the Shiites of the sect of the twelve Imáms—the state religion of Persia since the 16th century—believed that the last Imám never died but only retired from mortal ken and resides in a fabulous town called Jabulka among his faithful disciples from where he will issue forth in the fullness of time to do justice among mankind. He will appear as the Imám Mahdi, the God-directed, whose messianic advent every Shiite is eagerly expecting. It is held that since the disappearance of the Imám two main periods have passed: (a) the minor occultation (*ghaibat-i-sughra*) A.H. 260-329 (A. D. 873-942) during which four intermediaries communicated his instructions who were called the *Báb*, or gate, as they permitted entrance to the will of the Imám; (b) the major occultation (*ghaibat-i-kubra*) during which no intercourse, not even indirect, was possible with the Imám. At the end of the 19th century Sheikh Ahmed al-Ahsai revived the idea that amongst the Shiites there must always be one perfect man capable of serving as a channel of grace between the absent Imám and his church. Thus such personages as were convinced of their superhuman faculty and Godly inspiration may consider themselves as intermediaries, as gates so to say, to the knowledge of the absent Imám. In the 10th century a certain Ash-Shalmaghani ibn Abi Azakir had suffered death under the Caliph Ar-Rádhi for assuming this same title of *Báb* and for teaching heretical doctrines which included among others the tenet of

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transmigration of souls. Sheikh Ahmed and his successor, Seyyid Kazim of Rasht, did not however make use of the title Báb, but their conception of the 'perfect Shiite' was identical with the idea connoted by this title.

The tenets of the Sheikhi school may be summarised as follows : Sheikh Ahmed believed that the body of man was composed of parts derived from each of the nine heavens and the four elements ; that the grosser elemental part perished irrevocably at death and that only the more subtle celestial portion would appear at the resurrection. He named the subtle body : *jism huwarkilya* (which seems to be derived from a Greek word, perhaps Hercules ?) and believed it to be similar in substance to the forms in the world of similitudes. He denied that the Prophet's material body had, on the occasion of his night journey to heaven, moved from the spot where it lay in a trance. He believed himself to be under the special guidance of the Imáms. He regarded the Imáms as creative forces and based his thesis on dialectics. For God is spoken of in the Koran (23.14.) "the best of Creators" ; consequently He cannot be the sole creator. He went so far in his ultra-Shiite tendencies that he interpreted the words of the first chapter of the Koran : *iyyáka na'budu* (Thee do we worship) as referring to Ali.

After the death of Seikh Ahmed, Hajji Seyyid Kazim of Rasht was unanimously recognized as the leader of his school. Kazim did not nominate a successor. According to Bábi historians he had hinted that the transitional state of things under which he and his master Sheikh Ahmed had assumed the guidance of the faithful was drawing to a close, and that a brighter light was about to shine forth from the horizon of the spiritual world. From whatever quarter the sun of truth shall arise it will irradiate all horizons and render the mirrors of believers' hearts capable of receiving the effulgence of the lights of wisdom. The Sheikhis were anxiously expecting the appearance of some one who should assume the leadership of their party. One of them, Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh proceeded to Shiráz, and on his arrival there paid a visit to Mirza Ali Muhammad, with whom he had

¹ I have closely followed the histories of Bábism and Baháísm translated, edited and ably expounded by the late Prof. Browne.

become acquainted at Kerbela and who was also a staunch adherent of the school.¹ Mirza Ali Muhammad learning of the death of Kázim, announced his divine mission, and adduced in support of his claims, the commentary on the Sura of Joseph. Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh was soon convinced of the truth of the young man's assertion and heralded the advent of the new leader, who assumed the title of 'Báb'. Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh became the gate of the gate and the first letter or the first to believe. The rapidity with which the movement spread was wonderful. Representatives of all classes hastened to tender their allegiance to the young Seer of Shiráz, but it was from the old Sheikhi party that the most eminent supporters of the new faith were recruited. The followers of the Báb were called Bábís. A number of the Sheikhis however refused to recognise him and adhered to another representative of the doctrine, Hajji Muhammad Karim Khán; and a fierce quarrel ensued between the two parties. The orthodox Sheikhis proved to be the foremost and most implacable enemies of the Bábís and their relentless persecutors. There was very little difference between the preachings of Mirza Ali Muhammad called the 'Báb,' and those of Hajji Muhammad Karim, since each claimed to be neither more nor less than the intermediary between the absent Imám and his followers, exactly in the same way as were the four original gates who had served as channels of communication between the Twelfth Imám and his followers during the period of the minor occultation.

It was in 1844 that the new light arose on the horizon of the Shiites, but it was bitterly challenged by the followers of other 'lights' who claimed an equally valid heavenly inspiration, although their success among mankind still continued to be determined by mundane factors. The historical importance of any idea is not determined by its intrinsic merits, or its alleged divine origin, but often depends on the skill with which it is adapted by its expounders to suit local conditions. The history of Bábism, a new religion arising out of the soil of Persian Shiism, with its appeal to the imaginative, the heroic perseverance of its martyrs, the unscrupulous machinations by which each faction assailed its antagonists, and the final adaptation of

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the doctrine to the tastes and predilections of modern minds, corroborates this old maxim of history.

The Báb was only 27 years of age at the time of his manifestation. The sensation created by his advent frightened the ulamas, and they induced the Government to arrest him and after a trial to condemn him to imprisonment. This action on the part of the Persian Government added to his fame, and gave impetus to the proselytizing efforts of his followers. The clash with the intolerant followers of orthodoxy soon provoked reprisals which led to bloody conflicts. Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh and Hajji Muhammad Ali took shelter in an old fortress in Mazenderán which had to be taken by storm after a siege of 7 months; revolts and risings of the followers of the Báb occurred at Zanjan, Yazd and Niriz which were put down with great cruelty on the part of Government. The spread of the new creed was amazing. In the course of 6 years the whole of Persia was filled with Bábís, a clear proof that the idea appealed to the imaginative Persians. The revolutionary attitude of the Bábís gained many adherents among the peasants who were dissatisfied with the economic situation in Persia, and the Government was compelled to try to crush the movement at its root. The lenient treatment accorded to the Báb up till then was abandoned and he was sentenced to death on the charge of high treason and was executed at Tabriz in 1850. This was followed by a vigorous persecution of his followers. Finally in 1852, when an attempt at the life of the Shah was perpetuated by some of the Bábís, the whole sect was violently suppressed. The beautiful poetess Kurrat ul Ayn and many others, innocent of all complicity in the conspiracy, were tormented and cruelly murdered. Some of the initiates fled to Baghdad, and a branch of Bábís arose from this small group of exiles. They modified the doctrine and developed it into a form more acceptable to those who had no sympathy for the exuberant fancies of the Persian mind. Among these fugitives there was a lad, called Mirza Yahya who was such an enthusiastic believer in the Báb's manifestation that he had travelled across the whole of Persia with his half-brother Mirza Husayn Ali to see the Báb. The Báb heard of Mirza Yahya's zeal and devotion, and declared that in him was fulfilled

the prophecy long current in Shiite tradition in the form of a conversation between Ali and Kumayl 'regarding the coming of a light shining from the dawn of eternity.' The Báb conferred on Mirza Yahya the title of Subh-i-Ezel (the dawn of eternity), gave him his own ring and authorized him to develop the philosophy of Bábism as he thought fit, and appointed him as his own successor.

On the Báb's death Subh-i-Ezel was unanimously recognised as the spiritual head of the sect. But his half-brother who had received the name of Baháullah, the Splendour of God, came into greater prominence owing to the retiring habits and also on account of the extreme youth of the leader himself. Other claimants to the leadership also arose but did not gain any following. The two brothers lived in peace and harmony at Baghdad, where the Turkish Government had permitted them to reside and where they had many followers. Here the original doctrine underwent many changes. Baháullah conducted a secret but successful propaganda in Persia. He matured his ideas for the future, and gradually remodelled the tenets for which the martyrs in Persia had sacrificed their lives. The circumstances in Baghdad gave him a wider horizon and this compelled him to take a broader view. He retired for two years to the hills of Kurdistan to meditate upon his ideas. Subh-i-Ezel still adhered to the orthodox tenets of Bábism but his peace-loving nature prevented an open hostility with Baháullah.

As time ripens the blossom into luscious fruit there occurs a profound change in the outward appearance, although the organic continuity is not destroyed. Similarly a religious idea becomes changed in the course of time by the influence of leaders who have an active grasp of the realities of the situation. Bábism has been altered profoundly by the gradual assimilation of new conceptions, some of which were entirely foreign to the original doctrine. According to Bábí views, the essence of God, the primal divine Unity, is unknowable and entirely transcends human comprehension. We can know nothing about it, we

³ The language of the Báb himself and the terminology of transcendental love used by his followers reflect the exuberant flight of fancy which often glorified beautiful words without much meaning. The followers were given fantastic names full of esoteric allusions.

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see only its manifestation in the succession of prophets. There is no fundamental divergence or conflict between the prophets, all of whom represent the same Universal Reason. Their teachings differ only in outward form according to the particular needs of the time. The Báb is also considered to be one of these manifestations (the Ismáili sect has seven incarnations of the Deity, called Nátik, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, Muhammad and Ismáil), and the party of Subh-i-Ezel continued to revere him as such, while the followers of Baháullah looked upon Baháullah as this manifestation. It is incumbent on the prophets to use the language appropriate to his audience. It will be different for little children, or for young men or for men of mature age. The prophet's words must not therefore be taken too literally, but must be explained with reference to the actual circumstances in which they are uttered. This is the justification of an allegorical interpretation which is so dear to the Shi'ite mind. The Ismáili sect was equally prone to explain away the literal meaning of revealed scriptures; when the Korán says, that Jesus had no father, the interpretation is that he received instructions from no trustworthy teacher: when it says that he raised the dead, it signifies that he brought knowledge to dead understanding. The Bábís handled this allegorical interpretation (*ta'wil*) in a masterly way. They denied the physical existence of Paradise or Hell; as the rough Arabs could not understand ethical values Muhammad spoke to them of Good and Evil in symbolic form. When, in course of time, one particular form of expression in the teachings of a prophet becomes obsolete, a new manifestation appears and modifies the teaching in a suitable way to advance the eternal progress of the world. The Bábí doctrine is most definite on this point. It recognises and emphasizes changes in human affairs, and wishes to mould every thought in accordance with the progress of the world. ~~There can be no final revelation and no last prophet, an idea which was very sympathetic to the philosophy of evolution, and which in its narrowest sense had also been avowed by Mirza Ghulám Ahmad.~~ According to the Bábí doctrine the prophets, as manifestations of the Universal Reason, were forerunners of progress and were always in advance of mankind. This is why every

prophet had been and must be rejected by his own people. So did also the Báb fare, when one thousand years after the disappearance of the Twelfth Imám (A. H. 260; the Báb's manifestation took place in 1260 A. H.), he was persecuted and put to death. In order to prevent mankind from falling into the same error he emphasized that even his manifestation was not the last and that others would again come in future ages to bring new revelations suited to new circumstances and altered conditions.

The theory of evolution seems to be embodied in a theology which believed in a succession of prophethood all manifesting the one and the same Universal Intelligence but under diverse conditions and aspects. This view, which is apt to make Bábism a sympathetic doctrine even to modern rationalists, was not, however, the source of inspiration for the innumerable martyrs who died for Bábism. What attracted them to the new creed even at the cost of their lives was the mystic doctrine of Bábism which was full of transcendental correspondences and equivalents between names based on numerical values of letters, and of the theory of divine manifestation.

Almost all the constituent elements of Bábism had their source in the mediæval heresies of Persian origin. The nation instinctively cherished and clung to these mystic doctrines in which it found a peculiar charm.

Muhammad very soon discarded the title of the Báb and assumed that of the Point (*Nuqta*). There is a spurious tradition according to which Ali is supposed to have said that all that was in the Korán was contained implicitly in the opening chapter, and all that was in this chapter was contained in the first line (*Bismillah*), and finally in turn in the initial *B* of the *Bismillah* and this in turn in the point which stands under the Arabic *B*, and Ali is also supposed to have said "I am the point which stands under the *B*."

Mirza Muhammad was henceforth called the Primal Point, or His Holiness the First Point : the manifestation of the Primal Will. The Bábís believed that the primal will is incarnated in the intermediaries between man and God. In one sense it is identical with God, for a tradition says that whosoever visited

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Husayn in his tomb was as one who hath visited God on His Throne. So likewise the Báb said "Oh Ali, none hath known God save I and thee; and none hath known me save God and thee, and none hath known thee save God and I."

Bábí mentality may be appreciated by the following extracts from the *Nuqtatu'l-Káf*, one of the earliest and most authentic histories: 'as the same mirror may at different times reflect different objects, so the same individual may successively become the returns (or recurrences) of different prototypes.' When Mirza Muhammad, speaking more freely, as his followers became more receptive of divine mysteries, declared himself to be the Point, Mullah Husayn ceased to be only the Gate of Gate and became the actual Gate; and when he was killed, his brother Mirza Muhammad Hasan in turn received the title. But this is not all. Mirza Ali Muhammad was first of all, Báb, or Gate, then Zíkr or Reminder, than Nuqta or Point. For a while Mullah Muhammad Ali of Barfurush became the Point, and Mirza Ali Muhammad relapsed into being his Báb and during this time wrote nothing. "Sometimes it happens," so runs the *Nuqtatu'l-Káf*, "that the Point becomes quiescent in effulgence and that this effulgence becomes manifested in the Gate, just as the apostle of God did not wield the sword but his wrath was made manifested in the form of Ali. But after the death of God's apostle, Ali became the Point and Heaven of Will, and Hasan became the Gate and the Earth of Devotion, while Husayn and Salmán and the rest were the Letters of the Living. So likewise in speaking of the Islamic cycle of prophethood, so long as Muhammad was alive, Ali declared himself to be only a servant amongst his servants, but that, so soon as the Prophetic Mirror (by which is meant the sovereign form of Muhammad) was shattered to pieces, in less time than a twinkling of an eye, it (the Sun of Truth) arose in the mirror of Saintship (saintship represents the esoteric aspect of religion) so that Ali thus became the Mirror or 'Manifestation' of the Primal Will and the Proof of God upon earth was able to say: 'I am Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad.' All theophanies are identical in essence and differ only in circumstance, just as the sun which shines to-day is the same as that which shone yesterday

or that which will shine to-morrow. 'These lights of the firmament of Prophethood and Saintships, like the celestial luminaries, have a rising and a setting, a manifestation and an occultation.'

It is obvious that all these notions can be explained only by means of allegorical comparisons with the phenomena of nature with which they really have nothing in common. A figurative expression takes here the place of rational thinking in terms of concepts corresponding to realities.

As to the eschatology of Bábism, it denies bodily resurrection but the spirit of the deceased may continue to take an interest in his earthly affairs, and some passages in Bábí writings also refer to the transmigration of souls, while the return to the life of his world is conceived in a symbolic sense as a reflection upon a mirror. However vague the Bábí doctrine may be on certain points it is essentially dogmatic and every utterance of the manifestation of the period must be accepted without demur. The *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* (the "Most Holy Book") of Baháullah begins with "The first thing which God has presented unto His servants is knowledge of the Day, spring of His Revelation and the Dawning-place of His Command, which is the Station of His Spirit in the world of Creation and Command. Whosoever attaineth unto this hath attained unto all good, and whosoever is debarred therefrom is of the people of error, even though he produce all kinds of good deeds." The Báb and his immediate followers were not inclined to tolerance. According to the 'Bayán,' no unbelievers were to be suffered to dwell in the five principal provinces of Persia, and everywhere they were, as far as possible, to be subjected to restrictions, and kept in a position of inferiority. The Bábís are strongly antagonistic to Súfs or orthodox Musulmans because they did not acknowledge in the Manifestations the fulfilment of Islam.

A most characteristic feature of Bábism is the belief in the intrinsic value of the letters of the Alphabet. The algebraic correspondences have puzzled men since the time of Pythagoras. In Muslim history it was the Hurúfis who first attached magic power to numbers and tried to derive secret meanings out of the numerical value of the letters of the Alphabet. Their system

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was eagerly taken up and elaborated by the Turkish Bektáshi writers. The Ismáiliya sect believed in the number seven. The Deity had seven incarnations, between each of the seven incarnations there arose seven Imáms, each Imám was at the head of a heptad; seven operations were required in the making of a convert and so on. The algebraic correspondences, developed by the Bábís, are amazing. The theological system is practically built upon algebraic correspondence. The formula *Bismillah irrahmán, irrahim* (in the name of God the merciful, the compassionate) comprises 19 letters in Arabic script which are the 'Manifestation' of the Point under the B, just as the whole Korán is the further Manifestation on a plane of greater plurality of the Bismillah. The number 19 became a kind of a sacred number, a fundamental basis of the Bábí doctrine by which the truth of its tenets could be algebraically proved.

The Arabic word for one is *Wáhid*, and the numerical value of the letters composing the word give the sum $(6+1+8+4)$ of 19. This unity of 19 in turn manifests itself as $19 \times 19 = 361$, which is the number of "all things" (Kullu Shay); the letters are numerically equivalent $(20+30+300+10) = 360$ to which by adding "the one which underlies all plurality" we get 361, the number of all things, which again is the square of 19. The number 19 was made the basis of all divisions of time, money, etc. The Bábí's idea of a coinage having 19 as its basis has however been abandoned along with many other impracticable ordinances. Thus the Bábí year comprised 19 solar months of 19 days each, to which intercalary days are added between the 18th and 19th months. The last month is consecrated to fasting. The unity is also manifested in the divine attribute *Hayy*, the Living, which equals $8+10=18$, and with the one which underlies all plurality makes 19. The Báb together with his 18 disciples constituted the letters of the Living (19). The choice of Mirza Yahya by the Báb as his successor was probably determined by the fact that the numerical value of the name Yahya was 36, a multiple of 18 on which account he was also called *Wáhid* which is numerically equivalent to 28, the number of letters constituting the Arabic alphabet. The town Adriapople, where the Bábís were exiled, was called by them the land

of mystery because the syllables in the name of the town had the same numerical value (260) which corresponds to the year in which the twelfth Imám disappeared.

This doctrine is full of metaphysical transcendentalism, and even such reforms as savour of utility, such as the amelioration of the position of women or the prohibition of chastisement of children are entirely based on mystical considerations. For example, the Báb taught that the future manifestation of God shall first appear as a child, it would therefore constitute a grave sin for any one to treat the august infant harshly, and hence it was necessary that the chastisement of children should cease. The play on words formed another important element in the philosophy of Bábism.

The conflict between Mirza Muhammad the Báb and Hajji Muhammad Karim Khán regarding the status of the Intermediary to the hidden Imám clearly shows, however, the reaction of external factors on the growth of a revealed religion. It was not the intrinsic value of the rival doctrines which decided the issue, but the influence exerted by the respective leaders on their contemporaries. The growth of a doctrine and its ultimate success is determined by the simplest human factors, anthropological and social. The fact that the social factors were of greater importance than the transcendental and metaphysical nature of the doctrines was clearly recognised by the new leader Baháullah, who by his carefully conducted propaganda succeeded in attaining a supremacy over the more dogmatic and single-minded Subh-i-Ezel.

A new period in the history of the movement set in with the rise of Baháullah. The little party of emigrants at Baghbad were too near the Persian frontier, and the Persian Government requested the Porte for their transfer to Adrianople in 1864. Here Baháullah publicly announced that it was he in whom God had become manifest in accordance with the prediction of the Báb. He strictly adhered to the doctrines of Bábism, and although there is some evidence to show that he had at one time considered himself to be merely the successor of the Báb, he now assumed a new role: he was the promised one, the real manifestation of God, to whom the Báb was only a forerunner.

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and herald. This announcement, like the previous announcement of a similar nature, was not accepted and recognised unanimously. Some, even among those who originally belonged to the circle of the Báb, vehemently opposed the new manifestation of God. A fierce and disgraceful quarrel attended with violence broke out between the rival parties, until finally the Turkish Government had to intervene in the fight between the two brothers. The hostile factions were segregated and exiled separately. Subh-i-Ezel, who had been nominated by the Primal point as his successor, was transferred to Famagusta in the island of Cyprus, while Baháullah was sent to Akka. To each of the factions four adherents of the opposite group were attached, so that the Turkish Government could be kept informed regarding the activities of both the parties. The followers of Baháullah put to death all the four Ezelis attached to their party. The hostility between the two Bábí factions continued with pen and dagger alike. The sect of the Ezelis which had adhered to the original doctrine in its rigid and narrow form, gradually declined in influence while the followers of Baháullah gained in strength. Baháullah succeeded in getting recognised by a large number of people as the manifestation of God, and he gradually put the Báb in the background as compared with his own heavenly splendour. The name of the sect was changed from that of Bábism to Baháism. The doctrines of the Báb were regarded only as preparatory and provisional, while Baháullah was authorized to give them a final shape and sanction. And Baháullah made full use of his authority. The Bábí religion was firmly rooted in Persian Shiitism and it had no chance of making proselytes outside the Shiite world. Baháullah discarded all restricting metaphysical peculiarities. He also modified the attitude of uncompromising hostility to the orthodox Musulmans, and to the Shah of Persia which had animated the Bábís, and adopted a conciliatory and even sympathetic attitude towards all likely converts. He developed the ethical side of the teaching, and in his letters to potentates he used a gentle and patient tone. He had a clear grasp of the aspirations of the human mind in the 20th century, and included in his teachings a very wide scheme of social

reform in a most sympathetic way, but with the simplistic views of a dreamer. Anti-alcoholism, unemployment help, women's suffrage, reform of criminology, socialism, local autonomy in political administration, universal language, international union, and general peace, all figured in his programme.

Nor was Baháullah devoid of the power of clairvoyance. In the year 1869 he wrote to Napoleon III rebuking him for his lust of war and for the contempt with which he had treated a former letter from him. The epistle contains the following stern warning : 'Thy doings will throw thy kingdom into confusion ; sovereignty shall pass from thy hands to requite thee for thy deeds, and thus thou shall find thyself in grievous loss. Convulsions shall seize all peoples in yonder land, unless thou dost arise in this cause and in this straight path follow the spirit. Hath thy pomp made thee vainglorious ? By my life, it shall not endure, nay, it shall pass away, unless thou dost cling unto this strong cord. We behold abasement hastening upon thy heels and thou art yet of them that are heedless'. It is characteristic that an English Bahái writer believes firmly that the debacle of France in 1870 would have been averted if Napoleon had adopted the noble cause and the straight path of the Bahái.

Baháullah was by no means led by Germanophile motives 'in beholding abasement hastening upon the heels' of Napoleon. In the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* which was begun in Adrianople and finished in Akka, he sent a similar stern admonition to the emperor of Germany :—

'O King of Berlin . . . Recollect the one who was greater than thee in station (Napoleon III), and whose position was higher than thine. Where is he? and where are his possessions? Be admonished and be not of those who sleep. He cast the tablet of God behind him when we informed him of what had befallen us from the hosts of oppression and this disgrace beset him from all sides until he returned to the dust in great loss. O King, think deeply concerning him as well as about those like unto thee who conquered cities and ruled over servants of God—and God brought them down from palaces to graves. Be warned and be of those who are mindful'.

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'O Banks of the River Rhine, we have seen you drenched in gore because the swords of retribution were drawn against you. You shall have another turn. And we hear the lamentation of Berlin, although it be to-day in manifest glory.'

The English writer alluded to above says: "during the period of German success in the Great War of 1914-18, and especially during the last German offensive in the spring of 1918, this well-known prophecy was extensively quoted by the opponents of the Baháí movement in Persia in order to discredit Baháullah; but when the forward sweep of the victorious Germans was suddenly transformed into a crushing and overwhelming disaster, the efforts of these enemies of the Baháí cause recoiled on themselves, and the notoriety which they had given to the prophecy became a powerful means of enhancing the reputation of Baháullah."

A message of consolation is addressed to Persia in the *Kitáb-i-Akdas* :—

'O land of Ta (Teheran) be not sorrowful from any cause. God hath made thee the dawning place of the joy of the world. If He will, He will bless thy throne with one who will rule with justice and gather together the sheep of God which have been scattered by the wolves. Verily he will treat the people of Bahá with joy and gladness. So, he is of the essence of the people in the sight of God.'

'Rejoice, for God hath made thee a Horizon of light, because in thee was born the Dawning Place of the Manifestation. Soon affairs will be changed in thee and a republic of men shall rule over thee. Verily the countenance of Grace will not cease to behold thee with the eyes of love. Soon peace will overtake thee after commotion. Thus it hath been decreed in the Book of Wonders.'

Turkey, which had given shelter to Baháullah and his followers, did not fare better at his hands than France and Germany. There are several passages in the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* which predict the downfall of the Ottomans, but evidently his wrath was directed against this kingdom, 'than which a handful of dust is greater before God,' because it did not take up his cause in a way which would have satisfied him. 'Thou didst

unite with the Ruler of Persia for doing me harm,' so he ¹⁹³ wrote to Ali Pasha, 'although I had come to you from the Dawning Place of the Almighty, the Great, with a cause which refreshed the eyes of the favoured ones of God. Didst thou think that thou couldst put out the fire which God hath enkindled in the Universe? Its blaze and flame will be increased. Soon it will encompass the world and its inhabitants. Soon the land of martyrs (Adrianople) will be changed and will pass out of the hands of the King³ and commotion shall appear in the districts and affairs will be in confusion because of what hath happened to those captives' (Baháullah and his companions).

The Turks cared little for the threats of Baháullah. The Shi'ite element in his doctrine did not appeal to them, and his cosmopolitan teachings found deaf ears among the awakening nationalists. The Government had an eye on him, and when his quarrel with Subh-i-Ezel led to violence, it prevented further blood-shed by separating the rival factions, and Baháullah never attained any political power in Turkey.

His exhortations sound overbearing and egoistic if we doubt his infallible prophethood and venture to judge them as those of a normal mortal. He addressed Americans in the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* some fifty years ago in the following words: 'O Rulers of America, Presidents and Governors of the Republic therein, hear the call from the Dawning Place on High. There is no God but me, the speaker and the Omniscient: Bind up the broken limb with the hands of justice, and break the sound limb of the oppressor with the rod of the Command of your Lord, the Ruler, the Wise.'

In the writings of Baháullah we notice a clearness of style which is in striking contrast to the rugged and unintelligible character of Bábí literature. Through him God addresses His creatures, proclaiming His love for them, teaching them His attributes, making His will known, announcing His laws for their guidance and pleading for their love, allegiance and service. In his writings the form of expression frequently changes. Sometimes it is evident that the man himself is speaking, then

³ This prophecy has not yet been fulfilled, for Adrianople is still in the hands of the Turks.

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without a break the writing continues as if God Himself were speaking in the first person.

His mission was to bring about unity of all mankind in and through God. He said :

'Of the Tree of Knowledge the all-glorious fruit is this exalted word : of one tree are all ye the fruits and of one bough the leaves. Let no man glory in this that he loves his country; but let him rather glory in this that he loves his kind.'

It was this ethical and humanitarian spirit, rather than the dry metaphysical doctrines of Baháísm which gained new followers all over the world, while those who were allured by the glamour of mysticism still found ample scope in it. In Akka, where Baháullah lived as an exile, people flocked to see him, and by this intercourse with the world his doctrines broadened. He dropped most of the minor restriction imposed by the Báb, which were dictated in many cases by his personal tastes and feelings. Such were the prohibition of smoking and the eating of onions, the regulations as to clothing, forms of salutation, the use of rings, perfumes, the names by which children might be named and so on. The laws of Baháullah, with the exception of the law of inheritance, are much simpler in character and are such as may be enforced in practice. For example, smoking is not now unusual among the followers of Baháullah, while the Ezelis still maintain the prohibition as strictly as ever.*

In the nineties, a Syrian Christian converted to Baháísm, Ibrahim George Khair-ullah, settled in the United States, and started active propaganda in America on behalf of the new revelation. He delivered a large number of lectures on Baháísm and published a number of books which were favourably received. The monotonous factory life of over-industrialized America harbours a naive sentimentalism which finds pleasure and enthusiasm in all humanitarian ideas, and it was not surprising that Baháísm developed a vigorous branch-

*While acting as an interpreter to Abdul Bahá during his tour in Hungary, I remember that I once offered him cigarettes, and he carefully selected one and smoked it with apparent enjoyment.

movement in America, marked by the production of a copious but shallow literature.

Baháullah died in 1892. He nominated as his successor his eldest son Abbas, also called Abdul Bahá, servant of F. Baháullah had conferred on his son, in accordance with usual practice in his community, the sonorous title 'Ghusn-i-Azam,' the most mighty branch ; the younger son Muhammad Ali was called 'Ghusn-i-Akbar,' the most illustrious branch. Abdul Bahá's life was accompanied by the romance. He was born at Teheran before midnight on the 20th May, 1844 (5 Djumádha'tula, 1260) in the very same house in which the Báb declared his mission.

He was eight years of age when his father was thrown into prison. On one occasion he saw his father moving along the prison yard heavily shackled, his neck bowed under the weight of a heavy steel collar, his body bent by iron chains. This sight created a lasting impression on the mind of the boy. In Baghdad, long before the manifestation of God became clear to him, Baháullah, the son suddenly felt a conviction that it was his father in whom the divine spirit shall shine forth. Sixty years later he dictated to his secretary his impressions of that period in the following words :

"I am the servant of the Blessed Perfection Baháullah. In Baghdad I was a child. Then and there He announced to me the Words and I believed in Him. As soon as He proclaimed to me the word, I threw myself at His holy feet and implored and supplicated Him to accept my blood as a sacrifice in His pathway. What greater glory can I conceive than to see this neck chained for His sake, these feet fettered for His love, this body mutilated or thrown to the depths of the sea for His cause. If in reality we are His sincere lovers, if in reality I am His sincere servant, than I must sacrifice my life, nay all, at His Blessed Threshold."

From this time his friends began to call him : the mystery of God ; a title by which he was known during the residence in Baghdad. Several wonderful stories are related about the innate sagacity with which while yet a boy he solved the most intricate metaphysical problems. A curious story is current about the

circumstances of his marriage. For a long time he showed no inclination for marriage, and no one understood the reason for this. Afterwards it became known that there was a girl who was destined to become his wife, one whose birth came about through the blessing which the Báb had given to her parents in Isfahan. They had no children although the wife was longing for a child. On hearing this the Báb gave the husband an apple and told him to share it with his wife. After they had eaten of that apple, it soon became apparent that their long cherished hopes of parenthood were about to be fulfilled, and in due course a daughter was born to them. This daughter was the elected wife of Abdul Bahá. In the constant odour of sanctity and miracles, Abdul Bahá was brought up as the future leader of the community.

In the face of the clear testament of Baháullah little room was left for dissension, and yet a conflict over the same old principles soon broke out among the followers. The question was again whether Baháísm was a final revelation in which the possibility of new innovations ceased with the passing of the Manifestation of God, or whether Abdul Bahá was entitled to further inspirations of his own. In the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* Baháullah himself had explicitly stated that 'whosoever lays claim to any authority to promulgate fresh revelations before the completion of a millennium is assuredly a liar and an imposter'. Abdul Bahá's brothers and some of the leading Baháís therefore strenuously resisted the claim of Abdul Bahá to promulgate new doctrines or fresh ordinances, on the ground that a millennium of occultation must pass before a new exposition of the divine will would be necessary. Thus the Bahái religion split into two hostile parties fighting in Persia as well as in America and other countries of the world. Ibráhim Khair-ullah espoused the cause of the conservative party, and consequently Abdul Bahá was also obliged to send missionaries to America to counteract Khair-ullah's propaganda. The strife between the different Bábi factions, the heads of all of which claim direct divine inspiration, is a disfiguring flaw in the history of the movement, and is an insoluble contradiction in its basic principles. Assuming the Báb to have been divinely inspired (and this

assumption must be made not only by every Bábí but by every Bahái) it is difficult to suppose that he should have chosen for his successor a person who was destined to be the chief opponent of the Báb himself.

The rise of Abdul Bahá to supremacy was decided by forces which were not in the least divine, but most human. The reason for the success of Baháism and its expansion during the life time of Abdul Bahá must be sought in the peculiar appeal of its teachings to certain moods generated by the stress of the industrial civilization of the West. The mind tired by the drab monotony of factory life sought solace in the mystic doctrines of Baháism. It found a peculiar charm in mysterious phrases: "there is a mystic unity between Baháullah and Abdul Bahá. He is myself." Baháullah spoke in the same way of the Báb: 'Had the Primal Point been some one else besides Me, as ye claim, and reached the event of My appearance, verily, he would never have left Me, but rather we would have had mutual delights with each other in My days.'

A summary of Abdul Bahá's creed is given in his Tablets: 'My name is Abdul Bahá (Servant of Bahá), my qualification is Abdul Bahá, my reality is Abdul Bahá, my praise is Abdul Bahá. Thraldom to the Blessed Perfection is my glorious and resplendent diadem and servitude to all the human race is my perpetual religion. Through the bounty and favour of the Blessed Perfection, Abdul Bahá is the Ensign of the Most Sacred Peace, which is waving from the supreme Apex; and through the gift of the Greatest Name, he is the Lamp of Universal Salvation, which is shining with the love of God. The Herald of Kingdom is he so that he may awaken the people of the East and West. The voice of Friendship, Uprightness, Truth and Reconciliation is he, so as to cause quickening throughout all regions. No name, no title, no mention, no commendation hath he, nor will ever have, except Abdul Bahá, the friends of God must assist and help Abdul Bahá in the adoration of the True One; in servitude to the human race; in the well being of the human world and in divine love and kindness.'

'O ye friends of God : Abdul Bahá is the manifestation of Thraldom, and not the Christ. The servant of the human realm

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is he, and not a Chief. Non-existent is he, and not Existent. Pure nothingness is he and not the Eternal Lord. No one must believe that Abdul Bahá is the second Christ, nay rather, he must believe that he is the manifestation of servitude, the manifestation of the unity of the human world, the Herald of the true One with spiritual power throughout all regions, the Commentator of the Book according to the divine fact and the Ransom to each one of the believers of God in this transitory world.'

As the teachings of the Baháullah represented a great advance from the metaphysical and ultra-Shiite doctrines of Bábism, the teachings of Abdul Bahá represented a still greater step forward in the ethical and practical development of the movement. He included all the noble aspirations of the age, all the humanitarian and social ideas floating in the air. All nations of the world should become of one faith and all men as brothers; the bonds of affection and unity between sons of men should be strengthened; the conflict between different religions should cease, and differences of race be annulled. This noble aim could be achieved only by a fundamental change of heart among the peoples of the world, and education must be organized for this purpose. According to Abdul Bahá all religions and sciences have a common purpose and a common aim.

In spite of such teachings we find that Baháism was troubled by bitter internecine quarrels from beginning to end. We must conclude that all these humanitarian ideals were still dreams and were far from being realized in practice. The interpretation of history given by Baháis is equally fantastic. They believe that the 20th century begins an unprecedented new era in history, dissimilar in geography, and in technical and economical conditions to all previous eras, and fundamentally suited to the need of Bahái teachings. The technical inventions, and the knowledge of foreign languages especially appear to fill Baháis with an optimistic hope for the cessation of bloody conflicts between men. The synthetic aim of the movement can be appreciated from the definite instructions left by Baháullah for the creation of temples of worship, which he called *Mashrik-ul-adhkár*. 'The dawning place of God's Praise.' The temple should be a nine-sided building surrounded by a dome, and as beautiful as

possible in design and workmanship. It should stand in a large garden, surrounded by a number of accessory buildings devoted to educational, charitable and social purposes so that the worship of God in the temple may always be closely associated with reverent delight in the beauties of nature and practical work. Such temples are being built in Ishkábád, Bombay and Wilmette on lake Michigan near Chicago.

Abdul Bahá lived at Akka, under the strict supervision of the Turkish Government. He was visited from all parts of the world by ardent followers or curious sightseers. After the Turkish revolution he was declared free and in 1911 he undertook tours in Europe and America, delivering lectures, answering questions and expounding the doctrines of his religion of unity. The reception accorded to him must have deeply impressed him, and probably created an impression in his mind that his religion will soon be universal on earth. The universality of his teaching naturally attracted a large number of pacifists, suffragettes, esperantists, theosophists, prohibitionists, socialists and the ultra-liberals, while the mysterious effect, which oriental dress, beauty of personal appearance and the unfamiliar music of oriental language never fail to produce on Western minds, drew others out of pure curiosity. He succeeded in establishing new centres of Baháísm in Germany, France and elsewhere, while in America he gained a final ascendancy over the followers of his brother.

In Persia the persecution of Bábís and Baháís has gradually ceased. There are a few Bábís belonging to the old school, who call themselves *Kullu Shayis*, and do not care about the quarrel between Ezelis and Baháís, and a large but indeterminable number of Baháís proper. Lord Curzon in his book on "Persia and the Persian Question," published in 1892, wrote: "the lowest estimates place the number of Bábís in Persia at half of a million. I am disposed to think from conversations with persons well qualified to judge that the total is nearer one million. They are to be found in every walk of life from the ministers and nobles of the Court to the scavenger or the groom, not the least arena of their activity being the Musalman priesthood itself. If Bábism continues to grow at its present rate of progress, a time

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may conceivably come when it will oust Mohammadanism from the field in Persia. This, I think, it would be unlikely to do, did it appear upon the ground under the flag of a hostile faith. But since its recruits are won from the best soldiers of the garrison whom it is attacking, there is greater reason to believe that it may ultimately prevail." This prediction however was not fulfilled; the movement after a phenomenal rise again subsided within normal limits.

Abdul Bahá survived the Great War, and saw a good deal of his life-work come to fruition. The Baháis set a good example of material work in transforming the barren Akka (Akhrab-ulbilád) into a little garden. They organized extensive agricultural operations near Tiberias during the war, and secured a great supply of wheat by which a famine was averted. Since the British occupation of Syria, Abdul Bahá became the centre of a large circle listening to his illuminating talks, and hundreds of visitors from the East and West flocked to his house. The British Government was so profoundly impressed by his noble character and his great work in the interest of peace and prosperity of the people that they conferred on him a knighthood of the British Empire. When he departed from the earthly life in 1921 the British High Commissioner officially took part in his funeral.

He died without male issue. His grand-son Shauk-i-Rabbani, a student of Oxford, was proclaimed as his successor, but he was unable to gather round him a group of followers. It is not unlikely that the Bahái movement will ebb out in platiitudes of universalism. A typical example of recent writings is furnished by the book on 'the New Humanity' by Mirza Ahmad Sohrab, the Secretary of Abdul Bahá, in which the idea of universality is indiscriminately applied to such concepts as universal peace, universal patriotism, universal language, universal opinion, universal dawn (?), universal age,¹ universal newspaper, universal femininity,² universal painting and

¹ P. 181. "This is the age of women, for this very reason if for no other, it is a universal age." ² P. 280. "In her hands is the jar of atar (scent) of the rose of understanding. An artist whispered into my ear; 'I would rather spend one hour with her than

literature, universal aviation and broadcasting, universal penance and so on. It is a work not devoid of charm but without the slightest basis of science or a positive back-ground of history.

The after-effects of the Great War in Persia are however not very conducive towards the growth of mysticism. In the West there was a decided reaction against materialism, in the East there was a movement towards positivism, a process which has its psychological as well as social reasons. Baháísm is not likely to continue to exercise its old magic influence on the Persian mind, which is now more inclined to be captivated by the forward march of industrialism. Romance will pass away with the growth of factories, and the colour of life will dissolve into the gray haze of outward uniformity. Nothing is more cruel than realities, for even if they give contact with truth, they fail to bring happiness, the illusion of pious hearts.

Water when analysed consists of two elements without taste and flavour, still it quenches the thirst and is the substance of life. Likewise every religion can be analysed into elements of myth, legends and popular lore; still it quenches the thirst of man for guidance and truth and sustains him in his stumbling progress through errors and deficiencies in his slow approach to the harmony pervading the universe.

(*Mss. received March, 1930.*)

CO-OPERATION IN BENGAL.

By HARIS CHANDRA SINHA.

To Bengal belongs the credit of initiating the co-operative movement long before it had taken actual shape in the rest of India. The names of two Bengalee pioneers come to mind, Sj. Ambika Charan Ukil and Rai Parbati Shankar Chaudhuri. It is true that the societies started by the former were not co-operative in the strict sense of the term, but there is nevertheless to be perceived in them a dim consciousness of co-operative principles. In the case of the grain banks started by the latter, there was also a religious halo somewhat obscuring the principle of "each for all, and all for each." The original idea was to call these grain banks "Lakshmi Golas", i.e., granaries presided over by the Hindu Goddess of Plenty, but in order not to offend against the susceptibilities of non-Hindus, the name "Dharma Gola" (literally, religious granary) was given. The plan put forward at first was to secure contributions of grain after a bumper harvest, more or less as a charity measure, and to store it up for future use, not only by contributors but also by other villagers, who were, however, to be charged a somewhat higher rate of interest than the former. Gradually these methods were replaced by more up-to-date principles. It is pleasant to recall that the first grain bank started by Rai Parbati Shankar Chaudhuri at Joyganj in the district of Dinajpur as early as 1892 continued its useful career as an unregistered society till December, 1914, after which it was registered in the usual way.

The earliest co-operative credit society was started at the village Kushmore (P. O. Labpur in the district of Birbhum) on the 12th July, 1902. From the statement as at 31st March, 1905, it appears that there were 71 members and 37 borrowers. The highest loan was for Rs. 20 and the lowest for Rs. 3, the rate of interest charged being 9% per annum. The earliest available balance sheet of the society is reproduced below, exactly as it appears in the first annual report of the Co-operative Department of Bengal, curiously enough with assets on the left hand side and liabilities on the right.

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Balance Sheet of Kushmore Co-operative Society as at March 31st, 1905.

ASSETS.			LIABILITIES.					
	Rs.	As.	P.		Rs.	As.	P.	
1. Loans outstanding	...	345	0	0	1. Loans due to Govt.	...	400	0
2. Interest on ditto.	...	17	8	10½	2. Interest on ditto.	...	25	0
3. Deposit in Post Office Savings Bank	...	19	0	9	3. Deposits	...	9	4
4. Interests on ditto.	...	0	7	9	4. Interest on ditto	...	0	12
5. Balance in hand	...	110	15	10½	5. Reserve fund (en- trance fees)	...	18	0
	Rs.	493	1	3	6. Balance being "worth"	...	40	0
								6
							Rs.	493 1 3

The strangely worded last item on the "liabilities" side is really "profits," which should have been credited to the Reserve Fund.

From such humble beginnings the movement has made rapid progress during the last twenty-five years. How the progress in Bengal compares with that in the rest of India will appear from Table I.

Table I.—Statistics of Co-operative Societies for 1927-1928.

Particulars	Bengal	British India
Number of societies per 100,000 inhabitants	38.7	33.5
Number of members of primary societies per 1,000 inhabitants	12.9	13.3
Working capital in annas per head of population	38	46

It is thus clear that in Bengal quality has been sacrificed to quantity, for although more numerous, the societies here have fewer members and less funds than in the rest of British India.

Table II gives additional details of the comparative position at the end of 1927-28.

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Table II—Comparative Statistics of Co-operative Societies at the end of 1927-1928.

Territory	Kind of Co-operative Societies	Number of Societies	Number of members	Loan from private persons, other societies and banks.	Share Capital	Deposits by members	State aid	Reserve	Loans issued to members, other societies and banks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Bengal	Central	114	20,184	Rs. (1,000) 4,09,91	Rs. (1,000) 53,37	Rs. (1,000) ...	Rs. (1,000) ...	Rs. (1,000) 22,41	Rs. (1,000) 2,77,64
	Agricultural	16,426	441,208	2,95,44	39,35	15,77	46	57,24	1,83,04
	Non-Agricultural	1,520	160,631	94,96	50,21	50,04	14	12,47	1,80,14
British India	Central	1,907	234,007	27,69,74	2,90,74	...	16,73	1,48,78	19,23,03
	Agricultural	72,640	2,487,178	18,86,59	2,96,45	1,49,74	24,19	3,99,21	12,25,43
	Non-Agricultural	7,689	783,169	3,44,85	2,78,01	3,22,12	53,69	64,21	8,27,18

From column (3) it appears that in Bengal a Central Bank controls 157 Primary Societies (both agricultural and non-agricultural) on an average, the corresponding figure for British India being only 42. The proportion of agricultural to non-agricultural societies is the same in Bengal as elsewhere, viz., about 10:1, showing that the underlying economic conditions are not dissimilar. On reference to column (8) it will be seen that Bengal is less dependent on state aid than the rest of India.

The effect of this inadequate control by Central Bank is clearly revealed in the inefficiency in the working of Agricultural Credit Societies. The Audit classification of such Societies (excluding grain societies) is given for the last five years in Table III.

Table III.—Classification of Agricultural Societies in Bengal.

Year	A	B	C	D	E	Not classified	Total
1924-25	110	630	5,401	656	487	2,527	9,811
25-26	132	797	6,531	726	492	2,458	11,196
26-27	150	787	7,384	863	575	3,607	13,366
27-28	152	850	8,458	1,108	687	4,402	15,657
28-29	166	855	10,177	1,427	807	3,457	16,889

The "C" class societies, which are usually spoken of as average societies, are really worse than average, being defined* as societies "in which the general condition is promising but members are in arrears and the general working is not satisfactory and in which more supervision is necessary." However that may be, the above table clearly shows that C, D and E Societies are increasing at a much faster rate than A and B Societies. This is a most disquieting feature. In his latest

*This is the official definition adopted by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies.

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annual report, the Registrar has rightly sounded the following note of warning :—

"The real work of a Central Bank should be judged not by the amount of deposits it is able to attract from capitalist depositors, nor by the imposing building it puts up, but by the efficiency of the working of village societies under it and the growth of a real co-operative spirit among the members of village societies resulting in their economic improvement."

Besides these Agricultural Credit Societies all with unlimited liability, there were at the end of 1928-29, other types of Agricultural Societies as listed below :—

(a) 41 Grain Banks, 8 with limited liability and 33 with unlimited liability.

(b) 100 Purchase and Sale Societies, all with limited liability, most of the funds being employed for the marketing of jute.

(c) 773 Irrigation Societies all with limited liability;

(d) 172 Production and Sale Societies, mostly with limited liability, practically all of them being organised for the sale of milk ; and

(e) 34 other Societies, such as Agricultural Associations.

The Grain Societies are to be found mostly in the district of Bankura, where this form of societies continues to flourish. The Purchase and Sale Societies have probably the worst records of any single class of societies in Bengal, the relevant statistics for the past three years are reproduced below in Table IV.

Table IV.—Purchase and Sale Societies.

Year	No. of Societies	Paid-up Capital Rs.	Reserve Fund Rs.	Loss for the year Rs.
1928-27				
1927-28	78	3,22,920	28,897	54,918
1928-29	85	4,09,071	50,713	4,20,093
	100	5,68,641	58,802	1,84,579

Thus during the last three years, there has been a total loss of Rs. 6,59,590, which exceeds the paid-up capital and reserve fund. The situation is alarming, but the Registrar has rested content merely with the following remark in his latest annual report :—

"The movement for the marketing of agricultural produce has not yet emerged from the stage of experiment and the department is following a policy of caution."

Unfortunately, however, even this timid policy has not prevented the frittering away of the entire resources of the societies during the past three years, seriously crippling the entire movement.

The only agricultural sale society which has achieved great success in Bengal is the Naogaon Ganja Cultivators' Co-operative Societies. But as has been rightly observed in the annual report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bengal, for 1928-29, "the working of the society furnishes no model to the working of other sale and supply societies which are not based on a monopoly of supply."

The Irrigation Societies form a special feature of agricultural co-operation in Bengal. They are mostly confined to the dry districts of Bankura and Birbhum and the portion of Burdwan lying to the west of 88° longitude, which marks the boundary for deficient rainfall in Bengal. The total number rose from 525 to 775 during 1928-29 and the working capital from Rs. 3,13,455 to Rs. 3,83,063 but there was a loss of Rs. 12,048, which was slightly less than the previous year's loss.

The latest development in Production and Sale Societies, which are mostly Milk Societies, as stated above, is the setting up by the Darjeeling Milk Union of a fairly well equipped modern factory, probably the only factory in India working on the gravitation system.

The Non-agricultural Societies of Bengal may be classified in the following way :—

- (a) 410 Credit Societies, 381 with unlimited liability and 29 with limited liability;
- (b) 69 Stores and Supply Societies, all with limited liability;

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(c) 528 Artisans' Societies, of which 290 are Weavers' Societies; and

(d) 726 Miscellaneous Societies, of which 662 are Anti-Malarial and Public Health Societies, which form a special feature of the co-operative movement in this presidency.

Thus it is clear that co-operation has proceeded in diverse directions in Bengal. But there is one direction in which co-operation has not made any appreciable progress, although it is precisely in that direction that co-operation can be most fruitful. At present, different departments of the Bengal Government are charged with different aspects of Bengal's social and economic life such as Education, Sanitation, Agriculture, Industries, etc. Under this system of watertight division of functions, there is a total absence of co-ordination of effort and unnecessary duplication in the agencies for inspection, audit and propaganda. If the problem of rural Bengal is to be effectively tackled, the present inefficiency and waste must be avoided. For instance, instead of starting ill-equipped schools with low-salaried teachers at numerous centres, the school must be assigned its rightful place in the village economy. It should be started at a convenient market place, easy of access from neighbouring villages, the villagers themselves arranging for boats or carts, which will bring their boys to the school along with their crops to the market place. The teachers must not only impart the ordinary instruction of primary and secondary schools but must also be prepared to work for the villagers in other ways. For instance, one teacher must be an expert agriculturist, who will have to popularise the results of the researches of the Agricultural Department. He will have to analyse the soils of adjacent villages and procure the necessary manure. He will be required to get the seeds for the crop, which he considers most suitable for the area. All this and more he can do, if he tries to enlist the confidence of the guardians of his boys and shows good results in the experimental farm attached to the school. Similarly another teacher will be in charge of the Co-operative Credit Society for financing both short-term and long-term agricultural needs of the region. A

third teacher may be in charge of the Co-operative Sale and Supply Society, through which the produce of the neighbouring villages will be marketed in an organized manner, eliminating unnecessary middle-men and securing better prices for the cultivators. Another teacher will manage the Co-operative Store. Other teachers will be called upon to provide medical relief and veterinary assistance to the neighbouring villages. There will be two positive gains from this scheme of centralisation. One is that villagers will look upon the school as an integral part of village life and will be prepared to remunerate the teachers for their services. The other is that for the students the present incongruity between the school life and the home life will be done away with. Education will no longer be looked upon as a costly luxury, and fewer students will lapse back to illiteracy in the same way as now. If the site of the school is properly chosen, there is no reason why the cost should be prohibitive. A beginning has already been made by Sir Daniel Hamilton in his zemindary at Gosaba, and the success so far achieved there shows the power of co-operation on organized lines. The last annual report of the Registrar mentions a similar scheme of colonisation by landless agriculturists in the district of Chittagong. If attempts are made from the very beginning to organise the entire life of the colony on co-operative lines, the experiment will, it is hoped, prove such a success that it will be able to furnish an object lesson for the rest of Bengal.

(Mss. received August, 1930).

MAHĀYĀNA VIMŚĀKA OF NĀGĀRJUNA

Restored in Sanskrit from the Tibetan and Chinese Versions
and Translated into English.

By

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

The Tibetan and the Chinese translations of the present treatise with an English translation made by him was published in a paper in 1927 by Mr. Susumu Yamaguchi in *The Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. IV, No. 1-2, pp. 56-72, 167-176. Having gone through the edition it occurred to me that further studies in it were required and I made an attempt to reconstruct the lost Sanskrit text from the Tibetan and the Chinese versions collating them as far as was possible for me. And the result is now placed before the public.

There are two Tibetan versions, T¹ and T², and Mr. Yamaguchi used the "Red" or the Peking edition (=P) of them. I have compared it as printed in the paper with the "Black" or the Narthang edition (=N) in our library. He does not give any particulars regarding the edition of the Chinese version (=C) he has used. I have compared it with the Shanghai edition and found only one variation in the end of the third line of the kārikā, No. 5 as noted in the Notes.

For the sake of convenience of comparison I have followed the number of the order of the kārikás as given by Mr. Yamaguchi, but the right order, in my humble opinion, is indicated by numbers above the kārikás.

The kārikás, only four in number, which, I think, are added afterwards, are printed in smaller types.

For easy reference both the Tibetan texts and a facsimile of the Chinese version of the Shanghai (1909-1913) edition are given here.

In the Comparative Notes I have translated into Sanskrit each line of every káriká in its three versions, two Tibetan and one Chinese, where all of them are found. I have also tried to find out their mutual agreement and disagreement, though in some cases very slight, and to show from which line or lines of them each line of a káriká is reconstructed. An attempt has also been made to explain the difficult words or passages in the text.

As regards the Chinese portion of the work I am much indebted to my dear friend Prof. Dr. G. Tucci for the indispensable help he has given me.

There has been added an English translation.

INTRODUCTION.

§1. THE MAHAYANAVIMSAKA.

The small treatise of which the original Sanskrit is lost and a Reconstruction from the Tibetan and Chinese versions is now presented here for the first time is called *Mahāyānavimśaka*, as evident from the Tibetan and Chinese sources. In Tibetan the very name is transliterated together with its translation, *Theg. pa. chen. po. ni. ŋi. su.* In Chinese version it is named *Ta shang erh shi sung lung* literally meaning *Mahāyānagālhā-* (or *kārikā-*)*vimśaka-śāstra*.

There are other two works of the same or similar name, *Mahāyānavimśati* (Tib. *Theg. pa. chen. po. ni. su*) and *Tattvamahāyānavimśati* (Tib. *De. kho. na. ŋid. theg. pa. chen. po. ni. su*).¹ But as an examination of the contents of them shows these two books are quite different from our *Mahāyānavimśaka*. They are edited² in the original Sanskrit by Pandit Haraprasad Shastri under somewhat different names, *Mahāyānavimśikā* and *Tattvavimśikā* respectively, in a volume called *Advayavajrasamgraha*, GOS, 1927, pp. 54, 52. They are attributed to Advayavajra.

§2. THE AUTHOR.

The authorship of the work is assigned to Nāgārjuna in the colophons of the Tibetan and Chinese translations. While T² has prefixed to his name the epithet *ācārya* (*slob. dpon*), and T¹ *ācārya āryā* (*slob. dpon. hphags*), C has *Mahā-* (*ta*). Now in Buddhist literature there are more than one Nāgārjuna ; one Nāgārjuna who systematized the Mādhyamika philosophy is well-known ; there is another Nāgārjuna who is said to have been one of the eighty four *Siddhas* and to whom the authorship of most of the books found against his name in the *Rgyud. hgrel* or *Tantravṛtti* section of Cordier's Catalogue of Tanjur, Vol. III, may rightly be attributed. The second Nāgārjuna is also called *ārya*, *ācarya-ārya*, and besides them *mahācārya*, *mahācārya-ārya*, *bhiksu*, and *bhaṭṭāraka*. Which of these two Nāgārjunas is the real author of the *Mahāyānavimśaka* is a natural question, but it should now remain unsettled owing to want of sufficient materials. It may, however, be observed that there is no evidence to show that it is the first Nāgārjuna to whom we may assign the authorship of the

¹ Cordier, Vol. II, p. 217.
² This edition is not critical and full of mistakes, and as such should be used very carefully.

work. It may be noted here that the date of the first Nāgārjuna is circa 200 A.D., while the second Nāgārjuna is believed to have flourished in about the first half of the seventh century A.D.

§3. TRANSLATIONS

Tibetan and Chinese.

There are two Tibetan translations of the *Mahāyānavimśaka*, and both are preserved in the Tanjur, Mdo ; one in Gi (fols. 211^b.8—213^a.2) and the other in Tsa (fols. 156^a.4—157^a.5) (Cordier, Vol. III, pp. 357, 293). For the sake of reference we mark them by T¹ and T² respectively. There is nothing to show that these two translators knew of each other's translation.

T¹ was made by one Paṇḍita Ānanda (Jayānanda) of Kashmir and the Tibetan Translator Bhikṣu Kirttibhutiprajña (*Dge. loṇ. grags. hbyor. ses. rab*) and T² by an Indian Paṇḍita Candrakumāra and Bhikṣu Sākyaprabha (*Dge. loṇ. śā. kya. hod*). Sākyaprabha is also the translator of the *Tattvamahāyānavimśati* already referred to. He was contemporary of Gopāla,¹ the founder of the Pal dynasty in Bengal (800 A.D.).

There is a Chinese translation made by Dānapāla (*Shī-hu*) in 980—1000 A.D. in the later Sung dynasty, 960—1127 (B. Nanjio, No. 1308).

§4. THE DATE OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT.

No definite date can be assigned to our work until more materials are forthcoming. That the work was existent in 1000 A. D. is quite clear from the Chinese translation as shown above. Its existence in 800 A. D. is proved by the fact that it was translated into Tibetan by Sākyaprabha, contemporary of Gopāla. The very name Nāgārjuna itself as its author, as found from both the sources, Tibetan and Chinese, clearly shows that it cannot be later than the last part of the seventh century A. D. It is further supported by the following fact. Indrabhūti who is believed to have flourished in 700 A. D. or just a few years after has the following sloka in his *Jñānasiddhi*¹, XI. 8 :

kalpanājalapūrnasya saṁsārasya mahodadheḥ 1
vajrayānam anāruhya² ko vā pāram gamiṣyati ॥

¹ Poussin : *Pañcakrama*, 1896, p. ix.
² Two Vajryāna Works, ed. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, GOS, Baroda, 1929, p. 68.
The actual reading in the text is *samāruhya* which is evidently wrong. The Tib. version reads *anāruḍhah* (ma. ḷon. par).

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This is in fact the kārikā, No. 22, of our *Mahāyānavimśaka* with the single variation that while the former which deals with the *Vajrayāna* uses the word *vajra-*, the latter treating of the truth of *Mahāyāna* has there rightly *mahā-*. That this identity is not accidental but is a deliberate quotation by Indrabhūti from the *Mahāyānavimśaka* may be clear if one considers the fact that Indrabhūti expressly quotes from different works and writes at least a portion of his book with the materials taken from others.¹ In reality it is partly a compilation just like the *Subhāśitasamgraha*, ed. Bendall. It can therefore be said that it is Indrabhūti who has borrowed the kārikā from the *Mahāyānavimśaka*.

§5. Its AUTHENTICITY.

That the present work is an authentic one can be known from the quotation referred to above. Moreover, the following kārikā (No. 10) is quoted from it as an āgama² in the Sanskrit commentary on the *Āścaryacaryācaya*³ edited by Pandit Haraprasad Sastri, p. 6, in his *Buddha Gana o Doha*:⁴

yathā citrakaro rūpam yakṣasyāstibhamikaram 1
samālikhya svayam bhītaḥ saṁsāre'py abudhas tathā ॥

But the term āgama as used in the commentary alluded to may not necessarily imply so much authenticity as the old canonical works have. For, while the word is once used (p. 56) with regard to a quotation⁵ from the *Samādhivāja-sūtra* (BTS, p. 28), or to that⁶ from the *Gaṇḍavyūha*,⁷ it is employed with reference to an *Apabhrāma* passage⁸ or to a stanza⁹ in the *Mahāyānavimśati* (or *Mahāyānavimśikā*)¹⁰ of Advayavajra, the time of which is believed to be about 978-1030 A. D.

¹ Op. Cit. p. 75 : sarvatantre sthitam tattvam, tebhyaḥ (?) kiñcīn nigadyate; *Tattvasamgraha-tantrādau* sthitam; p. 69 : yuktir apy ucyate 'dhunā Yogatantroktā drṣṭāntaiḥ ; p. 65 : uktam ca—Kalpāntād'. See also the whole of Chapter XV.

² *Candrakirtti's Madhyamakavrtti*, p. 75 : "sākṣād atināriyārthaividām āptānam yad vacanām sa āgamah." "The speech of those authoritative persons who directly perceive things beyond the cognizance of the senses is called āgama."

³ Not *Caryācaryaviniścaya* as writes the editor. See IHQ, Vol. V., No. 4; *Pravāsi* (a Bengali Monthly), 1836 B.S., Kārttika, p. 141.

⁴ "Yathā Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Granthāvalī, No. 55, Cal. 1923 B.S.

⁵ "Yathā 'kumāri': Here are many wrong readings; for better ones see *Madhyamakavrtti* by *Candrakirtti*, p. 178.

⁶ P. 58 : "dhūmena jñāyate vahniro."

⁷ See *Subhāśitasamgraha*, p. 18.

⁸ P. 70 : "jima jalao."

⁹ P. 77 : "na kleśā bodhito bhinnāo."

¹⁰ *Advayavajrasamgraha*, GOS, p. 56.

§6. THE KARIKAS OF THE WORK.

As regards the number of the kārikās in the present treatise there is much discrepancy among the different versions ; T¹ has twenty kārikās, T² twenty-three, and C twenty-four. The word *vimśaka* itself in the title of the work, *Mahāyāyanavimśaka*, clearly shows that it is composed of twenty kārikās. But this fact alone cannot safely lead us to the final conclusion regarding the actual number of the kārikās in the work. For, it is often seen that books which bear titles indicating the number of stanzas in them do not necessarily contain the same number of them. For instance, the *Vimśikā* of Vasubandhu (ed. Lévi) has *twenty-two* kārikās with the commentary instead of *twenty* as signified by the name. In the present case, where there are different versions of the same work and each of them gives a different number of kārikās, this difference cannot be ignored, and attempt should be made to explain it as far as possible.

In dealing with such questions preference is sometimes given to the shortest text ; but this is not always safe, for somehow or other a portion of the original may have been left out. Nor is it always safe to discard the longest text simply on account of the fact that it is the longest. One should therefore proceed to discuss the matter very cautiously depending more on the internal evidences, if any, than on the external.

If a kārikā is found in all the versions, even with variants, we may safely take it as a genuine one. But if it is not so, there is room for doubt of its genuineness.

Now, we see that out of the twenty-three kārikās in T² nineteen are to be found in all the three versions, and the numbers are 1-7, 10-17, and 19-22. And as such they can be regarded as genuine. The doubt is, however, in regard to the remaining four, viz., Nos. 8, 9, 18 and 23. They are entirely wanting in T¹, and are found only in T² and C.

In the longest text, C, the number of the kārikās is, as said before, twenty-four. Here the additional number is due to the fact that where T² has one kārikā, C and T¹ have two (see No. 21).

As the consequence of *kalpanā* is well described in Nos. 11 and 12, which are found in each of the versions, it appears that No. 8 which is only in T² and C is not necessary. Similarly when the nature of *sattvas* is already shown in No. 2 in all the texts, and *pratityasamutpāda* already mentioned in No. 3 and in No. 15 is spoken of again, it seems that No. 9 which occurs only in T² and C is not required. One may, therefore, think

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that these two kārikās, Nos. 8 and 9, were added afterwards. It should, however, be noted that the reason advanced here is not conclusive.

As regards No. 18 it may be observed that when *samskrta* is already described as *sūnya* in No. 3, to say of it again in No. 18, though with some addition, after what has been said in Nos. 16 and 17, seems to be quite unnecessary. Nor can it be put just before the concluding kārikā, No. 22 (=T¹20, T²22, C 24), in accordance with the Chinese version.

No. 22 (=T¹20, T²22, C 24) is to be found in all the versions. Its subject matter and the number of order in T¹ and C (viz., 20 and 24 respectively) taken together with what is said in the preceding kārikā, No. 21, clearly point out that it is the concluding kārikā of the treatise. Therefore No. 23 cannot be placed at the end as it is done in T². This is perfectly clear also from the number of order (22) in C. No. 20 is C 21; after it let one read No. 23 and it will be apparent that even here it cannot rightly be placed.

Thus one may think that the above four kārikās, Nos. 8, 9, 18 and 23, did not originally form a part of our *Mahāyānavimśaka*.

The four kārikās mentioned above being excluded we have twenty kārikās in all in T¹. According to it the kārikā No. 18^a which in fact is 17 in T¹ is to be put before No. 19 in the place of No. 18. C, too, has thus twenty kārikās. But in T² there are only nineteen and it is due to the fact that No. 18^a or T¹17 corresponding partly to Nos. 18 and 19 of C is here completely omitted.

§7. THE ORDER OF THE KARIKAS.

The following table shows the actual order of the kārikās as arranged in the Tibetan and Chinese versions :

T ²	T ¹	C
1—5	1—5	1—5
6	6	7
7	7	6
8	0	8
9	0	9
10	8	10
11	9	11
12	10	12
13	11	13
14	12	14

15	13	15
16	14	16
17	15	17
18	0	23
19	18	20
20	19	21
*	*	*
22	20	24
23	0	22

§8. INTER-RELATION OF THE VERSIONS.

The comparative notes will show that in most cases T¹ has agreement more with C than with T². Only in four kārikās, Nos. 4, 14, 15, 22, T¹ agrees more with T² than with C.

§9. THE SUBJECT AND ITS TREATMENT.

After expressing his obeisance to the Buddha the author tells us some of the general conceptions of the Mādhyamikas which can be regarded as common to Yogācāra system. Next, he advises one to realise Buddhahood, so that one may help the people suffering from the false notions of things. Then he says that through the knowledge of *pratītyasamutpāda* one can see the transcendental truth (*bhūtārtha*) and by it can understand that the world is *śūnya*. To the wise, he continues, there is no *samsāra*, just as the object of dream has no existence to one in the waking state. Next he teaches us that there is nothing but mind (*cittamātra*) and such notions as the bad and evil *karman*, their consequences, etc., are only owing to that mind, and when the mind is completely suppressed there is none of them. The things have no independent existence, yet one imagines them variously and then falls into the ocean of *samsāra*, and cannot come out of it without resort to the *Mahāyāna*.

These are mere statements without any arguments or discussion, and thus the subject is not treated here thoroughly.

The only thing that may be specially noted here is the advocacy by the author of the idealistic views in the treatise. Mr. Yamaguchi has noticed this in his *Prefatory Notes* (*The Eastern Buddhist*, 1926, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 57-58) and found out even from Nāgārjuna's own work, *Yuktisaṃskā*, 34, 36, that the main idealistic thought is adopted there by

*For T² 21, T¹ 16-17, and C 18-19 see note on No. 21.

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the author himself. Idealistic views are expounded in various canonical works and the Mādhyamikas explain the fact saying that they are meant only to lead the disciples who are not keenly intelligent to the highest truth. See *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 276. Nāgārjuna himself says:

cittamatram jagat sarvam iti yā deśanā muneh 1
uttrāsaparihārārthaṁ bālānām sā na tattvataḥ 11¹

Subhāṣitasamgraha, p. 20.

One may, therefore, say that the *Mahāyānavimśaka* represents the views of both the Vijnāna- and Śūnya-vādas, and as such it does not belong to a particular school of the Mahāyāna. It is simply a book of the Mahāyāna, as shows its title.

§10. THE SUMMARY OF THE TEXT.

Having indicated in the first kārikā in which he has paid his homage to the Buddha that the truth he is going to propound can hardly be expressed by words the author says that in the transcendental truth (*paramārtha*) there is neither *utpāda* 'appearance' nor *nirodha* 'disappearance.' The Buddha and the beings are of the same nature and they are just like the sky which has no real existence. There is no origination (*jāti*) on either side of the world. A compound thing (*samskṛta*) comes into existence through its cause and conditions, and therefore in its essence it is nothing but *śūnya*. This is what comes into the range of an omniscient one. In regard to their own nature all things are just like a shadow. Worldlings imagine an *ātman* when in fact there is no *ātman*. They also imagine pain and pleasure, and such other things, but in reality they are non-existent. It is on account of this false imagination that people suffer from *klesas* 'evil passions,' as a forest is burnt by fire. As a painter is frightened having seen a picture of a Yakṣa drawn by himself, so it is owing to his false notions that a man is frightened in the *samsāra*. As a stupid person moving himself is drowned in mud, so are drowned the beings in the mire of false discrimination and cannot come out of it. Seeing that these men are helpless one should try to become

asti khalv iti nilādī jagad iti jaḍiyase 1
bhāvagrāhagrahāveśa-(veśād) gambhiranayabhirave 11
vijñānamātram evedamī citram jagad udāhṛtam 1
grāhyagrāhakabhedena rahitamī mandamedhuse 11
gandharvanagarākāram satyadvityalāñchitam 1
ameyānantakalpaughabhāvanāśuddhabuddhaye 11

Subhāṣitasamgraha, pp. 14-15

a Buddha, so that one can help them. The world is *sūnya* to him who realizes the transcendental truth having known *pratītyasamutpāda*. The *samsāra* and *nirvāna* are mere appearance ; in fact, they have no existence ; the truth is that the things are quiescent from the very beginning (*ādiśānta*), clean, changeless and pure. All this is nothing but mind (*citta*), and just like *māyā*. When the wheel of this mind (*citta-cakra*) is destroyed all things disappear ; therefore they are *anātman* (i.e., without any definite nature). The things have no nature whatsoever, yet, the people take them to be eternal, think them to be *ātman*, and consider that happiness may be derived from them. And thus they are covered with the darkness of ignorance and attachment and fall into the ocean of *samsāra*. And without the 'great conveyance' (*Mahāyāna*) no body can reach the other side of that ocean.

ABBREVIATIONS.

The letters *a*, *b*, *c* and *d* imply the four lines of a stanza respectively.

C stands for Chinese version (B. Nanjio, No. 1308).

T¹ stands for Tibetan version, Tanjur, Mdo, Gi, fols, 211^b.8—213^a.2 (Cordier, Vol. III, 357).

T² stands for Tibetan version, Tanjur, Mdo, Tsa, fols, 156^a.4—157^a.5 (Cordier, Vol. III, p. 293).

N.B.—In the Tibetan in Roman transcription, *n̄* has been used for the guttural nasal (=ng as in English sing). This letter, *n̄*, is used for the Sanskrit and other Indian cerebral n, but as the press did not have the proper letter for the guttural nasal we have used *n̄* as a makeshift. In Sanskrit words, simple n before gutturals stands for the guttural nasal.

RESTORED SANSKRIT TEXT.

MAHĀYĀNA VIMŠAKAM

Namas Triratnāya.

1

namo vācā'vācyam api dayayā yen deśitam 1
 dhīmate vītarāgāya buddhāyācintyaśaktaye ॥ 1 ॥

2

paramārthena notpādo nirodho'pi na tattvataḥ 1
 buddha ākāsavat tadvat sattvā apy ekalakṣaṇaḥ ॥ 2 ॥

3

jātir nāsti tata itaḥ saṁskṛtaṁ pratyayodbhavam 1
 śūnyam eva svarūpeṇa sarvajñajñānagocaraḥ ॥ 3 ॥

4

sarve bhāvāḥ svabhāvena pratibimbasamā matāḥ 1
 śuddhāḥ śāntasvabhāvāś ca advayās tathatā samāḥ ॥ 4 ॥

5

tattvenānātmāni pṛthag-janenātmā vikalpitāḥ 1
 sukhāni duḥkham upekṣā ca kleśo mokṣas tathaiva ca ॥ 5 ॥

6

gatayaḥ sad hi samsāre sugatau sukham uttamam 1
 narake ca mahad duḥkham sarvaiḥ na tattvagocaraḥ ॥ 6 ॥

7

aśubhād duḥkham atyantam jarā vyādhis tathā mṛtiḥ 1
 karmabhis tu śubhair eva śubham eva hi niścitam ॥ 7 ॥

mithyākalpanayā sattvā dāvagnineva kānanam 1
 kleśānalena dahyante narakādau patanti ca ॥ 8 ॥
 yathā yathā bhaven māyā sattvāḥ syur gocarās tathā 1
 jagan māyāsvarūpāni hi pratiyasambhavām tathā ॥ 9 ॥

8

* yathā citrakaro rūpam yakṣasyātibhayankaram 1
 samālikhya svayam bhītaḥ samsāre'py abudhas tathā ॥ 10 ॥

9

svayam calan yathā pañke bālaḥ kaścin nimajjati 1
 nimagnāḥ kalpanāpañke sattvās tathodgamākṣamāḥ ॥ 11 ॥

10

bhāvadarśanato'bhāve vedyate duḥkhavedanā 1
 taylor jñānaviṣayayor bādhyante kalpanāviṣaiḥ 11 12 ॥

11

ālokya tān aśaraṇān karuṇāvaśamānasah 1
 sattvānām upakārāya bodhicaryām samācaren 11 13 ॥

12

tayā sañcītya sambhārān prāpto bodhim anuttarām 1
 kalpanābandhanān muktaḥ syād buddho lokabāndhavaḥ 11 14 ॥

13

yah pratītyasamutpādād bhūtārtham avalokate 1
 sa jānāti jagac chūnyam ādimadhyāntavarjitam 11 15 ॥

14

darśanenaiva saṁsāro nirvāṇam ca na tattvataḥ 1
 nirañjanām nirvikāram ādiśāntaiḥ prabhāsvaram 11 16 ॥

15

viṣayaḥ svapnabodhasya prabuddhena na dṛṣyate 1
 mohāndhakārodbuddhena saṁsāro naiva dṛṣyate 11 17 ॥
 māyaiva dṛṣyate māyānirmitam samiskṛtam yadā 1
 naiva kiñcit tadā bhāvo dharmāṇām saiva dharmatā 11 18 ॥

16

jātimān na svayam jāto jātir lokair vikalpitā 1
 vikalpāś caiva sattvāś ca dvayam etan na yujyate 11 18^a ॥

17

cittamātram idam sarvam māyāvad avatiṣṭhate 1
 tataḥ śubhāśubham karma tato jātiḥ śubhāśubhā 11 19 ॥

18

sarve dharmā nirudhyante cittacakranirodhataḥ 1
 anātmānas tato dharmā viśuddhās tata eva te 11 20 ॥

19

bhāveṣu niḥsvabhāveṣu nityātmasukhasamijñayā 1
 rāgamohatamaśchannasyodbhūto'yam bhavāmbudhiḥ 11 21 ॥

20

* kalpanājalapūrṇasya saṁsārasya mahodadheḥ 1
 mahāyānam anārūḍhaḥ ko vā pāraṁ gamiṣyati 11 22 ॥

avidyāpratyayotpannasyāya lokasya saṁvidāḥ 1
 kutaḥ khalu bhaved eṣāṁ vitarkānām samudbhavaḥ 11 23 ॥

11 Ācāryārya-Nāgārjuna-kṛtaṁ Mahāyānaviṁśakaiḥ sampūrṇam ॥

TRANSLATION.

ADORATION TO THE THREE TREASURES.

1

I make my obeisance to the Buddha who is wise, free from all attachment, and whose powers are beyond conception, and who has kindly taught the truth which cannot be expressed by words. 1.

2

In the transcendental truth there is no origination (*utpāda*), and in fact, there is no destruction (*nirodha*). The Buddha is like the sky (which has neither origination nor cessation), and the beings are like him, and therefore they¹ are of the same nature. 2.

3

There is no birth either on this or the other side (of the world). A compound thing (*samskṛta*) originates from its conditions. Therefore it is *śūnya* by its nature. This fact comes into the range of knowledge of an omniscient one. 3.

4

All things by nature are regarded as reflections. They are pure and naturally quiescent, devoid of any duality, equal, and remain always and in all circumstances in the same way (*tathatā*). 4.

5

In fact, worldlings attribute *ātman* to what is not *ātman*, and in the same way they imagine happiness, misery, indifference, passions and liberation. 5.

6—7

Birth in the six realms of existence in the world, highest happiness in the heaven, great pain in the hell,—these do not come within the per view of truth (i.e. cannot be accepted as true); nor do the notions that unmeritorious actions lead to the extreme misery, old age, disease, and death, and meritorious actions surely bring about good results. 6-7.

It is owing to false notions that beings are consumed by fire of passions even as a forest is burnt by forest conflagration and fall into the hells, etc. 8.

As illusion prevails so do beings make their appearance. The world is illusory and it exists only on account of its cause and conditions. 9.

¹ The Buddha and the beings.

8

As a painter is frightened by the terrible figure of a Yakṣa which he himself has drawn, so is a fool frightened in the world (by his own false notions). 10.

9

Even as a fool going himself to a quagmire is drowned therein, so are beings drowned in the quagmire of false notions and are unable to come out thereof. 11.

10

The feeling of misery is experienced by imagining a thing where in fact it has no existence. Beings are tortured by the poison of false notions regarding the object and its knowledge. 12.

11

Seeing these helpless beings with a compassionate heart one should perform the practices of the highest knowledge (*bodhicaryā*) for the benefit of them. 13.

12

Having acquired requisites thereby and getting unsurpassable *bodhi* one should become a Buddha, the friend of the world, being freed from the bondage of false notions. 14.

13

He who realizes the transcendental truth knowing the *pratityasamutpāda* (or the manifestation of entities depending on their causes and conditions), knows the world to be *śūnya* and devoid of beginning, middle or end. 15.

14

The *samsāra* and *nirvāna* are mere appearances ; the truth is stainless, changeless, and quiescent from the beginning and illumined. 16.

15

The object of knowledge in dream is not seen when one awakes. Similarly the world disappears to him who is awakened from the darkness of ignorance. 17.

The creation of illusion is nothing but illusion. When everything is compound there is nothing which can be regarded as a real thing. Such is the nature of all things. 18.

16

One having origination (*jāti*) does not originate himself. Origination is a false conception of the people. Such conceptions and (conceived) beings, these two are not reasonable. 18a.

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17

All this is nothing but mind (*citta*) and exists just like an illusion. Hence originate good and evil actions and from them good and evil birth. 19.

18

When the wheel of the mind is suppressed, all things are suppressed. Therefore all things are devoid of *ātman* (independent nature), and consequently they are pure. 20.

19

It is due to thinking the things which have no independent nature as eternal, *ātman*, and pleasant that this ocean of existence (*bhava*) appears to one who is enveloped by the darkness of attachment and ignorance. 21.

20

Who can reach the other side of the great ocean of *samsāra* which is full of water of false notions without getting into the great vehicle (*i.e.*, Mahāyāna)? 22.

How can these false notions arise in a man who thoroughly knows this world which has originated from ignorance? 23.

Here ends the *Mahāyānavimśaka* of Ācārya Nāgarjuna.

CHINESE TEXT.

大乘二十頌論

龍樹菩薩造

詔譯

西天譯經三藏朝奉大夫試光祿卿傳法大師賜紫臣施護奉

1 彌歸命不可思議性

諸佛無著真實智

諸法非言非無言

佛悲愍故善宣說

2 第一義無生

隨轉而無性

佛衆生一相

如虛空平等

此彼岸無生

自性緣所生

彼諸行皆空

一切智智行

無染真如性

無二等寂靜

諸法性自性

如影像無異

凡夫分別心

無實我計我

故起諸煩性

及苦樂捨等

世間老病死

爲苦不可愛

隨諸業墮墮

此實無有樂

天趣勝妙樂

地獄極大苦

皆不實境界

六趣常輪轉

衆生妄分別

煩惱火燒燃

墮地獄等趣

如野火燒林

衆生本如幻

復取幻境界

履幻所成道

不了從緣生

如世間畫師

畫作夜叉相

自畫已自怖

此名無智者

衆生自起染

造彼輪迴因

造已怖墜墮

無智不解脫

衆生虛妄心

故發菩提心

卽觀察世間

分別所纏縛

故爲作利益

從生及生已

悉示正眞義

後觀世間空

離初中後際

觀生死涅槃

是二俱無我

無染亦無壞

本清淨常寂

17 夢中諸境界

覺已悉無見

智者寤寐睡

亦不見生死

18 愚癡闇蔽者

墮墮生死海

無生計有生

起世間分別

19 若分別有生

衆生不如理

卽滅一切法

是諸法無我

諸法悉清淨

22 佛廣宣說世間法

當知卽是無明緣

若能不起分別心

一切衆生何所生

23 於彼諸法法性中

實求少法不可得

如世幻師作幻事

智者應當如是知

24 生死輪迴大海中

衆生煩惱水充滿

TIBETAN TEXT.

I (T¹).

rga.gar.skad.du 1 ma.hā.yā.na.vim.śa.ka 1
 bod.skad.du 1 theg.pa.chen.po.ni.ñi.su.pa ll
 dkon.mchog.gsum.la.phyag.ḥtshal.lo ll

1

gaṇ.gis. brjod.pāhi.chos.kyis. ni 1
 brjod.du.med. kyaṇ brtse.bas. bstan 1
 chags.med. blo.can. blo¹.med.pāhi 1
 mthu.can. saṇs.rgyas.la. phyag. ḥtshal ll

2

sky.e.ba. don.du. yod. ma. yin 1
 ḥgag.pāhaṇ de.ñid.du. med. de 1
 saṇs.rgyas. nam.mkhha. ji.bžin.la 1
 sems.can.rnams. kyaṇ. mtshan.ñid.gcig ll

3

pha.rol. tshul².bžin. skyes.pa.yi 1
 ḥdus.bys. rten.skyes. de.dag.kyaṇ 1
 raṇ.gi.ño.bo. ston.pa.ñid 1
 kun.mkhen.ye.śes.spyod.yul.can ll

4

dṇos.po. thams.cad. raṇ.bžin.gyis 1
 gzugs.brñan.dan. ni. mtshuṇ.par. ḥdod 1
 dag. dan. zi.bāhi.raṇ.bžin. te 1
 gñis.med. de.bžin.ñid. dan. mtshuṇ ll

5

so.sohi.skye.bo. de.ñid. du 1
 brag.med.na. yaṇ. ḥdag.ñid. du 1
 bde. dan. sdug.bsñal. btaṇ.sñoms. dan 1
 ñion.moṇs. kun.tu. rnam.par.brtag ll

¹ P blon. Read bla. Here bla.med = bla.na.med.
² Read ishu.rol omitting yi. See Note 5.

6

ḥkhor.bar. ḥgro.ba. rnam.drug. daṇ 1
 bde.ḥgro. bde.ba. mchog. ūid. daṇ 1
 dmyal.bar. sdug.bṣṇal. chen.po. daṇ 1
 yul.la. de.ūid. mi.bsam.par¹ ll

7

gžan.yaṇ. mi.dge. sdug.bṣṇal. daṇ 1
 rga.daṇ. na. daṇ. mi.rtag.ūid 1
 las.rnams.kyi. ni. rnam.smin. daṇ² 1
 bde.ba. daṇ. ni. sdug.bṣṇal. ūid ll

8

yaṇ.dag. ri.mo.mkhan.gyis. ni 1
 ūin.tu.ḥjigs.byed. gšen.rjeḥi.gzugs 1
 bris.te. raṇ. yaṇ. ḥjigs.pa. ltar 1
 hkhor.bar. rmoṇs.pahāṇ. de.bžin. no ll

9

ji.ltar.raṇ.gis. ḥdam. byas.nas 1
 byis.pa. ḥgah³.ba. ḥdren.pa.ltar 1
 de.bžin. ūin.tu. dgaḥ.ba.yi 1
 rnam.rtog.ḥdam.du. sems.can. byiṇ ll

10

med.la. yod.par.mthoṇ.ba. yin 1
 sdug.bṣṇal. tshor.ba. myoṇ.bar.byed 1
 ūam.na. phyin.ci.log.blo.yis 1
 rtag.pahī dug.gis. gnod.par.byed ll

11

skyabs.med. de.dag. mthoṇ.nas. ni 1
 ūniṇ.rjeḥi.dbaṇ.gyur.yid.can.gyis 1
 saṇs.rgyas. phan.mdzad. sems.can.rnams 1
 rdzogs.pahī. byaṇ.chub. la. spyod⁴. mdzad ll

¹ See Notes.² For smin.daṇ P par.smin.³ Both N and P dgah.⁴ P sbyor.

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125

12

de.dag. bsod.nams. tshogs. bsags.nas 1
 rtog.paḥi.dra.ba.las. grol.te 1
 ye.śes. bla.na.med.pa. ḥthob 1
 saṇs.rgyas. h̄jig.rten.gñen.du. ḥgyur 11

13

yaṇ.dag.don.ni. mthon.baḥi.phyir 1
 ji.bžin.ye.śes.skyes.pa.rnams 1
 de.nas. thog.mthaḥ.bar.spaṇs.paḥi 1
 hgro.ba. ston.pa. ūid. du. mthon 11

14

de.dag. bdag.ūid. ḥkhor.ba.daṇ 1
 mya.ṇan.ḥdas.pa¹ mi. mthon. ṇo 1
 ma.gos. h̄gyur.ba. med.pa. daṇ 1
 gzoṇ.nas. ži.žiṇ. ḥod.gsal.baḥo 11

15

rmi.lam.ṇams.su.myoṇ.baḥi. yul 1
 sad.par.gyur ni.² mi. mthon. ṇo 1
 rmoṇs.paḥi.mun.pa.sad.pa.yis 1
 ḥkhor.ba. mthon.ba. ma. yin. ūid 11

16

raṇ.bžin.med.paḥi. dṇos.rnams.la 1
 rtag.bdag.bde.bahi.³ hdu.śes.kyis 1
 chags.rmoṇs.mun.pas. bsgribs.pa.na 1
 srid.paḥi.rga.mtsho. ḥdi. ḥbyuṇ. ṇo 11

17

skye.bo.⁴ raṇ.ūid. ma.skyes.rnams 1
 h̄jig.rten.rnams.kyis. skye.bar. brtags 1
 rnam.par.rtog. daṇ. sems.⁵can.rnams 1
 ḥdi. daṇ. gñis.kar. rigs⁶ ma. yin 11

¹ P paḥi for pa.
 Both N and P na.
 N med.
 Both N and P ba for bo. See Notes.
 P sesm, evidently a misprint.

18

ḥdi.dag. thams.cad. sems.tsam. ste¹ 1
 sgyu.mar.ḥgyur.ba.bžin. du. skye 1
 de.las. dge. dañ. mi.dge. las 1
 de.las. ske.ba. bžañ. dan. ḥan 11

19

sems.kyi. hkhor.ba. ḥgags.pa.na 1
 kun.gyi. chos.ñid. ḥgag.pa. yin 1
 de.ñid. chos.la. bdag. med. de 1
 de.ñid. chos.kyi. rnam.dag. ste 11

20

* * * * *
 theg.pa.che.la. ma.brten.par 1
 hkhor.bahi.rga.mtsho.chen.po.yi 1
 pha.rol. brgal.bar. ḥgyur.ba. med² 1

theg.pa.chen.po.ñi.su.pa. slob.dpon. ḥphags.pa. klu.sgrub.kyis.
 mdzad.pa. rdzogs. so 11

kha.chehi. pañ.di.ta. ā.nan.da. dañ 1 lo.tsa.ba. dge.slon. grags.hbyor
 śes.rab.kyis. bsgyur.baḥo 11

¹ N ste.² P mīn.

I & II

TIBETAN TEXT.

II (T²)

rgya.gar.skod.du 1 ma.hā.yā.na.vim.śi.kā ll
 bod.skad.du 1 theg.pa.chen.po.ñi.su.pa ll

ḥjam.dpal.gžon.nur.gyur.pa.la. phyag htshal.lo ll

1

chags.med. thugs.su.chud. sans.rgas 1
 rjod.byeđ. bjod.par.bya.ba.min 1
 thugs.rjes. rgyal.bar.¹ snañ. gyur.pa 1
 mthu.bsam.mi.khyab. phyag.htshal.lo ll

2

dam.pahi.don.du. skye.med.phyir 1
 de.ñid.du. ni. grol.bahañ. med 1
 mkhaḥ.bžin. sans.rgas. de.bžin. te 1
 sems.can. dañ. ni. mtshan.ñid.cig ll

3

pha.rol. tshu².rol. skye. med.pas 1
 rañ.bžin. mya.nan.ḥdas.pahañ. med 1
 de.bžin. ḥdus.byas. mñon.par. ston 1
 kun.mkhyen.ye.śes.spyod.yul. yin ll

4

dños.po. kun.gyi. rañ.bžin.ni 1
 gzugs.brñan. dan. ni. mtshuñs.par.rtogs ll
 rnam.dag. ži.bahi.ño.bo. ñid 1
 gñis.med. de. bžin. ñid.du. mñam ll

5

bdag. dañ. bdag.med. bden. min. te 1
 so.sohi.skye.bos. brtags.pa. yin 1
 bde. dañ. sdug.bṣñal. ltos.³pa. ste 1
 ñon. moñs. rnms. dañ grol.de.bžin ll

¹N ba,
²N bñtos.
³As suggested by Yamaguchi the original reading is tshul.

6

hgro.ba. rigs. drug. hkhor.ba.ru 1
 mtho.ris. mchog. dañ. bde.ba. dañ 1
 dmyal.bar. sdug.bsñal. chen.po. ste 1
 de.dag. yul.rnams. ñams.su.myoñ 11

7

mi.dges. mchog.tu. sdug.bsñal. žin 1
 dgah.na. mi.rtag. rgud.pa. yin 1
 dge.bah. las.rnams.ñid.kyis. kyañ 1
 bzañ.po.ñid.du. ñes.pa. yin 11

8

skye.med.rtogs¹.pas. bskrun.pa.yis 1
 * * * *
 dmyal.la.sogs.pa. sñan.ba.ni 1
 ñes.pa. ngas.kyi. me.bžin. bsreg 11

9

sgyu.ma. ji.lta. ji.lta.bar. 1
 de.bžin. sems.can. yul.la.spyod 1
 hgro.ba. sgyu.mahi.rañ.bžin. yin 1
 de.bžin.du. ni. brten.nas. byuñ 11

10

ji.ltar. ri.mo.mkhan. gyis².gzugs 1
 gnod.sbyin. hñigs.pa. bris.pa.yis 1
 de.yis. rañ.ñid. skrag.pa.ltar 1
 mi.mkhas hñkor.bar. de.bžin. no 11

11

ji.ltar. rañ.gis. hñdam. gyos.pas 1
 byis.pa. hñgah.žig. byiñ.ba.ltar 1
 de.bžin. rtog.pañi. hñdam.byiñ.bas 1
 sems.can.rnams.ni. hbyuñ. mi. nus 11

¹ Read *rtog*. See Notes.
² N *gyi*.

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12

dṇos.med. dṇos.por. lta.ba.yis¹ 1
 sdug.bṣṇal.tshor.ba. ūams.su.myoṇ 1
 yul. daṇ. ses.pa. de.dag.tu 1
 rnam. par. rtog².paḥi. dug.gis. bciṇis 11

13

de.dag. sñiṇ.po.med. mthon̄.bas 1
 śes.rab.sñiṇ.rjeḥi.yid.kyis. ni 1
 sems.can.rnams.la. phan.paḥi.phyir 1
 rdzogs. sans.rgyas.la. sbyor³.bar. bya 11

14

des. kyaṇ. tshogs. bsags. kun.rdzob. tu 1
 bla.na.med.paḥi. byaṇ. chub. thob 1
 rtog.paḥi. hchiṇ.ba.rnams.las. grol 1
 sans.rgas. de. ni. h̄jig.rten.gñen 11

15

ji.ltar. rten.cin.h̄brel.h̄byuṇ.ba 1
 gaṇ.gis.⁴ yaṇ.dag. don.du. gzigs 1
 de.yis. h̄gro.ba. ston̄.par. mkhyen 1
 thog.ma. dbus. dan̄.tha.ma.⁵ spaṇs 11

16

de.ltar. mthon̄.bas. h̄khor.ba. daṇ 1
 mya.ṇan.h̄das.paḥaṇ de.ñid. min 1
 ūon.moṇs.pa.yi. rnam.pa.med. 1
 thog.ma.dbus.inthah⁶.raṇ.bžin.gsal⁷ 11

17

rmi.lam. ūams.sa.myoṇ.ba.bžin. 1
 so.sor.rtogs.pas. snaṇ.ba.min 1
 rmoṇs.paḥi. mun.pa. gñid.sad.la 1
 h̄khor.ba.rnams. ni. dmigs.pa. med 11

¹ N yin.
² N rtogs.
³ N sbyar.
⁴ N p. gi.
⁵ It is in P, N reads mthah.ma.
⁶ P mthah.
⁷ P bsal.

18

sgyu.maḥi.¹ sprul.pa. sgyu.mar. mthon¹ 1
 gaṇ.tshe. ḥdus.pa. dehi. tshe 1
 cuṇ.zad. yod.pa. ma. yin.te 1
 de. ni. chos.rnams. chos.ñid. yin 11

19

ḥdi.dag. thams.cad. sems.tsam. te² 1
 sgyu.ma..lta.bur. gnas.pa. yin 1
 dge. daṇ. mi.dge. las.rnams.kyis 1
 de.yis. bzaṇ. ḥan. skye.ba.rnams 11

20

sems.kyi. ḥkhor.lo. ḥgags.pa.yis 1
 chos.rnams. thams.cad. ḥgag.pa. ñid 1
 de.phyir. chos. ñid. bdag. med. ciṇ 1
 des.na. chos.ñid. rnam.par.dag 11

21

dṇos.po. ḥam. ni. raṇ.bzin.la 1
 rtag.tu. bde.bar. hdu.śes. śiṇ 1
 rmoṇs.paḥi. mun.pas. bsgrib.s.pas.na 1
 byis.pa.ḥkhor.baḥi. rga.mtshor. ḥkhyam 11

22

rtog.paḥi. chu.bos. gaṇ.ba.yi 1
 ḥkhor.baḥi.rga.mtsho.chen.po.la 1
 theg.chen.gru.la. mi.žon.par³ 1
 gaṇ.gis. pha.rol. phyin.par.ḥgyur 11

23

ma.rig⁴ rkyen.gis. byuṇ.ba. ḥdi 1
 yaṇ.dag. ḥjig.rten.mkhyen.paḥi. phyir 1
 rnam.par.rtog.pa. ḥdi.dag. ni 1
 ci.žig.las. ni. ḥbyuṇ.bar. ḥgyur 11
 theg.pa.chen.po.ñi.su.pa. slob.dpon. klu.sgrub.kyi.żal.sna.nas.mdzad.pa.
 rdzogs.so 11

rgya.gar.gi. mkhan.po. tsan.dra.ku.mā.ra. daṇ. dge.sloṇ.
 śā.kya.ḥod.kyis. bsgur 11

¹ P mas,
² P pa,

³ N can.te for tsam.te.
⁴ N rigs.

NOTES

COMPARATIVE AND EXEGETIC.

For *triratnāya T² mañjuśrīkumārabhūtāya.*

1

- a C namo' cintyabhāvarūpebhyaḥ
T¹ yena vāgdharmena
T² vītarāgair avabudhair buddhaiḥ
- b C buddhebhyo vītragebhyaḥ
T¹ avacanam (or avācyam) api dayayā deśitam
T² vītarāgair avācyam
- c C dharmā avacanā nāvacanāḥ
T¹ vītarāgāya matimate 'nuttara-
T² dayayā suprakāśitam
- d C buddhena dayayā sudeśitaḥ
T¹ saktaye buddhāya namah
T² acityaśaktaye namah.

Comparison.

C a, T¹ c (last part) and d, T² d ; C b, T¹ c and d, T² a ;
C c, T¹ b, T² b ; C d, T¹ b, T² c.

Restoration.

a C a, c, d ; T¹ a, b ; T² b. b C d ; T¹ b ; T² c. c C b ; T¹ c ;

T² a. d C a, d ; T¹ c, d ; T² d.

In c of T¹ after *blo.can* P has *blon.med*, while N reads *blo.med*. The last word *pahi* shows that *blon.med* or *blo.med* is to be construed with the following word *mihu* in d. I think, therefore, that one should read here neither of the above two readings, but *bla.med* (= *bla.na.med.pa*) meaning *anuttara* in Sanskrit. It closely corresponds to the *mihu.bsam.mi.khyab* of T² in d, and is fully supported by C a (*pu k'o ssu i hsing*).

In a *vāgdharmena* (or *vācā*) *avācyam* (or *anabhilāpyam*) (T¹ *brjod.pahi.chos.kyis.ni.brjod.du.med*, T² *rjod.byed.brjod.par.bya.ba.min*), or *na vācyam* (or *abhilāpyam*) and *na avācyam* (*anabhilāpyam*), or *na vacanam* and *na avacanam* (C *fei yen fei wu yen*), refers to Buddha's *anakṣara*

dharma, i.e., the *dharma* which is not expressed, or cannot be expressed by words. See MV., p. 264 ; BCP, (with a slight variation), p. 365 :
*anakṣarasya dharmasya śrutiḥ kā deśanā ca kā 1
 śrūyate deśyate cāpi samāropād anakṣrah 11*

yasyām rātrau tatāgato'bhisambuddho yasyām ca parinirvṛto'trāntare tathāgatenaikam apy akṣaram nodāhrtam. See *Lankāvatāra*, ed. B. Nanjio, p. 143 ; Suduki, *Studies in the Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, p. 376. *Catustava (Nirupamastava, 7)* quoted in BCP., p. 420, and *Tattvaratnāvalī* in *Advayavajrasangraha*, GOS, p. 22 :

*nodāhrtam tvayā kiñcid ekamapy akṣaram vibho 1
 kṛtsnaś ca vaineyajano dharmavarṣenā tarpitah 11*

Cf. also the following (MV, pp. 348-429) :

*yo 'pi ca cintayi śūnyakadharmanām
 so 'pi kumārgapapañnaku bālah 1
 akṣarakīrtita śūnyakadharmaṁ
 te ca anaksara aksara uktah 11*

Mahāyānasūtrālankāra, XII. 2 :

*dharmo naiva ca deśito bhagavatā pratyātmavedyo yata
 ākṛṣṭā janatā ca yuktavihitair dharmaiḥ svakīm dharmatām 1*

Kenopaniṣad, 3 :

*na tatra cakṣur gacchati na vāg gacchati no manah 1
 na vidmo no vijānīmo yathaitad anuśiṣyat 11*

2

- a C paramārthena notpādaḥ
 T¹ utpādo vastuto nāsti
 T² paramārthena anutpādāt
- b C anuvṛttiḥ ca na svabhāvataḥ
 T¹ nirodho 'pi na tattvataḥ
 T² mokṣo 'pi nāsti tattvataḥ
- c C buddhaḥ sattva ekalakṣaṇaḥ
 T¹ ākāśavad yathā buddhaḥ
 T² ākāśavad tathā buddhaḥ
- d C ākāśavat sāmānyato drṣṭam
 T¹ sattvā apy ekalakṣaṇaḥ
 T² sattvāś ca ekalakṣaṇaḥ

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Comparison.

C *a*, T¹*a*, T²*a*; C *b*, T¹*b*, T²*b*; C *d*, T¹*c*, T²*c*; C *c*,
T¹*d*, T²*d*.

Restoration.

a C *a*; T¹*a*; T²*a*. *b* C *b*; T¹*b*; T²*b*. *c* C *d*; T¹*c*; T²*c*.

d C *c*; T *d*; T² *d*.

In *b* for *nirodha* (*hgag.pa*) or *mokṣa* (*grol.ba*) in T¹ and T² respectively, C *anuvṛtti* (*zui ten*) which is evidently a wrong reading for *nirvṛti*. The reading *mokṣa* in T² is certainly not better than *nirodha*.

Nāgārjuna's doctrine of *anutpāda* and *anirodha* is well-known, and specially in his *Madhyamaka-kārikā*.

The following from his *Yuktisaṅkā*, 22, may be quoted here:

de.ltar.ci yan̄ skye.ba.med 1
ci.yan̄.hgag.par mi.hgyur.ro 11

We may translate it thus:

evai na kaścid utpado 1
nirodho pi na kaścana 11

Like the sky the Buddha and the beings have neither *utpāda* (origination) nor *nirodha* (cessation). Therefore, in this respect they have the same characteristics. See *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpārmītā*, pp. 39-40: māyopamāś te devaputrāḥ sattvāḥ svapnopamāś te devaputrāḥ sattvāḥ°. samyaksambuddho'py ārya subhūte māyopahaḥ svapnopamaḥ; BCP, IX, 151 (p. 590): *yatas cānuttannāniruddhāḥ sarvadharmaḥ ata āha nirvṛtyādi*.

nirvṛtānirvṛtānām ca viśeṣo nāsti vastutah 1

The following kārikā of which the wording is to be noted, is quoted here from Nāgārjuna's *Catuḥstava* cited in BCP, p. 590.

buddhānām sattvadhatos ca yenābhinnatvam arthataḥ 1
ātmānaś ca pareśām ca samatā tena te matā 11

3

- a* C nāsmimś tasmimś taṭe jātiḥ
T¹ tata ita iva jātiḥ nāsti
- b* C jatyabhāvāt tata itaḥ
T¹ svabhāvena pratīyasmutpannāni
T² saṃskṛtāni pratyotpannāni tāni
T² na nirvāṇām svabhāvataḥ

- c C tāni samskṛtāni sarvāṇī śūnyāni
 T¹ svarupeṇa śūnyāny eva
 T² vyaktām tathā samskṛtam śūnyam
 d C sarvajñajñānagocaraḥ
 T¹ "
 T² "

Comparison.

Ca, T¹a, T²a ; C b, T b ; C c, T¹c, T²c ; C d, T¹d, T²d.

Restoration.

a Ca ; T¹a ; T²a. b Cb ; T¹b. c Cc ; T¹c ; T²c. d Cd ;
 T¹d ; T²d.

T²b differs from all.

In T¹a *tshul* does not give here any suitable sense. We should, therefore, read for it *tshu.rol*, Skt. *itah* agreeing with Chinese. And in that case for the sake of metre the following *pa* is to be omitted. In T²a, too, for the original reading *tshul* read *tshu* as suggested by Yamaguchi.

4

- a C akliṣṭās tathatārūpāḥ
 T¹ sarve bhāvāḥ svabhāvena
 T² "
 b C advayāḥ sāntāḥ
 T¹ pratibimbasamā matāḥ
 T² "
 c C sarve dharmā lakṣaṇasvabhāvena
 T¹ śuddhāḥ sāntasvabhāvāś ca
 T² viśuddhāḥ sāntasvarūpāś ca
 d C pratibimbopamā abhinnāḥ (=samāḥ)
 T¹ advayāḥ tathatā samāḥ
 T² "

Comparison.

C a, T¹ c-d, T² c-d ; C b, T¹ c-d, T² c-d ; C c, T¹ a, T² a ;
 C d, T¹ b-d, T² b-d.

Restoration.

a C c ; T¹ a ; T² a. b C d ; T¹ b ; T² b. c C a-b ; T¹ c ; T² c
 d C a-b-d ; T¹ d ; T² d.

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For *suddha* and *śāntasvabhāva* see the note on kārikā 16, and MV., p. 373.8 : etac ca śāntasvabhāvam ataimrikakeśādarsanavat svabhāvarahitam. The word *advaya* means *grāhyagrāhakaraha*, 'without percipient and perceptible.' The word *tathata* generally translated by "suchness" or "thisness" means 'absolute reality.' (*tatha* 'true'). Here this absolute reality is nothing but *śūnyatā* 'voidness' or 'relativity' as Stcherbatsky has, I think, rightly translated. It is meant here by using the word that things are *śūnya*, *pralītyasamutpanna*. See MV, p. 196 : *śūnyatām tathatālakṣaṇām*; *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 263 : Dharmasangītām apy uktam tathatā tathateti kulaputra *śūnyatāyā* etad adhivacanām. sā ca *śūnyatā* notpadyate na nirudhyate. āha. yady evam dharmāḥ *śūnyā* uktā bhagavatā kasmāt sarvadharmā notpatsyante na nirotsyante *nirārambho* bodhisattvāḥ. āha. evam eva kulputra tathā yathābhisambudhiyase sarvadharmā notpadyante na nirudhyante. āha. yad etad uktaiḥ bhagavatā samskr̥ta dharmā utpadyante niruddhyante cety asya tathāgatabhāṣitasya ko 'bhiprāyah. āha. utpādanirodhābhīnivīṣṭāḥ kulputra lokasanniveśāḥ. tatra tathāgato mahākāruṇiko lokasyottrāsapadaparihārārtham vyavahāravaśād uktavān utpadyante nirudhyante ceti. no cātra kaśyacid dharmasyotpādo na nirodha iti. BPC, p. 354 : para uttamo'rthaḥ paramārthaḥ akṛtrimaṇi vastusvarūpāni sarvadharmāṇām niḥsvabhāvatā *śūnyatā* tathatā bhūtakotir dharmābhātūr ityādiparyāyāḥ. See *Madhyāntavibhanga* of Maitreyanātha, I. 16. Here the following is quoted from Sthiramati's *ṭīkā* (fol. 14^a. 1. 3), the italicised words being in the commentary by Vasubandhu on the original work (*Tanjur*, Mdo, Bi, fol. 6^a. 1. 2) : tatra *ananyathārthena* tathateti avikriyārthenety [arthāḥ]. *tattvākhyānān* *nityam* *tāthātvad* ity uktam. *nityam* sarvasmin kāle 'samskr̥tatvān na vikriyata ityarthāḥ.¹ See also *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramita*, pp. 273, 374 ; Stcherbatsky : *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana*, p. 35.

Things are *sama* 'equal' for all of them have no *utpāda* 'origination.' Let us cite here the following passage in the *Āryasatyadvayāvatārasūtra* quoted in the MV, pp. 374, 375 : paramārthataḥ sarvadharmānupādasamātāya paramārthataḥ sarvadharmātājātisamatayā samā dharmāḥ. See *Gaudapāda's Agamaśāstra*, IV, 93.

¹ The following is in Vasubandhu's *Trimśikā* (Lévi., p. 41) : *tathatāpi sah. sarvakālaḥ tathābhāvāt. Com : tāthatā tathā hi pṛthagjanasaikṣyāśalikṣāvasthāsu*

- a C pṛthagjano vikalpacittena
T¹ pṛthagjanena tattvena
T² ātmānātmā na satyah
- b C tattvata anātmānam ātmeti manyate
T¹ anātmāny apy ātmā
T² pṛthagjanena kalpitali
- c C tasmād uttiṣṭhanti kleśāḥ
T¹ sukhaīn duḥkham upekṣā
T² sukhaīn duḥkham apekṣā
- d C punar duḥkhasukhōpekṣā
T¹ kleśāḥ sarvatra vikalpitāḥ
T² kleśo mokṣas tathā

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a, T² b ; C b, T¹ b, T² a ; C c, T¹ d, T² d ; C d, T¹ c, T² c.

Restoration.

a C b ; T¹ b ; T² a. b C a ; T¹ a ; T² b. c C c-d ; T¹ c ; T² c.
d C c ; T¹ d ; T² d.

In c for *upekṣā* (T² c *btañ.sñoms*, C d *she*) T¹ c reads *apekṣā* (*bltos. p̄*) which is certainly not a good reading.

- a C devagatau (=śvarge) viśiṣṭam sukhai
T¹ saṁsāre gatayah soḍhā
T² saṁsāre gatayah ṣat
- b C narake 'timātram duḥkham
T¹ sugatāv uttamam sukhai
T² paramah svargah sukhai ca
- c C sarvam na satyagocarah
T¹ narake ca mahāduḥkhai
T² ,
- d C ḫad gatayo nityai pravartante
T¹ viṣayas tattvenācintyah
T² tāni viṣayeṣū vedyante

Comparison.

C a, T¹ b, T² b ; C b, T¹ c, T² c ; C c, T¹ d ; C d, T¹ a, T² b

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Restoration.

- a C d ; T¹ a ; T² b. b C a ; T¹ b ; T² b. c C b ; T¹ c ; T² c.
 d C c ; T¹ d.

T² d differs from all.

In d P of T¹ reads *yul.de.nid.mi.bsam.par* which is evidently an incomplete line. Here N adds *la* between *yul* and *de*, thus making the line complete. It is, however, not satisfactory. In order to make the line in P complete we may read *bsam* with N for *bsams*, adding *yod* at the end, and it agrees to some extent with C c.

7

- a C loke jarā vyādhir maraṇam
 T¹ api cākuśalam duḥkham ca
 T² aśubhāt paramam duḥkham
 b C bhavati duḥkham anīṣṭam
 T¹ jarā vyādhir anityatā
 T² vyasanam prītyanityatā
 c C karmānusārena patanam
 T¹ karmaṇam vipākāḥ
 T² śubhair eva karinabhis tu
 d C tat satyam asukham
 T¹ sukham duḥkham eva ca
 T² śubham eva niścitam

Comparison.

T² d. C a, T¹ b, T² b ; C b, T¹ a, T² a ; C c, T¹ c, T² c ; C d, T¹ d.

Restoration.

- d C d ; T¹ d ; T² d. a C b ; T¹ a ; T² a. b C a ; T¹ b ; T² b. c C c ; T¹ c ; T² c.

For the reading *na* in b of T¹ Mr. Yamaguchi unnecessarily suggests to read *nad*, both the words *na* (= *na.ba*) and *nad* meaning *vyādhi* 'disease.' In b of T² we have *dgah.na*, but may one not read here *dkah* for *dgah*? (*nid*) = *anityatā*. *rgud.pa* = *vyasana*.

- a C sattvā mithyākalpanayā
 T¹ o

8

- T² anutpādāvabodhena utpādanāt (?)
 b C kleśāgninā dahyante
 T¹ o
 T² o
 c C narakādigatiṣu patanti
 T¹ o
 T² drśyante narakādiṣu
 d C yathā dāvāgninā vanamī dahyate
 T¹ o
 T² doṣeṇa dāvāgnineva dahyante

*Comparison.*C b-d, T² d ; C c, T² c.*Restoration.*a C a. b C d. c C b ; T² d. d C c ; T² c.

T¹ is entirely wanting. T² has only three lines a, c, and d, b being missing. The reading in a of T² is evidently defective. It does not give here any appropriate meaning. According to C a *cheng shēng wang jēn pieh* one may, as Mr. Yamaguchi suggests, read here *skye.bo.rtog.pas* for the original, meaning *janah kalpanayā*. Or in the original reading let one take *skye* for *skye.bo* (*janah*) or *skyes.bu* (*purusah*) ; *med* which means *abhāva* may be taken in the sense of *abhūta* ; and *rtog.pas* (for the original *rtogs.pas*) means *kalpanayā* ; thus just like C we have *purusah* (or *janah* or *sattvah*) *abhūtakalpanayā*. In accordance with C b the following may be suggested for T²b : *ñon.mons.pahi.mes.sreg.pa.ni=dahyate kleśavahninā*.

9

- a C sattvo mūlato yathā māyā
 T² yathā yathā bhaven māyā
 b C punar māyāviṣayaṁ grahṇāti
 T² tathā sattvo gocaraḥ
 c C gacchan māyākṛtāyām gatau
 T² jagan māyāsvarūpām
 d C na buddhyate pratītyasamutpannam
 T² tathā pratītyasamutpannam

*Comparison.*C a-b, T² a-b ; C d, T² d.

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Restoration.

a T² a. b T² b. c T² c. d T² d.

This kārikā is not in T¹.

The restoration is entirely from T² with which C agrees substantially differing only in details. Tib. *hgro* in c may mean both *gati* and *jagat*. I prefer here the latter. For this C has *tāo* meaning *gati* (not *mārga*, though generally it is taken in that sense) as in *lu tao 'śad gatayah'*, Tib. *hgro.ba.rigs.drug*. This *gati* has already been referred to in kārikā 6.

10

a C yathā loke citrakarḥ

T¹ samīcīnaś citrakarāḥ

T² yathā citrakaro rūpam

b C yakṣasya ākṛtim ankayati

T¹ atibhyankaram yamasya rūpam

T² yakṣasya bhayankarma ankayitvā (lit. ankanena)

c C svayam ankayitvā svayam bibheti

T¹ ankayitvā svayam bibheti

T² tena svayam bibheti

d C sa ucyate ajñāḥ

T¹ samsāre mūḍho 'pi tathā

T² samsāre 'budhas tathā

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a, T² a; C b, T¹ b, T² b; C c, T¹ c, T² c; C d, T¹ d,
T² d.

The original kārikā is found quoted in the Tīkā of Āścaryacaryācaya wrongly named *Caryācaryaviniścaya*,¹ edited by Pandit Haraprasad Shastri with other three books in a volume named *Buddha Gāna o Dohā*, Vangiya Sāahitya-Pariṣad, 1323 B. S., p. 6.

In d of the original kārikā as found in the above book is *samsāre hy abudhas tathā*. Here for *hi* one may read *api* agreeing with T¹ d: *hkhor.bar. rmons.pāhan. de bzin.no.* Mark here *han*.

In Yamaguchi's edition of the Tib. text read *skrag* for *sgrag* in c of T², and *rmons* for *rmon* in d of T¹.

The main difference among C, T², and T¹ is that the last one reads *yama* for *yakṣa* in the first two supported by the original Sanskrit.

¹ For details see my note in *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 1.

- a C sattvah svayam utpādayati rāgam
 T¹ yathā svayam pankam krtvā
 T² yathā svayam panke calanena
- b C tena samśārahetum
 T¹ bālah kaścid ākrṣṭah
 T² bālah kaścin nimagnah
- c C kṛtvā bibheti patanāt
 T¹ tathātyānanda-
 T² tathā kalpanāpanke nimajjya
- d C ajñānāvīmuktaḥ
 T¹ vikalpapanke sattvā nimagnah
 T² sattvā udgamanākṣamāḥ

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a, T² a; C b, c, d differ from T¹ and T²; T¹ b, T² b; T¹ c differs from C, T²; T² c, T¹ d; T² d excepting the word *sattva* (C a, T¹ d) differs from C and T¹. In d C *avimukta* may be compared with *udgamanākṣama* in T².

Restoration.

a T¹ a; T² a. b T¹ b; T² b. c T¹ d; T² c. d T² d.

The restoration is mainly from T². In the end of a of C *jan* 'to dye' implies *rañjana*, here *rāga* 'attachment'.

In b of T¹ both P as in Yamaguchi's edition and N read *dgah* which must be changed to *hgah*.

- a C sattvā mithyācittena
 T¹ abhāve bhāvadarśanena
 T² ,,
- b C utpādayanti mohamalarāgam
 T¹ vedyate duḥkhavedanā
 T² ,,
- c C niḥsvabhāvam kalpayanti sasvabhāvam
 T¹ ātankaviparītabuddhyā
 T² jñānaviśayayos tayoh
- d C vedyante duḥkhe'tiduḥkham
 T¹ kalpanāviśeṇa bādhyante
 T² vitarkaviśeṇa bādhyante

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Comparison.

C a-b, T¹ c ; C c, T¹ a, T² a ; C d, T¹ b, T² b ;
 T¹ c differs from all ; T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

a T¹ a ; T² a. b C d ; T¹ b ; T² b. c T² c. d T¹ d ; T² d.

In the end of a in T¹ both P and N read *min* which cannot be accepted. T¹ of N reads there *yin*. According to it one may read in T¹ a, too, *yin* for *min*. Yamaguchi suggests here *yis* agreeing with T² a of P which has *yis*. Undoubtedly this reading is better. At the beginning of a of T¹, P has, as Yamaguchi says, *dogs*, while N reads *rīogs*. Both the readings are wrong, the true reading being *rīog*. Read *rīog* also for *rīogs* in d of T² of N.

13

- a C buddhaḥ paśyati tān atrāṇān
 T¹ tān aśaraṇān dṛṣṭvā
 T² teśām asāratādarśanena
- b C tata utpādayati karuṇācittam
 T¹ karuṇāvāśamānasah
 T² prajñākāruṇyena manasā
- c C tata utpādayati bodhicittam
 T¹ hitakaro buddhaḥ sattvebhyaḥ
 T² sattvānām upakārāya
- d C vipulam abhyasyati¹ bodhicaryām
 T¹ sambodhicaryām karoti² (N)

Or

- T² sambodhau yogāni karoti² (P)
- T² sambuddhasya yogāni kuryāt

Comparison.

T²; T¹ c, T² c; C a, T¹ a-c, T² a ; C b, T¹ b, T² b ; C c differs from both T¹ and
 T²; T¹ d, T² d ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

d C a ; T¹ a ; T² a. b C b ; T¹ b ; T² b. c T¹ c ; T² c.
 C d ; T¹ d ; T² d.

In T¹ for *spyod* in d of N we have *sbyor* in P. In T² for *sbyar* in d of N there is *sbyor* in P.

¹ Or *abhyasyet*.
² Or *kuryāt*.

- a C prapto'nuttarajñānaphalaṁ
 T¹ tayā puṇyasaṁbhāraṇa sañcītya
 T² tena ca sambhāraḥ sañcītah sañvṛtau
- b C tadā parīkṣate lokam
 T¹ kalpanājālān muktaḥ
 T² anuttarām bodhim prāptah
- c C vikalpair bandhalī
 T¹ anuttaram jñānam prāptalī
 T² kalpanābandhanān muktaḥ
- d C tasmiḍ bhavati hitakaralī
 T¹ buddho lokabāndhavaḥ syāt
 T² buddhalī sa lokabāndhavaḥ

Comparison.

C a, T¹ c, T² b ; T¹ a, T² a ; C b, T¹ d, T² d ; C c, T¹ b,
 T² c ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

T¹ a with regard to *samvṛtau* entirely differs from C and T². T¹,
 and T² a have also no agreement with C.

Restoration.

a T¹ a ; T² a. b C a ; T¹ c ; T² b. c C a ; T¹ b ; T² c
 d C b-d ; T¹ d ; T² d.

- a C pratītyasamutpādat
 T¹ bhūtārthadarśanāya
 T² yathā[vat-]pratītyasamutpādāt
- b C jānāti bhūtārtham
 T¹ jātayathārthajñānah
 T² bhūtārtham avalokate
- c C atha paśyati lokam śūnyam
 T¹ tata ādyantavarjitam
 T² jagac chūnyam jānāti
- d C ādimadhyāntakoṭīvarjitam
 T¹ jagac chūnyam eva paśyati
 T² ādimadhyāntavarjitam

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Comparison.

C a, T¹ b, T² a ; C b, T¹ a, T² b ; C c, T¹ d, T² c ; C d, T¹ c,

T² d.

Restoration.

a C a ; T¹ b ; T² a. b C b ; T¹ a ; T² b. c C c ; T¹ d ; T² c ;
d C d ; T¹ c ; T² d.

16

- a C paśyati saṁsāraṁ nirvāṇaiḥ
T¹ ta ātmataḥ saṁsāraṁ
- T² evaṁ darśanena saṁsāraḥ
- b C etad ubhayam anātmataḥ
T¹ nirvāṇaiḥ ca na paśyanti
T² nirvāṇaiḥ ca na tattvataḥ
- c C nirvāṇaiḥ avipariṇataiḥ
T¹ nirañjanaiḥ nirvikāraṇaiḥ
T² akliṣṭakāraṇaiḥ
- d C ādiśuddham nityaśāntam
T¹ ādiśāntaiḥ prabhāsvaram
T² ādimadhyāntaprakṛtibhāsvaram

Comparison.

C a-b, T¹ a-b ; C c, T¹ c ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

T² c-d. a-b C a-b ; T¹ a-b ; T² a-b. c C c ; T¹ c. d C d ; T¹ d ;

For the first half of the restored kārikā cf. Yuktiśaṣṭikā 7 :

srid. pa. dañ. ni. mya. ḥan. ḥdas 1

gñis. po. ḥdi. ni. yod. ma. yin 11

It may be translated thus :

nirvāṇaiḥ ca bhavaś caiva
dvayam etan na vidyate 1

There is an almost entire agreement between C and T¹. The expression ātmataḥ and na (bdag.ñid and mi) in a and b respectively of T¹ is in fact anātmataḥ (wu wo) in b of C. Here ātman means 'essence' svarūpa, which is the same as tattva (tattvataḥ, de.ñid) of T² b.

In c of C wu jan means anupalipta (Rosenburg : Introduction, Tokyo, 1916, p. 309) and this can be taken as a synonym for nirañjana,

ma.gos in T¹ c. Tib. *gos.pa* means *lipṭa* in Sanskrit (Sarat Chandra Das, *Tib.-Eng.Dict.*, p. 233). Therefore *ma.gos.pa* is *alipta* and this is in fact *nirañjana*. The word *nirañjana* in the *Tattvaratnāvalī* published in the volume called *Advayavajrasaṅgraha*, GOS, p. 18, l. 24, is translated in its Tibetan version actually by *ma.gos.pa*. For the significance of the word see *Madhyamakavṛtti*, pp. 285-6: yaś ca vibhavo 'nupādānāḥ [sa] skandharahitavāt prajñaptiyupādānakāraṇarahitavān nirhetukah syāt yaś cānupādāno nirañjano'vyakto nirhetukah kah sa na kaścit sah. Cf. *Bramabindūpaniṣat*, 4: nirvikalpaṁ nirañjanam.

T¹c *nirvikāra* (*hgyur.ba.med*) and Cc *avipariṇata* (*wu huai*) are the same. Rosenberg, *Op. cit.*, p. 102. In such cases there is no difference between *vikāra* and *vipariṇāma*. In fact *nirvikāra* is *asamiskṛta*. See *Mahāyānasūtrālankāra*, XI. 37: avikārītā asamiskṛtam ākāśādikam.

T¹d *gzod* 'ādi' and C d *pēn* 'mūla' may be taken here in the same sense.

T²c *akliṣṭākāra* (*ñon.mons.pa.yi.rnam.pa.med*) is in reality *śuddha* of C d *ch'ing ching*.

For T¹d *prabhāsvara* (*hod.gsal.ba*) and T²d *prakṛti-bhāsvara* (*rañ.bzin.gsal* [as in N, P *bsal*] see *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 444; and *Mahāyānasūtrālankāra*, XI. 13:

tattvam yat satatam dvayena rahitam bhranteś ca saṁniśrayah
śakyam naiva ca sarvathābhilapitum yac cāprapañcātmakam 1
jñeyam heyam atho viśodhyam amalam yac ca prakṛtyā matam
yasyākāśasuvarṇavārisadṛśī kleśād viśuddhir matā 11
trtiyam viśodhyam cāgantukamalād viśuddham ca prakṛtyā yasya prakṛtyā
viśuddhyasyākāśasuvarṇavārisadṛśī kleśād viśuddhiḥ. na hy ākāśādī
prakṛtyā aśuddhāni. na cāgantukamalāpagamāad esām viśuddhi
neṣyata iti.

In T²d *ādimadhyānta* (*thog.ma.dbus.mthah*) means 'beginning, middle and end.' These are the different stages of a thing; they are merely supposed by ordinary people, but in reality there are no such things.

T¹d *ādiśānta* (*gzod.nas.ži*) 'originally quiescent' and C d *nityasānta* (*ch'ang chi*) 'eternally quiescent' are same. This is well-known in the Madhyamaka system; for instance, see Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakākāntika* VII, 16:

pratītya yad yad bhavati tat tac chāntam svabhāvatatḥ 1
tasmād utpyadamānam ca sāntam utpattir eva ca 11

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See *Madhyamakāvatāra* (Tib. text), p. 225 ; Gauḍapāda's *Āgamaśāstra* with the present writers commentary (to be published soon), IV. 93, and *Mahāyānasūtrālankāra*, XI. 51 : yo hi niḥsvabhāvah so'nutpanno yo 'nutpannah so 'niruddhaḥ sa ādiśānto ya ādiśāntah sa prakṛtiparinirvṛta iti ; MV, p. 225 :

ādiśāntā hy anutpannāḥ prakṛtyaiva ca nirvṛtāḥ.

Gauḍpāda's *Āgamaśāstra*, IV. 93.

ādiśāntā hy anutpunnāḥ prakṛtyaiva sunirvṛtāḥ 1

sarve dharmāḥ samābhinnā ajam sāmyain viśāradaiḥ ॥

17

- a C svapnāviṣayān
T¹ svapnānubhavaviṣayain
T² svapne 'nubhūyamānam
- b C prabuddho na paśyati
T¹ „
T² pratyavekṣako na paśyati
- c C jñānī mohānidrāprabuddhaḥ
T¹ mohāndhakāraprabuddhaḥ
T² mohāndhakārodbuddhasya
- d C na paśyati saṁsāram
T¹ saṁsāram naiva paśyati
T² saṁsārā nopalabhyante

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a ; C b, T¹ b, T² b ; C c, T¹ c, T² c ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

d C a ; T¹ a ; T² a. b C b ; T¹ b ; T² b. c C c ; T¹ c ; T² c.
C d ; T¹ d ; T² d.

There is complete agreement of all the versions. Yamaguchi is quite right in suggesting that in T²b one should read *rīogs* for *rīog*, and *min* for *yin* found in both the editions, P and N.

18

- a C teṣu dharmeṣu dharmatāyām
T² māyānirmitām māyā dṛśyate
- b C tattvānveṣīnā kiñcid api dharmo nopalabhyate
T² yadā saṁskṛtam tada
- c C yathā loke māyācāryo māyāvastu karoti

19

- T² kiñcid api bhavo nāsti
 d C jñāninā tathā jñātavyam
 T² dharmāṇīm̄ saiva dharmatā

Comparison.

C a, T² d ; C b, T² c ; C c, T² a ; C d and T² b differ from each other.

Restoration.

a T²a ; Cc. b Cb (last part) ; T²b. c Cb ; T²c. d T²d ; C₁
 In T²a māyā- in māyānirmita (*rgyu.mas.sprul.pa*) may be explained as māyākāra agreeing with C māyācārya (*huan shih*). On nirmita see Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakakārikā*, XVII. 31, 32.

dharmāṇīm̄ dharmatā is 'the real state or nature of a thing' or 'element of the elements' as translates Stcherbatsky. *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 364: dharmatā dharmasvabhāvo dharmapratītiḥ. It is variously described; see Stcherbatsky: *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, 1927, p. 47.

In T²b-c, yadā^o nāsti briefly means that whatever is sanskrita 'compound' is *pratītyasamutpūna* and therefore śūnya. See *Madhyamakārikā*, VII, specially 33 :

utpādasthitibhāṅganām̄ asiddher nāsti sanskr̄tam̄ 1

18a

For this kārikā see kārikā 21.

19

- a C idam̄ sarvam̄ cittamātram̄
 T¹ " "
 T² " "
 b C sthāpyate māyānirmāṇalakṣaṇam̄
 T¹ māyāvad jāyate
 T² māyāvad avatiṣṭhate
 c C kriyate kuśalam̄ akusalam̄ karma
 T¹ tataḥ kuśalam̄ akusalam̄ ca karma
 T² kuśalair akusalaiś ca karmabhiḥ
 d C bhujyate kuśalākusalā jātiḥ
 T¹ tato jātir uttamādhamā ca
 T² tata uttamā adhamāś ca jātayaḥ

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Comparison.

Ca, T¹a, T²a ; Cb, T¹b, T²b ; Cc, T¹c, T²cH Cd, T¹d, T²d.

Restoration.

*a Ca ; T¹a ; Ta. b Cb ; T¹b ; T²b. c Cc ; T¹c ; T²c.
d Cd ; T¹d ; T²d.*

In *Cb* I take *an* and *li* meaning 'to lay down' and 'to stand' respectively in the sense of Skt. *sthāpanā* 'causing to stand.' In *Cd* *kan* 'to be effected,' 'to be moved' may be taken to mean Skt. *✓ bhuj* 'to suffer,' 'to experience,' 'to undergo.'

In *T²d* I should like to read *de.las* for *de.yis* found in P as well as in N.

On the point that the world is nothing but *citta* as held by Yogāchāras the reader may be referred, among many others, to the following: Vasubandhu's *Vimśatikārikā* 1; *cittamātrai* bho jinaputra yad uta traidhātukam, quoted in its *vṛtti* (Lévi, p. 3); *Daśabhumikasūtra*, Rahder, p. 49; *Subsāśitasamgraha*, Bendall, p. 19; *Lankāvatāra*, Nanjio, III. 51-53, p. 164; X. 153-154, p. 285; p. 169; III. 66, 78, pp. 180, 186. Cf. *Gaudapādakārikā*, III, 31; IV 47, 61, 72.

20

- a C cittacakre niruddhe*
T¹
 ,,
T² cittacakranirodhena
- b C tadā sarve dharmā niruddhāḥ*
T¹ sarva eva dharmā niruddhāḥ
T² sarve dharmā nirudhyante
- c C ete dharmā anātmānaḥ*
T¹ tata eva dharmā anātmānaḥ
T² tasmād dharmā anātmānaḥ
- d C sarve dharmā viśuddhāḥ*
T¹ tata eva dharmā viśuddhāḥ
T² tena dharmā viśuddhāḥ

Comparison.

T¹ d, T² d. C a, T¹ a, T² a ; C b, T¹ b, T² b ; C c, T¹ c, T² c ; C d,

Restoration.

a C a ; T¹ a ; T² a. b C b ; T¹ b ; T² b. c C c ; T¹ c ; T² c.
d C d ; T¹ d ; T d.

In T¹c and d, *de.ñid* literally means *tattva* or *tad eva*, but it is to be taken here for *de.ñid.phyir*, *tata eva*, or *tenaiva* (*phyir* being understood in the Tib. text), and it is evident from *de.phyir* and *des.na* in T²c and d respectively.

21

Here while T² has only one kārikā No. 21, T¹ and C have two kārikās each, Nos. 16-17 and 18-19 respectively. Their difference is as below :

- a C 18 mohāndhakārāvṛtāḥ
C 19 yadi vikalpyate jātimān
T¹ 16 bhāveṣu niḥsvabhāveṣu
T¹ 17 jātiḥ svayam na jātā
T² bhāve svabhāve vā
- b C 18 patanti samsārasāgare
C 19 satto na yathāyuktaḥ
T¹ 16 nityātmashasainjñayā
T¹ 17 jātir lokair vikalpitā
T² nityam sukhasainjñī
- c C 18 ajātām manyate jātām
C 19 samsāradharme
T¹ 16 rāgamohatamaścha nasya
T¹ 17 vikalpāḥ sattāś ca
T² mohāndhakarāvaraṇena
- d C 18 utpādayanti loke vikalpam
C 19 utpādayate nityātmashasainjñā
T¹ 16 bhavābdhir ayam udbhūtaḥ
T¹ 17 ubhayam etan na yujyate
T² bālaḥ samsārasāgare bhramati

Comparison.

C 18 a, T¹ 16 c, T² c ; C 18 b, T¹ 16 d, T² d ; C 18 c, T¹ 17 c ;
(cf. C 19 a) ; C 18 d, T¹ 17 b ; C 19 b, T¹ 17 c-d ; C 19 c, T¹ 16 a, T² a ;
C 19 d, T¹ 16 b, T² b.

C 18 a-b, T¹ 16 c-d, T² c-d ; C 19 c-d, T¹ 16 a-b, T² a-b ;
C 18 c-d, T¹ 17 a-b.

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Restoration.

a-b C19 c-d ; T¹16 a-b ; T² a-b. c-d C18 a-b ; T¹16 c-d ; T² c-d.

Strictly speaking the restoration is entirely from T¹16. T¹17 may be translated as *jātimān na svayam jātah*¹ given as No. 18a in the body.

In C19a, *yu shēg* 'one having birth (*jātir*)', '*jātimān*' is the same as '*jīva*'. See Rosenberg, *Op. Cit.*, p. 244. Accordingly in T¹17a, I think, one should read *skye.bo* 'jana,' or *skyes.bu* 'puruṣa' for *skye ba* in both N and P. In the same line read *skyes* with N for *skye* before *rnam*s in P as printed in Yamaguchi's edition. In b, *sesm* is evidently a misprint for which read *sems* as in N.

22

a C samsāracakraparivartanamahāsāgare

T¹ o

T² kalpanānadīpūrṇasya

b C sattvāḥ kleśasalilasampūrṇe

T¹ mahāyānam anāśritah

T² samsāramahāsāgarasya

c C yadi nohyate mahāyānenā

T¹ samsāramahāsāgarasya

T² mahāyānanāvam anārūḍhaḥ

d C niścayena kathām prāpnuyāt tatpāram

T¹ pāram uttīrṇo na bhaviṣyati

T² kah pāram gamiṣyati

Comparison.

C a, T¹ c, T² b ; C b, T² a ; C c, T¹ b, T² c ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

T¹d; T²d. a Cb ; T²a. b Ca ; T¹c ; T²b. c Cc ; T¹b ; T²c. d Cd;

T¹a is missing in both P and N. In T² one may read *chu.yis* for *chu.bos* agreeing with C b. It has already been said in the Introduction §5 that this *kārikā* is in fact identical with the *Jñāsiddhi*, XI. 8, dealing with the Vajrayāna system.

¹ See below. Cf. *sattvāḥ* in c. In accordance with the actual reading as found in the xylograph this line should be translated as *jātir naiva svayam jātā*.

- a C buddhena vistaraśo lokadharmo deśitah
T² avidyāpratyutpannam idam
- b C jñeyam idam avidyāpratyayotpannam
T² saṃyag lokavidah paścāt
- c C yadi vikalpacittam anutpādayitumī śakyate
T² eṣām vikalpānām
- d C sarve sattvāḥ kathām jātāḥ
T² kuta udbhavo bhavet

Comparison.

a T²a. b T²b. c T²c. d T²d.

Restoration.

a T²a. b. T²b. c. T²c. d. T²d.

There is no T¹.

In Tb *phyir* (*paścāt*) 'after' means 'after the truth of the world is perfectly known.' This is omitted in the restoration.

The Colophon.

C Mahāyānakārikāvimiśakaśāstraini mahā-Nāgārjuna-kṛtam San-
kālikena Bhārtiyena traipiṭakena Dānapālena parivartitam.

T¹ Mahāyānavimśakam ācāryāya-Nāgārjuna-kṛtam sampūrṇam.
Kāśmirakeṇa pāṇḍitena Ānandena parivartakena bhiksūṇā Kīrttibhūti-
prajñena ca parivartitam.

T² Mahāyānavimśakam ācārya-Nāgārjunapāda-kṛtam sampūrṇam.
Bhārtiyena pāṇḍitena Candrakumāreṇa bhiksūṇā Sākyaprabhēṇa ca
parivartitam.

(Mss. received March, 1930.)

SCHOOLS AND SECTS IN JAINA LITERATURE

By AMULYA CHANDRA SEN.

PART II.

Classification into Four Great Schools.

The account of philosophical schools mentioned in the Jaina canonical literature has been dealt with exhaustively above but the most important part of the work yet remains unfinished, *viz.*, their classification according to a method well-known in this literature.

The heretical creeds of the time were all comprehended by Mahāvīra under four heads¹⁰⁰, *viz.*

1. Kriyāvāda.
2. Akriyāvāda.
3. Ajñānavāda.
4. Vinayavāda.

These four great schools comprise three hundred and sixty-three schools¹⁰¹: Kriyāvāda consists of one hundred and eighty schools, Akriyāvāda consists of eighty-four schools, Ajñānavāda consists of sixty-seven schools, and Vinayavāda consists of thirty-two schools¹⁰².

The scheme of classification in details is as follows:

1. Kriyāvāda.

Kriyā denotes the existence of jīva, etc., and those who admit the existence of jīva, etc., are called *Kriyāvādins*.

The Jains have the “nine principles” of *jīva* soul, *ajīva* non-soul, *asrava* the inflow of karmic matter into the soul, *bandha* the consequent bondage of the soul, *samvara* stoppage of the inflow, *nirjarā* shedding off

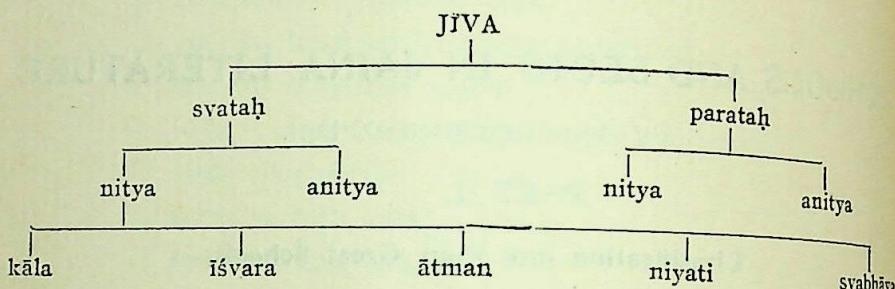
¹⁰⁰ Sūt. S. I.xii.1; Sth. S. 4.4.845; Bhag. S. 30.1.824; Utt. S. 18.23; Nandi 47; and Sūt. S. II.ii.79.

¹⁰¹ Sūt. S. II.ii.79.

¹⁰² Nandi 47; Gunaratna quotes the following couplet—
Asilisayam kiriyānam akiriyāvāṇa hoi culasii 1
Annāṇia sattatthi veṇaiyāṇam ca battisam 11

the karmic matter, *punya* merit, *apunya* demerit, and *moksha* emancipation.

Let us take the first, *jīva* and draw a table as below :



Those who admit the existence of the soul (*jīva*) by itself (*svatāḥ*), for all eternity (*nitya*), through Time (*kāla*) are the first school. They say that the soul exists in its own nature, it is eternal, and acts through Time. They are called *Kālavādins*. Guṇaratna quotes the following as stating their doctrine :

na kālavyatirekeṇa garbhabālaśubhādikam 1
 yat kiñcij jāyate loke tadasau kāraṇām kila 11
 kim ca kālād ṛte naiva mudgapaktirapiksyate 1
 sthālyādisannidhāne'pi tataḥ kālādasau matā 11
 kālābhāve ca garbhādi sarvaiḥ syād avyavasthayā 1
 pareṣṭahetuṣadbhāvamātrād eva tadudbhavat 11
 kālah pacati bhutāni kālah samiharate prajāḥ 1
 kālah supteṣu jāgarti kālo hi duratikramah 11

The blossoming of trees and plants, the appearance of fruits, the change of seasons, the movement of stars and planets, the periods of gestation, infancy, adolescence, youth, old age, etc., could not have taken place if there were no Time. In the absence of Time everything would be in disorder, but such disorder we neither find nor desire. Cooking, for instance, depends not on the bringing together of fire, pan and other materials, but on Time. It is not at the sweet will of man that causes happen, but according to the order of Time and we cannot dispense with it.

Those who say that the soul exists in itself eternally through īśvara (God) are the second school called *Īśvaravādins*. They regard the universe as made by God who is endowed with the attributes of perfection and is the ordainer of heaven or hell for men.

Those who say that the soul exists by itself eternally through *ātmā* (Self) are the third school called *Atmavādins*. According to them the Self creates everything.

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Those who say that the soul exists in itself eternally through *niyati* ('the fixed order of thing') are the fourth school called *Niyativādins*. According to them there is a principle called *niyati* by which all that exist assume their form in a prescribed manner, and not otherwise. Whatever comes out of something at one time always comes out of that thing in a regular manner, as otherwise the law of cause and effect and the law of uniformity of nature would not be in operation, for there would be nothing to determine the order of events (*anyathā kāryyakāraṇavyavasthā pratiniyataiḥ pavyavasthā ca na bhavet niyāmakābhāvāt*).

Those who say that the soul exists by itself eternally through *svabhāva* (Nature) are the fifth school called *Svabhāvavādins*. They hold that everything is caused by Nature, e.g., the clay becomes a jar and not a piece of cloth, a piece of cloth comes from yarn, while a jar does not do so. The uniform production of jars from clay shows the order of Nature. Gunaratna quotes the following as illustrating the doctrine of *Svabhāvavādins*:

kaḥ kaṇṭakānāmī prakaroti taikṣṇyam 1
vicitrabhāvam mṛgapakṣinām ca 11
svabhāvataḥ sarvamidaiḥ pravṛttaiḥ 1
na kāmacāro 'sti kutaḥ prayatnāḥ 11
badaryāḥ kaṇṭakas tīkṣṇa ṛjur ekaśca kuñcitaḥ 1
phalaṁ ca vartulaṁ tasya vada kena vinirmitam 11

'What causes thorns to have sharp points and birds and beasts to have their own wonderful ways? All this is ordained by Nature and there is no caprice anywhere. Of the jujube tree the thorns are sharp-pointed, some straight, some bent, the fruit is round—by whom are all these made?'

Even the simple phenomenon of the cooking of the *mudga* also depends on Nature. The *kankaduka mudga*, for instance, cannot be cooked even after the combination of a pan, fuel and Time, for by nature it is a kind of cereal that is not softened by boiling. Therefore that in the presence of which effects follow and in the absence of which effects do not follow is to be regarded as the cause.

We have thus obtained five schools under *asti jīvah svataḥ "nityah."* Under *asti jīvah svataḥ "anityah"* we shall have another five schools accordingly as the non-eternity is predicated of *kāla*, etc. Then under the head as "*not of itself*" is predicated of *kāla*, etc. The five classes of *kāla*, etc.,

are to be supplied under both *nitya* and *anitya* varieties of *svatah* and *paratah*. The *paratah* schools mean that the existence of *jīva* is admitted not of itself but as it is distinguished from other objects, for it is well-known how things are known by contrast with other things just as shortness is known as that which is not long, and in the same way the soul is known by distinguishing it from such objects as pillars, etc. The *anitya* varieties of *paratah* would give us yet another set of five schools. So we have twenty schools on *jīva*, the first of the "nine principles" and by extending the same classification to each of the eight other "principles" we have altogether nine times twenty or one hundred and eighty schools comprised in *Kriyāvāda*.

To *kriyāvādins* have been ascribed the views that unless a sinful thought is translated into action or a sinful act performed with a sinful motive the full karmic consequences will not follow and such acts will affect the soul but slightly¹⁰³, and that misery is produced by one's own works and not by the work of somebody else, viz., fate, creator, etc.¹⁰⁴

The meaning is that the state of mind and conduct must combine to constitute sin for any one of them without the other would not give rise to the consequences of a sinful *karman*. *Silāṅka* points out that they hold that action alone leads to liberation even though it be unaccompanied by right knowledge and right faith.

2. AKRIYAVADA.

The *Akriyāvādins* deny the existence of the soul, etc., for according to them everything is of a momentary existence and a state comes to an end the moment it comes into existence, and therefore, it cannot have any *kriyā*. Without continuity of existence no *kriyā* is possible, the existence itself is the cause and effect of it.

The *Akriyāvādins* are of eighty-four varieties obtained in the manner shown below. Let us take seven of the "nine principles" leaving out *pūṇya* and *apūṇya*. Of these seven let us take the first, *jīva*, and draw a table thus :

JĪVA						
		svatah				paratah
kālatah	Iśvaratah	ātmatah	niyatatah	svabhāvatah	yadṛcchātatah	

¹⁰³ Sūt. S. I.i.25-28.

¹⁰⁴ Sūt. S. I.xii.11.

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The divisions of *nitya* and *anitya*, as in the *Kriyāvāda* table, are not necessary here as the question of eternity and non-eternity does not arise when the existence itself of soul, etc., is denied. *Yadṛcchā* is put last because all *Akriyāvādins* are *Yadṛcchāvādins*. The same six divisions from *kāla* to *yadṛcchā* are also to be considered under *parataḥ* as under *svataḥ*.

Those who say that no soul exists in itself through Time are the first school. According to them the existence of objects is established from their signs or effects and there are no such signs or effects from which the existence of the soul can be established. The same argument is applied in denying the existence of the soul through *īśvara*, *ātman*, *niyati* and *svabhāva* as in regard to *kāla*. *Yadṛcchā* means obtainment of results without any determining cause. The *Yadṛcchāvādins* see no uniformity of causal relation in the world. *śāluka* 'the root of a particular kind of water-lily' comes of a *śāluka* as well as of cowdung ; fire comes of fire as well as of *arani* 'a piece of wood' ; smoke comes of smoke as well as of a combination of fire and fuel ; *kandalī* 'a particular kind of plant with white flowers appearing very plentifully in the rainy season' comes of *kanda* 'bulbous root' as well as of seeds ; the *Vaṭa* tree comes of seeds as well as of a section of a branch, and wheat comes of wheat-seeds as well as of bamboo-seeds. So there is plurality and not uniformity in causal relations and everything comes into existence accidentally (*yadṛcchātaḥ*) as in a freak. Guṇaratna quotes the following as illustrating the views of *Akriyāvādins*:

atarkitopasthitameva sarvai
citram janānām sukhaduhkhajātam 1
kākasya tālena yathābhīghāto
na buddhipurvo 'sti vṛthābhīmānah 11

All this has come into existence by accident—the various joys and sorrows of men ; all this is like the striking a crow by a palm-fruit, which is not preceded by design. It is useless to think (that the origination of things is preceded by design).

Thus under *nāsti jīvah* "svataḥ" we have obtained six schools and under *nāsti jīvah* "parataḥ" we shall have a set of another six schools. Therefore there are obtained twelve schools under the first of seven "principles" and by extending the same classification to each of the other six "principles" we have altogether seven times twelve or eighty-four schools comprised in *Akriyāvāda*.

Another classification of *Akriyāvādins* divides them into eight classes¹⁰⁵, viz.

Ekavādins who believe in one supreme soul as the first cause.

Anekavādins who believe in one supreme principle manifesting itself in several principles.

Mitavādins who gave a fixed size to the soul.

Nirmitavādins who regard the universe as created by God.

*Sātavādins*¹⁰⁶ who believe in obtaining mokṣa by living a comfortable life.

Samucchedavādins who believe in the constant destructibility of things.

Nityavādins who believe in the eternity of things.

And *Na-santi-paralokavādins* who do not believe in a future life or soul, etc.

It will appear from the above classification that all possible non-Jaina creeds have been comprised under those eight classes of *Akriyāvāda*, the scope of which is certainly wider than in the previous classification into eighty-four classes.

The *Akriyāvādins* are mentioned in the texts as not admitting that the action of the soul is transmitted to future moments¹⁰⁷, and as holding that nothing exists and all forecasts of the future are false¹⁰⁸.

3. AJNANAVADA.

The *Ajñānavādins* deny the necessity or importance of knowledge. According to them knowledge is not the highest thing for where there is knowledge there is assertion of contradictory statements by different disputants resulting in dissensions which soil the mind and bring on a longer period of wordly bondage. But if *ajñāna* or negation of knowledge is upheld it generates no pride and there is no ill-feeling towards others and therefore the chances of wordly bondage are removed. The result of volition is *karman* and the result of *karman* is bondage which is of dire consequences and has to be suffered from, it having been produced by resolute and determined volitional activity. But that *karman* which results from the activity of mere body and speech unprompted by mental

¹⁰⁵ Sth. S. 8.3.607.

¹⁰⁶ See notes 90-93 and 110.

¹⁰⁷ Sūt. S. I.xii.4.

¹⁰⁸ Sūt. S. I.xii.10.

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action is not volitional and therefore is not productive of severe suffering nor does it entail dire consequences. Such unvolitional effects of *karman* are swept off easily by good activities like the easy blowing off by the wind of dust particles adhering to a very dry and white wall.

The absence of volition of mind is generated by the force of *ajñāna* for where there is knowledge there is volition. Therefore one desiring *mokṣa* should adopt *ajñāna* and not knowledge to lead him along the path of perfection.

Supposing for argument's sake that knowledge is necessary, how is one to know for certain what is knowledge? It cannot be known. All philosophers differ in their idea of knowledge. We cannot say which of them spoke the truth. The followers of Mahāvīra may say that he obtained omniscient knowledge and therefore the knowledge that proceeds from him is right knowledge. But how is one to know in the absence of any evidence to prove it that Mahāvīra alone obtained omniscient knowledge and no one else? The story of the gods coming down from heaven to worship Mahāvīra and thus testifying to his omniscient knowledge is not to be trusted for there is no evidence to prove that it really so happened. Traditional evidence is also untrustworthy because it cannot be definitely known whether such tradition was set on foot by an imposter or a worthy man. What has not been proved cannot be believed. The phenomenon of the coming down of gods from heaven is shown by magicians also and in itself is not enough to prove the omniscience of anyone.

Granting even, say the *Ajñānavādins*, that Mahāvīra was omniscient how do we know that the Nirgrantha scriptures are really his teachings and not circulated by knaves? How again are we to know if Mahāvīra used the words in the scriptures in the same sense as they are taken now? How do we know what his real intention was?

Therefore it is established that owing to its being the cause of longer bondage in the world and owing to want of definite certainty, knowledge is not the highest thing but *ajñāna* is the highest thing.

There are sixty-seven schools under *Ajñānavāda* obtained in the following manner. Let us take the first of the nine "principles" and draw a table as below :

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sattva	asattva	sadasattva	avācyatva	sadavācyatva	asadavācyatva	sadasvācyatva	

Here *sattva* means existence in its own form. *Asattva* means non-existence in other forms. *Sadasattva* means simultaneous existence in its own form and non-existence in other forms. When such existence and non-existence are to be expressed at one and the same time in one word it becomes indescribable, there being no such word and therefore it is said to be *avācyatva* 'indescribability.' When from one point of view it is existent and from another it is indescribable and the two are to be simultaneously expressed it is called *sadavācyatva*. When from one point of view it is non-existent and from another it is indescribable and the two aspects are to be simultaneously expressed it is called *asadavācyatva*. When from one point of view it is existent, from another it is non-existent and from yet another indescribable, and all these aspects are to be simultaneously expressed it is called *sadasadavācyatva*. Thus we have these seven schools under the first "principle" and extending the same classification to each of the other eight "principles" we have nine times seven, i.e., sixty-three schools. These refer to the nature of the nine "principles" severally, but as for their origin in general four other schools are possible, viz., *sattva*, *asattva*, *sadasattva*, and *avācyatva*—the other three forms of the seven possible variations are not used in this case as they are used only in respect of the several parts of a thing only after its origin has taken place which is not the case here. The last four added to the previous sixty-three give us sixty-seven schools under *Ajñānavāda*.

The first school on *jīva*, for instance, says "Who knows if there is *jīva*? No one does, because there is no evidence to prove its existence. What again is the use of knowing it? If it is known it will give rise to volition which will stand in the way of attaining to the next world (*jñātasyābhinivesahetulayā paralokapratipanthitvāt*). In the same way are to be described the other varieties of *asattva*, etc., as also their origin in general.

It is obvious that although the *Ajñānavādins* say they have no need of knowledge and that it is unnecessary, they happen yet to be the employers of the acutest arguments.

4. VINAYAVADA.

The *Vinayavādins* or *Vainayikas* do not accept signs, external rules of ceremony, and scriptures but uphold the supremacy of reverence as the cardinal virtue leading to perfection. There are thirty-two schools of *Vinayavāda* obtained in this way. Reverence may be shown to eight

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classes of beings, *viz.*, god or master, ascetic, man, aged persons, inferiors, mother and father, and to each of these eight classes of persons reverence may be shown in four ways, *i.e.*, by body, mind, speech and gifts. There are thus four times eight or thirty-two schools of *Vinayavāda*.

The three hundred and sixty-three philosophical schools of Jaina literature are thus obtained by totalling one hundred and eighty schools of *Kriyavāda*, eighty-four schools of *Akriyavāda*, sixty-seven schools of *Ajñānavāda* and thirty-two schools of *Vinayavāda*¹⁰⁹. The commentators Śilānka, Abhayadeva and Malayagiri as well as Hemacandra accept this classification as a standard.

Buddhist Classification of Contemporary Schools.

It is of interest to compare in this connection Buddha's classification given in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* in the *Dīgha Nikāya* of contemporary philosophical thought into sixty-two schools, *viz.*

The four schools of Eternalists or *Sassatavādas*. They held that the soul and the world are both eternal. The first three schools held this view as a result of their having perceived through a recollection of the memories of past lives that the soul and the body have always been in existence, and the fourth school held this view not as a result of memory but on logical grounds.

The four schools of Semi-Eternalists or *Ekacca-Sassatikā*. The first school believed that Brahmā was eternal but not individual souls, having come to this conclusion through partial remembrance of past states of existence in higher worlds. The second school believed that debauched souls are not eternal but that undebauched souls are eternal. The third school believed exactly the same thing as the second school except that in the case of the former the debauchery of the gods is mental unlike the debauchery of the gods of the latter school which is physical. The fourth school held that the soul was eternal but not the body.

The four schools of Extensionists or *Antānantikas*. The first school held that the world was finite, the second that it was infinite, the third that it was infinite sidewise but finite upward and downward, and the fourth that it was neither finite nor infinite.

The four schools of Eel-wrigglers or *Amarāvikkhepikas*. They did not give categorical replies to any question but avoided them by ambiguous

¹⁰⁹ *Tarkarahasyadīpika*, a commentary by Guṇaratna on the *Śaddarśana-samuccaya* of Haribhadra, B. I., p. 19.

and equivocating replies, and differed only in respect of the motives for giving such replies.

The two schools of Fortuitous-Originists or *Adhiccasamuppannikas*. They held that the soul and the world came into being without a cause, having come to this conclusion as a result of remembrance of past lives in the case of the first, and as a result of logical reasoning in the case of the second.

The thirty-two schools of Conscious-maintainers or *Uddhamāghalakas*. They believed that the soul after death passed into various states of existence, viz., conscious or unconscious, subject to decay or not subject to decay, neither conscious nor unconscious, and all in respect of the form, finitude, different modes of consciousness, and happiness of the soul.

The seven schools of Annihilationists or *Ucchedavādis*. They held that the soul is annihilated after death and they identified the soul with the body, essence of the body, mind, infinite space, infinite consciousness, or as being bondless or being beyond ideas.

The five schools of Nirvanists or *Dīṭṭhadhammanibbānavādas*. They believed that a soul was capable of obtaining complete emancipation in this visible world by full enjoyment of the pleasures of the senses¹¹⁰ or by each of the four stages of *dhyāna*.

PART III.

1. RELIGIOUS SECTS.

Besides philosophical schools the literature of the Jainas has interesting information regarding various kinds of religious sects.

A sect believed abstention from salt or garlic, onion, young camel's milk, beef, and liquors as the path of perfection¹¹¹.

A sect believed in the use of cold water for bath and ablutions as the path of perfection¹¹².

Some ascetics believed that by tending a fire they would reach perfection¹¹³.

Hathī-tāvasas. They used to kill an elephant with arrows and lived many months on its flesh. The motive was to spare the lives of other animals for as long as the flesh of the elephant would last. They claimed

¹¹⁰ Cf. Sātavādins *supra*. notes 90—98, 106.

¹¹¹ Sūt. S. I.vii.12.

¹¹² Sūt. S. I.vii.12.

¹¹³ Sūt. S. I.vii.12.

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that they committed but one sin, the killing of the elephant, in a year or so which was counterbalanced by the merit earned by not killing other lives during this time¹¹⁴.

Bāla-tāvasas. They lived only by eating leaves that fell off naturally from trees¹¹⁵.

Kandappiyas. They earned a living by performing antics and making people laugh by making various movements with the eyebrows, mouth, teeth, lips, hands, feet, and ears. They made others laugh but did not laugh themselves¹¹⁶.

Caragas. They went about begging and carried a *dhāti*¹¹⁷. They went out to beg only after meal¹¹⁸, says Hemacandra in his commentary on the *Anuyogadvāra*.

The names of the following sects are mentioned in long lists of ascetical orders in several places¹¹⁹.

Kibbisiyas. They went about speaking ill of religious teachers and holy people.

Tericchiyas. They dwelt in places unfrequented by cows, horses and other animals.

Abhiogias. They earned a living by gaining the confidence of people by administering auspicious baths, exorcising evil spirits and interpreting dreams. The *Brahmajāla Sutia* of the Buddhists also mention these as the ways by practising which many mendicants earned their living.

Hottiyas. They performed *agnihotras*.

Pottiyas. They put on a special kind of clothes.

Kottiyyas. They slept on the bare ground.

Jannais. They performed *yajñas*.

Thālais. They carried all their belongings with them.

Humvauṭtas. They carried a water vessel with them¹²⁰.

Dantukkhaliyas. They lived on fruits and used their teeth as mortar.

Ummajjagas. They bathed by taking only a dip.

Sammajjagas. They bathed without dipping in water.

Nimajjagas. They remained in water only for a short time.

¹¹⁴ Bhag. S. 11.9.418; Aup. 38; Sūt. S. II.vi.52.

¹¹⁵ Bhag. S. 1.2.25.

¹¹⁶ Bhag. 1.2.25; Aup. 38.

¹¹⁷ This is the explanation of Abhayadeva; the word however seems to be *ghāti* begging-bowl.

¹¹⁸ Bhag. 1.2.25; Anuyog. 20 and 28.

¹¹⁹ Bhag. 1.2.25 and 11.9.418; Aup. 38 and 41; Anu. 20 and 26.

²¹ Cf. Cullavagga 5.10.1.

Sampakkhaṭas. They rubbed and cleansed their limbs with mud.
Uḍḍhakaṇḍūyagas. They never scratched the lower parts of the body.
Ahokaṇḍūyagas. They never scratched the upper parts of the body.
Dāhiṇakūlagas. They dwelt only on the south bank of the Ganges.
Uttarakūlagas. They dwelt only on the north bank of the Ganges.
Samkhadhāmayas. They blew a conch-shell to keep people away.
Kūladhāmayas. They blew a conch-shell on the river bank to keep people away while they took their meal.

Migaluddhakas. They killed animals.

Jalābhiseyakidhiṇagāyas. They took their meals only after a bath.
Ambuvāsins. They lived in water.

Vāuvāsins. They lived in airy places.

Jalavāsins. They remained submerged in water.

Bilavāsins. They lived in caves.

Velāvāsins. They lived on the sea-coast.

Rukkhamūliyas. They lived under trees.

Ambubhakkhins. They lived by drinking water only.

Vāyabhakkhins. They lived by inhaling air only.

Sevālabhakkhins. They lived by eating moss.

Mūlāhāras. They lived by eating roots only.

Kandāhāras. They lived by eating bulbous roots only.

Pattāhāras. They lived by eating leaves only.

Pupphāhāras. They lived by eating flowers only.

Phalāhāras. They lived by eating fruits only.

Biyāhāras. They lived by eating seeds only.

Tayāhāras. They lived by eating bark only.

Parisadiyakandāhāras. They lived by eating rotten bulbous roots only.

Parisadiyamūlāhāras. They lived by eating rotten roots only.

Parisadiyapupphāhāras. They lived by eating rotten flowers only.

Parisadiyaphalāhāras. They lived by eating rotten fruits only.

Parisadiyapattāhāras. They lived by eating rotten leaves only.

Vakkavāsins. They put on a dress of bark.

Disāpokkhins. They sanctified all sides by sprinkling water and then collected fruits and flowers.

Uddandagas. They went about with a raised staff.

Goamas. They earned a living by making a young bull, painted and decorated, perform tricks of foot-lifting, etc.

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Gobbaias. They followed a cow wherever it went, ate grass.

Kukkuiyas. They earned a living by amusing people by making many kinds of grimaces and gestures.

Some sects abstained from milk, curd, butter, oil, treacles, honey, spirits and meat.

Dagaviiyas. They took water as the second item in the meal.

Dagataias. They took water as the third item in the meal.

Dagacauṭṭhas. They took water as the fourth item in the meal.

Dagapañcamas. They took water as the fifth item in the meal.

Dagachatṭhas. They took water as the sixth item in the meal.

Dagasattamas. They took water as the seventh item in the meal.

Mohariyas. They went about saying all sorts of incoherent and absurd things also indulging in great garrulity in order to amuse people.

Some sects went about dancing and singing to entertain people.

Bahudayas. They stopped one night in a village, five nights in a town and lived on whatever alms they got.

Kudivvayas. They lived in houses and regarded conquering of anger, greed, pride and illusion as their goal.

Cirigas. They put on rags collected from the road-side.

Cammakhaṇdiyas. They put on a dress of hide.

Pāṇḍurangas. They besmeared their body with ashes.

Bhikkhondas. They would eat nothing except what has been obtained as alms and would not take milk unless it had been milked by another.

Hāṁsas. They lived in mountain caves, roads, hermitages, temples and gardens and entered a village only for begging alms.

Paramahāṁsas. They lived on river banks, the confluence of streams and wore discarded clothes and rags.

Besides these there are mentions of mendicants who worshipped Nārāyaṇa ; of eight Brahmanical mendicants named Kaṇha, Karakaṇḍa, Ambada, Parāsara, Kaṇha, Dīvāyaṇa Devagutta and Nāraya ; of eight Kṣatriya mendicants named Silai, Sasihāra, Naggai, Bhaggai, Videha, Rāyārāya, Rāyārāma and Bala ; of Samikhas (*Sāṅkhya*) Jois (*Yogins*), Kavilas, Bhūuccas (disciples of Kapila and Bhṛgu) ; of those who practised penances in the sun or surrounded by fire ; of ascetics who practised austerities with an arm uplifted¹²¹ ; of mendicants in Vajjabhūmi who ate rough food and carried a staff with them¹²² ; of the six Disāyāras named

¹²¹ Bhag. 15.543.

¹²² Acar. S.1.8.3.5.

Sāṇa, Kalaṇḍa Kaṇiyāra, Acchidda, Aggivesayana, Ajjuna and Gomāyuputta¹²³.

The texts mention only the names of these sects of ascetics but give no other details. The little information which is collected here is from the remarks of commentators. It is apparent that the information supplied by the latter is not full, but nothing more is available.

II. THE SECT OF PARSVA.

The sect of Pārśva came to be amalgamated with the Nirgranthas. A discussion once took place between Goyama, the chief disciple of Mahāvīra and Udaka, a follower of Pārśva, on whether a movable being is to be called a movable being or beings which are for the time being movable. Udaka went on to argue that one who took the vow of abstention from killing one class of animals abstained in fact from killing all classes of animals, for the same being who was now born in one class may be born in other classes as well, and beings which are outside the class now may come later on into the class. To this Goyama replied at length pointing out its incorrectness on the ground that as the vow of not killing an ascetic is not broken by one who kills a man who used to be an ascetic but is no longer so, in the same way all classes cannot be brought within one class¹²⁴.

Kalāsavesiyaputta, a disciple of Pārśva, questioned the knowledge of Nirgrantha elders and finally wanted to be converted from his own doctrine of four vows to that of five vows (*Cāujjāmāo dhammāo pañcamahavaiyam sapadikkamaṇam dhammam uvasampañjittā*¹²⁵). On another occasion elders belonging to the sect of Pārśva came to Mahāvīra, asked him questions and finally were converted by him at their own instance from the doctrine of the four vows to that of five vows.¹²⁶ The five vows were of *ahimsa* non-injury, *anṛta* truthfulness, *asteya* non-theiving, *aparigraha* possessionlessness, and abstention from *abrahma* unchastity.

There is a very instructive discussion between Goyama, a disciple of Mahāvīra and Kesi, a follower of Pārśva. Two important points which emerge from this discussion are first, that Pārśva omitted the vow of celibacy because he included it in the vow of possessionlessness. The absence of its specific mention however led to corruption which was set right by Mahāvīra's inclusion of celibacy as a distinct vow. Secondly,

¹²³ Bhag. 15.539

¹²⁴ Sūt. S. II. vii. 14.

¹²⁵ Bhag. 1.9.76.

¹²⁶ Bhag. 5.9.226.

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Pārśva allowed an upper and an under garment to his disciples while Mahāvīrā recommended complete nudity, the explanation being that there is really no conflict in this for Pārśva's direction was with the purpose of giving his disciples a characteristic mark to distinguish them from others while Mahāvīra's nudity symbolised that knowledge, faith and right conduct are the true causes of final liberation and not outward marks.¹²⁷

The parents of Mahāvīra were lay disciples of Pārśva, and Mahāvīra was therefore brought up as such and continued in it till after he renounced the world. A man of outstanding personality and gifts as he was he could not be content merely with the knowledge of the law. He wandered about alone and single to realise the truth for himself. We have already noticed his association with Gosāla. His teachings bear testimony to his having associated with other schools. This is an important matter in the proper study of Mahāvīra's religion but full justice cannot be done to this subject here as it is outside the scope of the present enquiry. It will suffice for our present purposes to note that Mahāvīra reverted ultimately to his former sect and effected improvements in it.

III. SCHISMATIC SCHOOLS AMONG THE NIRGRANTHAS.

Although nothing compared with the material contained in the *Kathāvatthu* of the Buddhists regarding various opinions on doctrinal matters among themselves the literature of the Jainas yields some information on schisms within the order of the Nirgranthas.

Jamāli, who was Mahāvīra's sister's son and also married his daughter, was the first man to start the schism. He was a prince and renounced the world in order to be an ascetic follower of Mahāvīra. Once he begged permission of Mahāvīra to go out on a tour with five hundred ascetics, and although permission was asked three times Mahāvīra vouches no reply. Jamāli took the law in his own hand, went away wandering and fell ill on account of having taken bad and improper food. During his illness he asked his companions to spread a bed of dry grass for him and when it was being done he enquired if the bed was ready. His companions said "the bed was ready but going up to it he found that it had been only half-ready. Instantly it occurred to him that "a thing is done when it is being done" as taught by Mahāvīra was false. He announced his new idea to his companions some of whom agreed with him. He thereupon declared himself a Kevalin. Jamāli's followers are called Bahurayas because they

¹²⁷ Uttar. S. 23.33.

held that the completion of an act required more than one unit of time. This is the first schism and it arose in Sāvatthi.¹²⁸

The second schism was started by Tissagutta at Usabhapura or Rāyagaha. His followers are called *Jīvapaesiyas* because they identified the jīva with the space occupied by it.

The third schism was led by Āśādha and had its origin in Syetavi. Āśādha doubted if gods and saints were really so. His followers are called *Avvattiyyas*.

The fourth schism arose in Mithilā and was started by Assamitta. His followers are called *Samuccheiyyas* because they held that inasmuch as every thing is subject to destruction after having come into existence, the effects of good or bad deeds are not to be enjoyed or suffered from.

The fifth schism was started by Gāṅga at Ullakātīra. His followers held that it is not true that only one feeling can be felt by the mind at one time and are therefore called *Dokiriyyas*.

The sixth schism arose in Antarañjī and was started by Saḍuluya or Rohagutta. His followers are called *Terāsiyas* because they held that there is a third state of existence besides jīva and ajīva.

The seventh schism was started by Goṭhamāhilla at Dasapura. His followers are called *Abaddhiyyas* because according to them the jīva is not bound by *karman*.¹²⁹

IV. NIRGRANTHA CRITICISM OF OTHER SCHOOLS.

The Jaina literature contains some criticism specifically directed against the beliefs and practices of some of the contemporary schools. Later commentators have read into many of the passages in the canon criticism of others by implication. These might or might not have been meant in the texts to be criticism against the parties, the commentators take them to be directed against, and are therefore unnecessary to deal with. But the other class wherein we find in a very clear manner the criticism made as also the party it is directed against, is important as it shows from yet another point of view the stand the early Nirgranthas took in contrast with their contemporaries.

The Ājīviyas have been criticised on the ground that they do not understand that things depend partly on fate and partly on human exertion.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Bhag. 9. 33. 383-387.

¹²⁹ Sth. S. 7.3. 587.

¹³⁰ Sūt. S. I.i.2.4.

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If everything was unalterably fixed, as the Ājīviyas believed, and if there was no *purisakāra* how was it that the gods only were gods and not everybody? A god attained to that status by dint of his exertion, otherwise all would have been gods or none would have been such. From our everyday experience we find that the course of things can be altered by human exertion,¹³¹ our reason dictates exertion which none can deny.

The Vedānta doctrine of the *ātman* being the substratum of all existence is criticised on the ground that if that were true how can the consequences of evil *karman* performed by one result in the suffering of the same individual?¹³² The one *ātman* underlying all would make the consequences sufferable by all of the wrong deeds done by one or by another individual who had nothing to do with the wrong deed. Again, if there were one *ātman* common to all there would be no difference in the lots of individuals or in their castes or station in life, and all would be sharing equally the perfection of the *ātman*.¹³³ The inactivity of the *puruṣa* of the Sāṃkhya would also be open to the same objection of not accounting for the variety we find in the world in the lots of men.¹³⁴

The *Tajjivataccharīravādins* are criticised as offering no solution to such problems as whether or not an action is good, whether or not there is a life after death or whether perfection is attainable.¹³⁵

The Buddhists are criticised as placing unreasoning faith on the authority of Buddha. They have permission, they say, of doing this or that. Any one familiar with the rules of Vinaya of the Buddhists knows how frequently the necessity arose for Buddha to accord his permission to this act or that on the part of his disciples, and this has been criticised on the ground that Buddha's permission does not justify a wrong act.¹³⁶

Kriyāvādins are criticised on the ground that they put all the emphasis on outward acts which is not correct for a sinful thought even though not carried out into execution is none the less sinful.¹³⁷

Akriyāvādins are criticised for not believing that there is *karman* and its transmission to future moments.¹³⁸

Brahmans, *Ajñānavādins* and *Vinayavādins* are criticised in general

¹³¹ Upās. 7.200.

¹³² Sūt. S. I.i.1.10.

¹³³ Sūt. S. II.vi.48.

¹³⁴ Sūt. S. I.i.1.14.

¹³⁵ Sūt. S. II.i.17.

¹³⁶ Acār. S. I.i.8.7.

¹³⁷ Sūt. S. I.i.2.29.

¹³⁸ Sūt. S. I.xii.4.

terms and the Jaina emphasis on non-injury, necessity of right thinking, and right knowledge come out prominently from these criticisms.¹³⁹

The *Sūnyavādins* who deny the existence of all visible world and all future are told in answer that as astrologers, dream-interpreters and other kinds of diviners are sometimes able to predict future events it cannot be said that there is no future.¹⁴⁰

Those who believed in perfection to be attained by bath, abstention from some articles of food, or by tending a fire are criticised on the ground that if perfection was attainable by contact with water many fishes, tortoises etc., would easily obtain perfection.¹⁴¹ If water washed off bad *karman* it would also wash off good *karman*, and if it washed off sin many people who killed living beings in water would be sinless.¹⁴² If perfection was attainable by tending a fire many mechanics would easily obtain it.¹⁴³ By drinking liquor or eating meat and garlic people of course attain a state different from their normal state but that state is far from the state of perfection.¹⁴⁴ Clothed in humour though these criticism are yet they reveal a strong common sense on the part of the Nirgrantha critic.

The soil of India has always been very favourable to the growth of religions and philosophies and the information obtained from the literature of the Jainas fully bears testimony to it. It will be seen that the teachings of Mahāvīra whose disciples are yet a living body in the land of their birth, were an attempt on the part of the founder to provide a solution to the intense problems of religion and philosophy which stirred the heart of India in that distant age.

¹³⁹ Acār. S. I.iv.2.4. Sūt. S. I.xii.3; I.i.2.17.

¹⁴⁰ Sūt. S. I.xii.9.

¹⁴¹ Sūt. S. I.vii.14-15.

¹⁴² Sūt. S. I.vii.16-17.

¹⁴³ Sūt. S. I.vii.18.

¹⁴⁴ Sūt. S. I.vii.13.

(Mss. received November, 1929).

NAIRĀTMYAPARIPRCCHĀ

TIBETAN AND SANSKRIT TEXTS

By SUJITAKUMARA MUKHOPADHYAYA,

FOREWORD.

The original Sanskrit text of the *Nairātmyapariprcchā* was supposed to have been lost and just when in January last Mr. Sujitakumara Mukhopadhyaya was going to the press with his restoration in Sanskrit of the treatise from the Tibetan version, the Octo-Decem. number of the *Journal Asiatique* came to his hands, containing a paper (*Encore Aśvaghoṣa*) by Prof. Lévi in which the original text of the *Nairātmyapariprcchā* was published (pp. 207-211). A good deal of the value of the restoration of the text by Mr. Mukhopadhyaya has been thus lost, yet it is being published as an illustration of the standards which can be reached in Tibetan studies.

The difference between the original and the restoration is due in many places to the difference between the Sanskrit and the Tibetan versions ; and sometimes to the misunderstanding of the Tibetan translator ; for instance, see verse No. 21. Of course there are cases, where the restorer himself is responsible for wrong renderings.

The restored text, as was originally made, is placed here, without any modification, side by side with the original text, so that they may easily be compared.

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

Vidyabhavana, Santiniketan.
February 17th, 1930.

INTRODUCTION.

The following work, the Sanskrit version of which I have here attempted to restore is to be found in the Kanjur, Mdo, XIV, pp. 8-II. Its name is *Nairātmyaparipracchā*, that is, questions on the non-existence of the soul. It belongs to the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism, and contains an interesting exposition of the ideas concerning the soul and reality.

This work was translated into Tibetan by two scholars, Kamalagupta and Ratnabhadra (*rin.chen.bzan.po*). The former was an Indian *upādhyāya* and the latter a Tibetan Sanskrit translator (*lo.tsa.ba*).

It opens abruptly with the word 'then' (*de.nas*) from which we infer that it is possibly a fragment of a larger treatise. It begins with a dialogue in prose between the heretics (*Tirthikas*) and the Mahāyānis and ends with verses in which the views of the latter are given. From this one can obtain an idea of the Mahāyānic notions about the soul and the universe in general.

About the existence of the soul, the Mahāyānis say: We cannot say that there is a soul, nor can we say there is no soul. If there is a soul, why is it not seen when we examine and analyse the body part by part? Now, if there is no soul, how then are love, affection, kindness, greed, anger, etc., produced?

To a Mahāyānist, there is neither self nor non-self, nor soul, nor spirit, nor mind; neither doer, nor knower; neither wealth, nor son, nor friends; to him there is neither birth nor destruction, nor any consequence of good or bad actions.

This treatise was translated into French by M. Léon Feer in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 1883 Vol. 50, pp. 180-186. This translation is however, not reliable at all. The first portion of the dialogue is translated fairly correctly; but in the rest of the work the translator has committed many mistakes. For example, he has translated *kun.rdzob* as *le vide* (the void). He thinks it is almost like the term *ston.pa* in Tibetan. But in fact, *kun.rdzob*. and *ston.pa* are two different terms conveying quite different meanings. The former means *vyāvahārika satya* or empirical truth, while the latter means simply 'void' in the Mahāyānic sense of the term, or 'relativity' according to Stcherbatskey. Throughout the whole translation he has made the same mistake and consequently has interpreted the text wrongly.

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For instance, he has translated

kun.rdzob.chos.la. žugs.pa.yi 1
sems.cañ.nion.moñ. dbañ.du.'gro 1

"l'être entré dans la loi du monde
devient supérieur à la souillure."

'Beings having entered into the law of the world rise above impurity.'

This expression conveys neither the literal meaning nor the inner sense of the text. As he took *loi du monde* to mean *le vide* he had to translate the second line of the passage quoted above as 'rise above impurity.' But can the Tibetan line in any way mean this? The only sense possible here is *sattvah kleśavaśām gataḥ*: Beings are subject to affliction (impurity).

In verse 8, he has translated :

de.bas. don.dam. śes.pa.yis 1
kun.rdzob.bden.p'i.gnas.spon.no 11

"Aussi celui qui ne connaît pas le sens vrai
rejette le vide, siège de la vérité."

'Also he who does not know the true sense rejects the void, the seat of truth.'

I may translate it as

tyajet tat paramārthajñāḥ
sativrtisatyaniśrayam 1

"Therefore the knower of *paramārtha* should reject the reliance upon the empirical truth.'

One may easily mark the great difference between these two translations. He has translated *de.bas. don.dam. śes.pa.yis* by 'one who does not know the true sense.' But where did he get this negation? Probably he added it to support his translation of *kun.rdzob* as *le vide*.

The third verse also he has translated wrongly. We quote the text and his translation :

kun.rdzob.'jig.rten.chos.rnams.la 1
mi.mkhas.pa.dag. rtog.par. byed 1
kun.rdzob.rtog.pa. de.yis. ni 1
sdug.bṣṇal. ūnom.su. moñ.bar.'gyur 11

"Ceux à qui les lois du monde du vide
sont complètement inconnues peuvent chercher ;
ils ont beau chercher,
la déchéance les atteint et ils savourent la douleur."

'Those to whom the laws of the world of the void are completely unknown, may search ; but they search in vain. Decay comes to them and they experience sufferings.'

This is fanciful and full of errors. I may offer here the following translation :

saṁvṛtyā lokadharmān hi
kalpayantyavipaścitaḥ 1
saṁvṛtyā kalpanātaś ca
śocanti kleśahāniṣu 11

'Through *saṁvṛti* ignorant people assume the *lokadharma* ; on account of this assumption through *saṁvṛti* they grieve in sufferings and loss.'

One meets with such errors throughout the whole work. However, I must express my thanks to the translator for the help that I have obtained from his work.

POST SCRIPT.

Just when the paper was ready for the press, my attention was drawn to Prof. Lévi's article, *Encore Aśvaghoṣa* in J.A. Oct.-Dec., 1928, in which the original Sanskrit text of the treatise found by him in Nepal was published for the first time. The work has two Chinese versions. The authors of these versions are Je tch'eng and Fa t'ien. The former attributes the original work to Aśvaghoṣa.

It is named differently in these versions. Je tch'eng, whose translation corresponds to that in Tibetan, calls it *Ni k'ien tse wen wou ngo yi king*, i.e. "The sutra of the *Nirgranthaputra* who questions the meanings of Impersonality."

The text of Fa t'ien begins as a regular sutra thus : "One day when the Buddha was in a big assembly, one of the heretics being doubtful and ignorant in the practices of the Mahāyāna came to him. Bowing his head and joining his hands to pay homage he enquired of the meanings of Impersonality."

But the text of Je tch'eng begins abruptly. "At that time the sons of the Nirgrantha with heretic views having doubts and uncertainty desired to get an explanation from the follower of the Mahāyāna. They bowed their heads, joined their hands and wanted to know the meanings of Impersonality."

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TIBETAN TEXT.

[N.B. In the Tibetan words *n* is for the sound of *ng* in *sing*.

X implies the Xylograph of the Narthang edition in the Visva-bharati library.]

rgya.gar.skad.du 1 ā.rya.nai.rā.tmya.pa.ri.p̄.cchā. nā.ma.
ma.hā.yā.na.sū.tra ll

bod.skad.du 1 'phags.pa.bdag.med.pa.dris.pa.
žes.bya.ba. theg.pa.chen.po'i.mdo ll

sāṇs.rgyas. daṇ byaṇ.chub.sems.dp'a. thams.cad.la. phyag.'tshal.lo ll

1. de.nas. dmigs.p'i.lta.ba.can. rnam.par.rtog.pa.daṇ.bcas.śin.
rnam. par.dpyod.pa.daṇ.bcas.p'i. mu.stegs.pa. de.dag.rnams. theg.pa.chen.
po'i. naṇ. du. son.ste. 1 že.sa.daṇ.bcas.śiṇ thal.mo. sbyar.nas. bdag.med.-
pa'i. dri.ba.dag. yoṇs.su.dris.pa. 1 rigs.kyi.bu. thams.cad.mkhyen.pas. ni.
lus.la. bdag. med.do. žes.gsūṇs.la ll gal.te. lus.la. yaṇ.dag.par.bdag. med.
na. ji.ltar. na. de.las. brtse.ba. daṇ. dgod.pa. daṇ. ḥu.ba. daṇ. rol.ba.
daṇ. khro.ba. daṇ. ḥa.rgyal. daṇ. phrag.dog. daṇ. phra.ma.la.sogs.pa.
kun.tu.'byuṇ.bar.'gyur. ll ci. lus.la. yaṇ.dag.par.ni.¹ bdag. yod. dam.
med.pa.yin. 1 bdag.cag.gi. the.tshom. de.dag. khyod.kyis. bsal.b'i.
rigs.so. ll

2. theg.pa.chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa. 1 grogs.po.dag. lus.la.
ni. bdag.yaṇ.dag.par. yod.do. žes. 'am. med.do. žes. gñis.kar. yaṇ. 'dir.
brjod.par. mi.bya.ste 1 yaṇ.dag.par.bdag.² yod.do. žes. brjod.pa. na.
med.do. žes. brjod.pa. ni. log.par. smra.b'o ll gal.te. yod. na. ji.ltar. na.
de. skra. daṇ. sen.mo daṇ. pags.pa. daṇ. mgo.bo. daṇ. sā. daṇ. rus.pa.
daṇ. rkaṇ. daṇ. tshil. daṇ. rgyus.pa. daṇ. mchin.pa. daṇ. rgyu.ma. daṇ.
mid.pa. daṇ. lag.pa. daṇ. rkaṇ.pa. daṇ. yan.lag. daṇ. ūin.lag la.sogs.pa.
lus. thams. cad.kyi. phyi. daṇ. naṇ.du. bcas.pa.la. rnam.par.brtags.na.
bdag.yaṇ.dag.par. mi. snaṇ.ṇo ll

3. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa. 1 lh'i.mig.daṇ.ldan.pa 'g'a.
žig.gis. mthon.gis. bdag.cag.rnams. ni. ū'i.mig.can.yin.pas. bdag.yaṇ.dag.-
par. ji.ltar. mthon ll

¹ X na.² X omits it.

4. theg.pa.chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa 1 lha'i.mig.dan.ldan.pa. rnams.kyis. kyan mi. mthoŋ.ste 1 gaŋ.la. kha.dog. med. pa. dan. gzugs. med.pa. dan. dbyibs. med.pa. de. ji.ltar. mthoŋ. bar. 'gyur ll
5. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa. ci. med.pa. yin.nam 1
6. theg.pa.chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis smras.pa 1 med.do. žes. brjod.pa. na. yod.do žes. brjod.-pa. ni. log.par. smras. pa'o. ll gal.te.med. na. ji.ltar. 'di. mñon.sum.du. yod.par. brtse.ba. dan. dgod.pa. dan. nu.ba. dan. rol.ba. dan. khro.ba. dan. na.rgyal. dan. phrag.dog. dan. phra.ma. la.sogs.pa. kun.tu. 'byuŋ.bar. 'gyur. ll de.bas.na. med.do. žes.par. yan. mi. ruŋ.ste. 1 yod.dam. med. ces. yan. 'di. ltar. brjod.par. mi. bya. ste. 1 ūes.pa. 'di. yod.pas. ni. yod. p'o. žes. 'am. med. p'o. žes. brjod.par. mi. by'o ll
7. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras. pa 1 'o.na. 'dir. gaŋ.zig. dmigs. par. 'gyur ll
8. theg.pa. chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa 1 dmigs.par.gyur.ba. ni. ci. 'an. med.do ll
9. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa 1 ci. nam.mkh'a. ltar. ston.pa. ūid. yin.nam ll
10. theg.pa.chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa 1 grogs.po.dag. de.bžin. de. nam.mkh'a. ltar. ston.pa. ūid. yin.no ll
11. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa 1 gal.te. de.ltar. yin. na. brtse.ba. dan. dgod.pa. dan. nu.ba. dan. rol.ba. dan. khro.ba. dan. na.rgyal. dan. phrag.dog. dan. phra.ma. la.sogs.pa. ji.ltar. blta.bar. bgyi ll
12. theg.pa. chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa 1 sgyu.ma. dan. rmi.lam. dan. mig.'phrul. dan. 'dra.ba.yin.no ll
13. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa 1 sgyu.ma. ni. ji.lta.bu. lags. rmi.lam. dan. mig.'phrul. ni. ji.lta.bu.lags ll
14. theg.pa.chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa 1 sgyu.ma. ni. mtshon. pa.tsam.mo. rmi.lam. ni. so.sor.snaŋ.ba.tsam.ste. gzuŋ.bar. bya.ba. ma.yin. žin. ran.bžin.gyis.ston.pa. yod. pa.ma.yin.pa'i.no.bo ūid.do ll mig.'phrul. ni. btsos.ma.tsam.du. dgos.po. 1 grogs.po.dag. de. de. bžin.du 1 dnos.po. ji.sñed.pa. thams.cad. ni. sgyu.ma. dan. rmi.lam. dan. mig.'phrul. dan. 'dra.bar. ūes.par.by'o ll
15. gžan.yan. kun.rdzob. dan. don.dam.pa.dag. bstai.par.bya.ste 1 de.la. kun.rdzob. ces.bya.ba. ni. gaŋ.la.³ 'di. ni. bdag.go. 'di. ni. gžan.no. žes. bya.ba. dan. srog. dan. skyes.bu. dan. gaŋ.zag. dan. byed.pa.po.

³ X omits it.

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dañ. tshor.ba.po. dañ. nor. dañ. bu. dañ. chuñ.ma. dañ. mdz'a. bśes. dañ. ūe.du. la.sogs.par. rtog.pa. de. ni. kun.rdzob. ces.by'o 1 gan.la. bdag med.pa. dañ. gžan. med.pa. dañ. srog. med.pa. dañ. skyes.bu. med.pa. dañ. gañ.zag. med.pa. dañ. byed.pa.po. med.pa. dañ. tshor.ba.po. med. pa. dañ. nor. med.pa. dañ. bu.med. pa. dañ. chuñ.ma. med.pa. dañ. md'a.bśes. med.pa. dañ. ūe.du. la.ogs.pa. med.pa. de. ni. don. dam. pa. žes.by'o 11 gañ.la. rañ.bžin.gyis. dños.po. thams.cad.du. yoñs.su.brtags. žin. dge.ba. dañ. mi.dge.b'i. 'bras. bu. dañ. skye.ba. dañ. 'gag.pa. ni kun. rdzob.bo. dge.ba. dañ. mi. dge.b'i. 'bras.bu.med.pa. dañ. skye.ba.med.pa. dañ. 'gag.pa. med.pa. de.bžin.ñid.kyi.ño.bo. ñid. de.la. ni. kun.nas.ñion. moñ.spa. rnam.par.byañ.ba. med.de. de. ni. dbu.m'i. chos.rnams. kyi. sgrub.pa. lhur.len.p'o 11 de.la 'di.sked. ces. bya.ste 1

16. kun.rdzob. dañ. ni. don.dam. ste 1
dbye.ba. gñis.su. yañ.dag.bśad 1
kun.rdzob. 'jig.rten.pa.yí. chos 1
don.dam. 'jig.rten. 'das.pa. 'yo. 11
17. kun.rdzob.chos.la. žugs.pa. 'yi 1
sems.can. ñon.moñ.s. dbañ.du. 'gro 1
don.dam. yoñ.su.ma.śes.pas 1
'khor.bar. yun.rin. 'khor.bar. 'gyur 11
18. kun.rdzob. 'jig.rten.chos.rnams.la 1
mi.mkhas.pa.dag. rtog.par.byed 1
kun.rdzob. rtog.pa. de.yis ni 1
sdug. bsñal. ñams.su. myoñ.bar. 'gyur 11
19. ji. Itar. so.so'i. skye. ba. yi 1
byis. pas. grol. lam. mi. śes.pas 1
mi.zad.pa.yi. sdug.bsñal. dag 1
mañ.po. rjes.su. moñ.bar. 'gyur 11
20. gañ.du. srid.pa; 'gag. 'gyur. b'i 1
dou.dam. dag. ni. mi. śes.pas 1
sky.e.ba. dañ. ni. 'gag. 'gyur. žin 1
sky.e.bo. 'gro. dañ. 'oñ.bar. 'gyur 11

X. Skye, med.

21. 'jig.rten. chos.la. gnas.pa. yi¹
 blun.po. 'khor.lo bžin.du. 'khor 1
 sdug.bṣṭal. gnas. bcas. 'khor.ba. 'dir 1
 yañ. dañ. yañ.du. 'khor.bar. 'gyur 11
22. ji.ltar. ñi.ma. zla.ba. dag 1
 slar.yañ. 'on.žiñ. 'gro.bar.byed 1
 de.bžin. srid.par. 'pho.ba. ni⁵ 1
 slar.yañ. 'on.žiñ. 'go.bar. 'gyur 11
23. 'khor.ba. thams.cad. mi,rtag.sin 1
 mi.brtan. skad.cig.'jig.pa. ñid 1
 de.das. don.dam.śes.pa.yis 1
 kun.rdzob.bden.p'i.gnas. spoñ.no 11
24. mtho.ris.gnas.nas. lha.rnams. dañ 1
 dri.za. lha.mi.rnams. kyañ. ni 1
 kun.la 'pho.bo.yod.gyur.pa 1
 kun. kyañ. kun.rdzob. 'bras.bu. yin 11
25. grub. dañ. rigs 'dzin. gnod.sbyin. dañ 1
 dri.za. dañ. ni. lto.'phye.rnams 1
 slar.yañ. dmyal.bar. 'gro.'gyur.ba 1
 kun.kyañ. kun. rdzob. 'bras.bu. yin 11
26. gañ.žig. brtson.dag. lha.rnams. dañ 1
 yon.tan., byuñ.gnas.la. gnas.gañ 1
 mtho.ris.la⁶ 'pho. ltuñ.gyur.pa 1
 thams.cad. kun.rdzob. 'bras.bu.yin 11
27. brgya.byin. 'khor.los.sgyur. ñid. de 1
 gañ.gis. dam.p'i.gnas. thob.nas 1
 slar.yañ. byol.son. skyes.nas. 'jug 1
 thams. cad. kun.rdzob. 'bras. bu. yin 11
28. de.bas. mtho.ris. lha.rnams.kyi 1
 bden.pa. bzañ.po. kun.spoñ.la 1
 byañ.chub.sems. ni. 'od.gsal.ba 1
 nal.'byor.pas. ni. rtag.tu. bsgom 11

⁵ X. na.⁶ X. las.

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29. dṇos.po.med.ciṇ. dmigs.su.med 1
 thams.cad.stoṇ.pa. gnas.med.pa 1
 spros.pa.rnams.las. yaṇḍāg.'das 1
 byaṇ.chub.sems.p'i. mtshan. ūid. yin ll
30. sra.ba.ma.yin. 'jam.pa.min 1
 dro.ba.ma.yin. graṇ.ba.min 1
 de. ni. reg.min. bzuṇ.bya.min 1
 byaṇ.chub.sems.kyi. mtshan. ūid. yin ll
31. riṇ.po. ma. yin. thuṇ.ba.min 1
 zlum.po. ma. yin. gru.gsum. min 1
 phra.ba. ma.yin. sbom.p'aṇ min 1
 byaṇ.chub.sems. kyi. mtshan. ūid. yin ll
32. sgom.pa.rnams.las. rnam.'das. ūiṇ 1
 mu.stegs.rnams.kyi. spyod.yuł.min 1
 śes.rab.pha.rol.phyin.sbyor.ba 1
 byaṇ.chub.sems.kyi. mtshan. ūid. yin ll
33. dpe.med. bsgom.du.med.pa. daṇ 1
 mthon.min. gnas.kyi.mchog.gyur.pa 1
 raṇ.bžin.gyis. ni. rnam.dag.pa 1
 byaṇ.chub.sems.kyi. mtshan. ūid. yin ll
34. thams.cad. dbu.ba. lta.bu. ūte 1
 chu.bur. lta.bur. ūniṇ.po.med 1
 rtag.pa.ma.yin. bdag.med. te 1
 sgyu.ma. mig.rgyu.dag. daṇ. mtshuṇs ll
35. goṇ.bu. bžin.du. bsdus.gyur.pa 1
 spros.pa.rnams.kyi. yoṇ.su.gaṇ 1
 'dod.chags. že.sdaṇ. la.sogs. ltar 1
 de. ni. sku.mtshuṇs. 'b'a.žig. yin ll
36. ji.ltar. naṇ.na. thig.le. ni 1
 skad.cig. de.la. mi.mthon. ūte 1
 śes.rab.pha.rol.phyin. mthon.na 1
 de.bžin. blo. ni. 'dus.ma.byas ll

37. rtag.tu. dgod. siṇ. rtse.ba.daṇ 1
 smra. žiṇ. glu. daṇ. rol.mo. daṇ 1
 gži. la.sogs.p'i. bde.ba.rnams 1
 de.dag. thams.cad. rmi.lam. mtshuñs 11
38. lus.can.kun.gyis. 'dus.byas.pa 1
 'di. kun. rmi.lam. daṇ. mtshuñs. la 1
 rmi.lam. sems.kyi⁸. kun.rtog. ste 1
 sems. kyaṇ. nam.mkh'a. lta.bu. yin 11
39. šes.rab.pha.rol.phyin.p'i.tshul 1
 gaṇ.žig. 'di. ni. rtag. sgom. pa 1
 dṇos.po. kun.las. rnam.grol.nas 1
 go.'phan. mchog. ni. thob.par.'gyur⁹ 11
40. bla.na.med.p'i. byaṇ.chub. gaṇ 1
 saṇs.rgyas. kun.gyis rnam.bsgoms.pa 1
 bsgoms.daṇ.bcas.pas. 'dzin. na. ni 1
 theg.chen.'bras.bu. 'thob.par.'gyur 11

'phags.pa.bdag.med.pa.dris.pa. žes.bya.ba. theg.pa.chen.po'i mdo.
 rdzogs.so 11

rgya.gar.gyi. mkhan.po. ka.ma.la.gup.ta. daṇ. žus.chen.gyi. lo.tsā.
 ba. dge.sloṇ. rin.chen. bzan.pos. bsgyur.ciṇ. žus. te.
 gtan.la.phab.bo 11

⁸ X. kyis.

⁹ X adds here in the beginning of the verse a superfluous line—gaṇ.žig.tshul.'di.
 rtag.bsgomi.pa. This is quite similiar to the second line. Probably it was in the
 margin, and the scribe added it to the text.

RESTORED TEXT

॥ आर्यनैरात्मपरिपृच्छा नाम महायानसूत्रम् ॥

* सर्वेभ्यो बुद्धबोधसत्त्वेभ्यो नमः । *

१। अथ त आलम्बनदृष्टिकाः सवितर्काः सविचारास्तीयिकाः महायान-
मध्यमागत्य सगौरवमञ्जर्लिं बद्धा नैरात्मपरिपृच्छाः पृच्छन्ति स्म । कुलपुत्र
सर्वज्ञेनोक्तं यत् काये नाम्नेति । यदि काये न भूतात्मा कथं तर्हि तत्र
हासशीकक्रोधदर्परतिकरणेष्वग्रापैशुन्यादयः समुत्पद्यन्ते । किमस्ति काये
भूतात्मा नास्ति वेति युक्तं भवतास्माकं तेषां संशयानां निराकरणं कर्तुम् ॥

२। महायानिका आहुः । अस्त्वग्रायुषमन्तः काये भूतात्मेति नास्ति वेत्य-
भयमपोह न वक्तव्यम् । अस्ति भूतात्मेत्युक्तौ नास्तीत्युक्तां वरुद्धोच्यते । यद्यस्ति
कथं केशनखचर्मशिरोमांसास्थिमज्जमेदः स्नायुयक्तदन्वकण्ठनालपाणपादाङ्ग-
प्रलङ्घादिकस्य सर्वस्य कायस्य बहिरन्तर्श सर्वत परोच्चायामपि नामा दृश्यते ॥

३। तीर्थिका आहुः । दृश्यत एव केनाच्चिद्विव्यचक्षुषा, वयं तु चर्मचक्षुषः
कथं भूतात्मानं पश्यामः ॥

४। महायानिकाः । दिव्यचक्षुषोऽपि न पश्यन्ति । यस्य न वर्णं न रूपं
न चाकारः कथं स दृश्येत ॥

५। तीर्थिकाः । ननु किं नास्ति ॥

६। महायानिकाः । नास्तीति वचनेऽस्तीति वचनं विरुद्धमुक्तम् ।
नास्ति चेत् कथमेति प्रत्यक्षतो विद्यमाना हासशीकक्रोधदर्परतिकरणेष्वग्रैशुन्या-
दयः समुत्पद्यन्ते । तेन नास्तीत्यपि न युक्तम् । एवमस्ति वा नास्ति वेति च न
वक्तव्यम् । *एतद्वाषसङ्गावादस्तीति वा नास्तीति वा न वक्तव्यम् ॥*

७। तीर्थिकाः । अथेह किमालम्बनं भवेत् ॥

८। महायानिकाः । नेह किमप्यालम्बनं ॥

९। तीर्थिकाः । ननु किमाकाशवच्छून्यमेव ॥

[N.B.—The asterisks in the Restored Text mark the differences between
the Tibetan and the original Sanskrit versions.]

- १०। महायानिकाः । तत्त्वैवायुष्मन्तः । आकाशवच्छून्यमेव ॥
- ११। तीर्थिकाः । यद्येवं कथं हासशोकक्रोधदर्परतिकरणेर्थापैशुभ्यादयो
दृश्यन्ते ॥
- १२। महायानिकाः । मायाखप्तेन्द्रजालवत् ॥
- १३। तोर्थिकाः । कौटृशी पुनर्भाया कौटृशः खप्ते इन्द्रजालं च ॥
- १४। महायानिकाः । माया हि लक्षणमात्रम् । खप्तः प्रतिभासमात्र-
मयाद्यः प्रकृतिशून्योऽस्तिनास्तिरूपश्च । इन्द्रजालं प्रपञ्चमात्रप्रयोजनम् ।
एवमायुष्मन्तः पदार्थस्तावत् सर्वे मायाखप्तेन्द्रजालवज्ज्ञातव्याः ॥
- १५। अपि च संवृतिः परमार्थश्च प्रतिपाद्यते । तत्र संवृतिः । यत्राय-
महमयमपर इति जोवपुरुषपुह्नलकारकवेदकधनपुच्चित्तस्त्रीकुटुम्बादिकलना सा
संवृतिर्नाम । यत्र पुनर्नाहं न परो न जीवो न पुरुषो न पुह्नलो न कारको न
वेदको न धनं * न पुच्ची न मित्रं न स्त्री न च कुटुम्बादि स परमार्थे नाम ॥
यस्य खभावेन सर्वेषु भावेषु परौच्यमाणेषु शुभाशुभफलमुत्पादो, निरोधश्च संवृतिः
शुभाशुभफलाभावोऽनुत्पादोऽनिरोधश्च तथतारूपो, न तस्य संक्षेपश्चवदाने, स एव
माध्यमिकधर्मसिद्धित्यपरः ॥* तत्रैवमुक्तम्—
- १६। संवृतिः परमार्थश्च
विभागद्वयमुच्यते ।
संवृतिलौकिको धर्मः
परमार्थस्त्वलौकिकः ॥ १ ॥
- १७। संवृतिधर्ममापनः
सत्त्वः क्लेशवशं गतः ।
परमार्थापरिज्ञाना-
च्चिरं भ्रमति संहृतौ ॥ २ ॥
- १८। संवृत्या लोकधर्मान् हि
कल्पयन्त्यविपश्चितः ।
संवृत्या कल्पनातश्च
ग्रोचन्ति क्लेशहानिषु ॥ ३ ॥

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अज्ञानात्मोद्दमार्गस्य

यथा बालैः पृथग्जनैः ।

अच्छयात्मनुभूयन्ते

*दुःखानि वहस्तानि हि ॥# ४ ॥

२०।

अज्ञानात्परमार्थस्य

यतो भवनिरोधनम् ।

जातिं निरोधं चापन्नो

जन आयाति याति च ॥ ५ ॥

२१।

लोकधर्मस्थितो मूढ-

शक्रवप्यरिवर्तते ।

सदुःख इह संसार

आवर्तते पुनः पुनः ॥ ६ ॥

२२।

यथा सूर्यश्च चन्द्रश्च

पुनरायाति याति च ।

तथैव भवसञ्चारः

पुनरायाति याति च ॥ ७ ॥

२३।

संसारः सर्वथाऽनित्यः

क्षणभङ्गुरकोऽस्थिरः ।

त्यजेत्परमार्थज्ञः

संप्रतिसत्यनिष्ठताम् ॥ ८ ॥

२४।

पार्श्वगपदतो देवा

गन्धर्वा *दानवा* अपि ।

सर्वत्र संक्रमप्राप्ताः

सर्वेऽपि संवृतेः फलम् ॥ ९ ॥

२५।

सिद्धा विद्याधरा यज्ञाः

गन्धर्वाश्च महोरगाः ।

गच्छन्ति नरकं भूयः

सर्वेऽपि संवृतेः फलम् ॥ १० ॥

- २६। ये वीर्यवल्तो देवाश्च
ये गुणाकरवर्त्तिनः ।
स्वर्गसञ्चरतो भ्रष्टाः
सर्वेऽपि संवृत्तेः फलम् ॥ ११ ॥
- २७। शतक्रतुशक्रावर्ती
प्राप्य यः परमं पदम् ।
पुनः पशुत्वमापनः
सर्वे ते संवृत्तेः फलम् ॥ १२ ॥
- २८। तस्मात् स्वर्गे देवतानां
विहाय सत्यमुच्चभम् ।
प्रभाखरं बोधिचित्तं
नित्यं ध्यायन्ति *योगिनः* ॥ १३ ॥
- २९। निर्वस्तुकं निरालम्बं
सर्वशून्यं निराश्रयम् ।
समतौतं प्रपञ्चे भ्यो
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १४ ॥
- ३०। अशीतलमनुष्णं च
अकठोरमकोमलम् ।
अग्राञ्छं च तथाऽस्यर्थं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १५ ॥
- ३१। न ह्रस्यं नापि दीर्घं च
न *हृत्तं* न त्रिकोणकम् ।
न स्थूलं नापि सूक्ष्मं च
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १६ ॥
- ३२। व्यतिक्रान्तं भावनाभ्य-
स्त्रौर्थिकानामगोचरम् ।
प्रज्ञापारमिता युक्तं*
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १७ ॥

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३३ ।

अनुपमभिन्नत्यच्च

अदृश्यं *परमं पदम् ।*

प्रकृत्या परिशुद्धं च *

बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १८ ॥

३४ ।

सर्वं *फेन*-प्रतीकाश-

मसारं बुद्धुदोपमम् ।

निरात्मकमनित्यच्च

मायामरौचिकासमम् ॥ १९ ॥

३५ ।

पिण्डवल्संहतं जातं

प्रपञ्चैः परिपूरितम् ।

रागद्वेषादिभिर्युक्तं

*केवलं प्रतिबिम्बकम् * ॥ २० ॥

३६ ।

*यथा ह्याभ्यन्तरे शुक्रं¹

न लक्षणमपि दृश्यते ।

प्रज्ञापारमितादृष्टौ

*तथा बुद्धिरसंख्याः * ॥ २१ ॥

३७ ।

नित्यं क्रीडा च हासम्

गोतिरालपनं रतिः ।

सुखानि च गृहादौनि

सर्वं तत् स्वप्नसन्निभम् ॥ २२ ॥

३८ ।

देहिभिः संख्यां सर्वैः-

स्तत् सर्वं स्वप्नसन्निभम् ।

स्वप्नो हि चित्तसंकल्प-

स्थितं च गग्नोपमम् ॥ २३ ॥

¹ The reading in the Tibetan text is entirely different and we could not get a better sense out of it. It is apparent that the Tibetan translator took abhyantara for abhrantara.

३८ । प्रज्ञापारमितामार्गे

येनेह भाव्यते सदा ।

विमुक्तः *सर्वभावेभ्यः*

स आप्नोति परं पदम् ॥ २४ ॥

४० । अनुत्तरा हि या बोधिः

सर्वबुद्धैर्विभाविता ।

गृहीता भावनावद्भ्यः-

महायानफलागमः ॥ २५ ॥

॥ आयनैरात्मगपरिपृच्छा नाम महायानसूत्रं समाप्तम् ॥

ORIGINAL TEXT

॥ महायाननिर्देशे नैरात्मपरिपृच्छा ॥

नमो बुद्धाय ।

१। अथ ते तीर्थिका उपलभ्यदृष्टयः सविकल्पाः सवितर्का महायानिक-
मुपस्थित्य सादरक्तताङ्गलिपुटा नैरात्मप्रश्नं परिपृच्छन्ति स्म । नैरात्मकं शरीरम्
इति कुलपुत्रं सर्वज्ञेन निर्दिश्यते । यदि शरीरं नैरात्मकं परमात्मा न विद्यते
तत् कस्मात् सकाशादेति हसितरुदितक्रौडितक्रोधमानेर्षगापैशुन्यादयः समुत्-
पद्यते । तदस्माकं सन्देहं मोचयितुमर्हति भगवान् । किमस्ति शरीरे
परमात्मा किं वा नास्ति ॥

२। महायानिकाः प्राहुः । मार्षाः शरीरे परमात्मा अस्तौतुगच्यते । न हि
नास्तीति द्वयमत्र नोच्यते । अस्ति परमात्मेतुगच्यमाने मार्षा मिथ्याप्रलापः ।
यदस्ति तत् कथं मार्षाः केशनखदलत्वर्मरोमसिरामांसास्थमेदमज्जाम्नायु-
प्लोहान्वनालशिरःकरचरणाङ्गसकलशरीरे सबाह्याभ्यन्तरे विचार्यमाणे न दृश्यते
परमात्मा ॥

३। तीर्थिकाः प्राहुः । न दृश्यते कुलपुत्रं परमात्मा मांसचक्षुषा वयं न
पश्यामः । कदाचिद्दिव्यचक्षुषः पश्यन्ति ॥

४। महायानिकाः प्राहुः । न मार्षा दिव्यचक्षुषोऽपि पश्यन्ति । यस्य न
वर्णे न रूपं न संस्कारः तत् कथं दृश्यते ॥

५। तीर्थिकाः प्राहुः । किं नास्ति ॥

६। महायानिकाः प्राहुः । नास्तौतुगच्यमाने मार्षा मिथ्याप्रलापः । यदि
नास्ति तत् कथमस्य एते हसितरुदितक्रौडितक्रोधमानेर्षगापैशुन्यादयः संभवन्ति ।
तेन नास्तीति वक्तुं न पार्थ्यते । उभावेती ही नोच्यते ॥

७। तीर्थिकाः प्राहुः । यदि कुलपुत्रं नोच्यते अस्तीति वा नास्तीति वा
तत् किमवालस्वनं भवतु ॥

८। महायानिकाः प्राहुः । न मार्षाः किञ्चिद्वलस्वनं भवति ॥

९। तीर्थिकाः प्राहुः । किं शून्यमाकाशमिव ॥

१०। महायानिकाः प्राहुः । एवमेतत् मार्षा एवमेतत् शून्यमाकाशमिव ॥

११। तीर्थिकाः प्राहुः । यदेवं कुलपुत्रं तदेते हसितरुदितक्रोहिन्-
क्रोधमनिर्गतपेशुन्यादयः कथं द्रष्टव्याः ॥

१२। महायानिकाः प्राहुः । मायास्वप्ने न्द्रजालसद्या द्रष्टव्याः ॥

१३। तीर्थिकाः प्राहुः । कोटशी माया कोटशः स्वप्नः कौटश इन्द्रजाल
इर्ति ॥

१४। महायानिकाः प्राहुः । उपख्यणमात्रं माया अग्राह्या प्रतिभास-
मात्रं स्वप्नः प्रकृतिशून्यतास्वरूप इन्द्रजालः क्षत्रिमप्रयोगः । एवं मार्षाः सर्वे
मायास्वप्ने न्द्रजालसद्या द्रष्टव्याः । पुनरपरं ही मेदौ विनिर्दिष्टौ ॥

१५। यदुत संवृतिः परमार्थश्च ॥ तत्र संवृतिर्नाम अयमात्रा
अयं पर एवं जीवः पुरुषः पुड्डलः कारकः वेदकः । धनपुत्रकल्पादिकल्पना
या सा संवृतिर्नाम । यत्र नात्मा न परः एवं न जीवो न पुरुषः न पुड्डलः न
कारकः न वेदकः न धनं सा मध्यमा प्रतिपत्तिर्धर्मानाम् ॥ तत्रेदमुच्यते—

१६। संवृतिः परमार्थश्च

ही मेदौ संप्रकाशितौ ।
संवृतिलैंकिको धर्मः

परमार्थश्च लोकोन्तरः ॥ १ ॥

१७। संवृतिर्धर्ममापन्नाः

सत्त्वाः क्लेशवशानुगाः ।
चिरं भ्रमन्ति संसारे

परमार्थमजानकाः ॥ २ ॥

१८। संवृतिलैंकिको धर्मः

[अतस्] तं कल्पयन्त्यपण्डिताः ।
अ(भूत)परिकल्पनाद्

दुःखान्यनुभवन्ति ते ॥ ३ ॥

१९। सुकृतमार्गं न पश्यन्ति

अन्धा बालाः पृथग्जनाः ।

उपद्यन्ते निरुद्ध्यन्ते

अजस्रं गतिपञ्चसु ॥ ४ ॥

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- २१। भ्रमन्ति चक्रवन् मूढा
लोकधर्मं समावृताः ।
- २०। परमार्थं न जानन्ति
भवो यत्र निरुद्धते ॥ ५ ॥
विष्टिता भवजालेन
संसरन्ति पुनः पुनः ।
- २२। यथा चन्द्रश्च सूर्यश्च
प्रत्यागच्छति गच्छति ।
भवं चुर्तिं तथा लोके
पुनरायान्ति यान्ति च ॥ ६ ॥^१
- २३। अनित्याः सर्वसंखारा
अध्रुवाः क्षणभङ्गराः ।
अतश्च परमार्थज्ञो
वर्जयेत् संहृतेः पदम् ॥ ७ ॥
- २४। स्वर्गस्थाने तु ये देवा
गम्भर्वासरसादयः ।
चुर्तिरस्ति च सर्वेषां
तत् सर्वं संहृतेः फलम् ॥ ८ ॥
- २५। सिद्धा विद्याधरा यक्षाः
किंनराश्च महोरगाः ।
पुनस्ते नरकां यान्ति
तत् सर्वं संहृतेः फलम् ॥ ९ ॥
- २७। शक्रत्वं चक्रवर्त्तत्वं
संप्राप्य चोक्तम् पदम् ।
तिर्यग्योनौ पुनर्जन्म
तत् सर्वं संहृतेः फलम् ॥ १० ॥

^१ The first two lines of this sloka, 5, form the first two lines of the sloka 6 in the Tib. text; while the last two lines are found as the first two lines of the sloka 5, in the Tib. text.

^२ The last four lines of this sloko form the sloka 7 in the Tib. text.

- २८ । अतः सर्वमिदं त्यज्ञा
दिव्यं सर्वगमहासुखम् ।
- भावयेत् सततं प्राज्ञो
बोधिचित्तं प्रभास्वरम् ॥ ११ ॥
- २९ । निःस्वभावं निरालश्वं
सर्वशूल्यं निरालयम् ।
- प्रपञ्चसमतिक्रान्तं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १२ ॥
- ३० । न काठिन्यं न मृदुत्वं
न चोषणं नैव श्रीतलम् ।
- न संस्पर्शं न च आह्वाणं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १३ ॥
- ३१ । न दीर्घं नापि वा हृस्वं
न पिण्डं न तिकोणकम् ।
- न कष्टं नापि च स्थूलं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १४ ॥
- न खेतं नापि रक्तं च न कृष्णं न च पीतकम्
अवर्णं च निराकारं बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १५ ॥^४
- निर्विकारं निराभासं निरुहं निर्विबन्धकम्
अरूपं व्योमसंकाशं बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १६ ॥
- ३२ । भावनासमतिक्रान्तं
तौर्थ्यकानामगोचरम् ।
- प्रज्ञापारमितारूपं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १७ ॥
- ३३ । अनौपम्यमनाभासं
अदृशं शान्तमेव च ।
- प्रकृतिशुद्धमद्रव्यं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १८ ॥

* Slokas 15 and 16 are wanting in the Tibetan text.

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३४ ।

सर्वं च तेन साट्टश्यं
निःसारं बुद्धोपमम् ।

अध्याश्वतं च नैरात्मं
मायामरौचिसन्निभम् ॥ १८ ॥

३५ ।

स्त्रूपिण्डवद् घटीभूतं
बहुप्रपञ्चपूरितम् ।
रागदेषादिसंयुक्तं
स्वप्रमाया तु केवलम् ॥ २० ॥

३६ ।

अभ्यान्तरे यथा विदुग्त्
चणादपि न दृश्यते ।
प्रज्ञापारमितादृष्ट्या
भावयेत् परमं पदम् ॥ २१ ॥

३७ ।

क्रीडितं हसितं नित्यं
जल्पितं रुदितं तथा ।
नृत्यं गौतं तथा वाद्यं
सर्वं स्वप्रोपमं हि तत् ॥ २२ ॥

३८ ।

मायास्वप्नोपमं सर्वं
संस्कारं सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
स्वप्नं [च] चित्तसंकल्पं
चित्तं च गगनोपमम् ॥ २३ ॥

३९ ।

भावयेद् य इमं नित्यं
प्रज्ञापारमितानयम् ।

स सर्वपापनिर्मुक्तः
प्राप्नोति परमं पदम् ॥ २४ ॥

४० ।

इयं सानुच्चरा बोधिः
सर्वबुद्धैः प्रकाशिता ।
भावनां भावयित्वे
निर्वाणं लभते शिवम् ॥ २५ ॥

ग्रावन्तः स बृतेर्दीषास्तावन्तो निर्वृतेगुणः ।

निर्वृतः स्यादनुत्पत्तिः सर्वदोषैर्नैलप्यते ॥ २६ ॥⁴

अथ ते तीर्थिकाः तुष्टा विकल्परहिताः तदा भावनां समाधाय महायानज्ञान-
लाभिनोऽभूवन्निति ॥

॥ महायाननिर्देशे नैराभ्यापरिष्टच्छा समाप्ता ॥

⁴ Not in the Tibetan text.

Note.—Mss. received February, 1930. Editor, V.-B.Q.

VISVA-BHARATI BULLETIN

I. ON THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDA WORDS.

By G. SCHANZLIN, Bolpur, Bengal.

II

There are many Munda words which must have had a common history with the words of the related groups, the Mon-Khmer, the Malaya and others. Whether it will be possible to formulate a system of laws showing on what general lines the diversifying influences created many languages out of one original common linguistic substratum remains to be seen. The processes of change, of modification, or deterioration of the original stems or bases have apparently been very irregular.

While it must be admitted that any closely related group of languages has certain inherent tendencies, certain innate characteristics which will make their appearance again and again, long after the original group of speakers have broken up into linguistic groups living far apart from one other, it should also be said that in most of such instances the modifying influences of new habitats, new modes of existence and of neighbouring languages are very many, and are bound to be of the deepest and most far reaching importance in the life history of language.

These changed conditions and surroundings reflect themselves in the linguistic development of any spoken language. Naturally, a people living near the sea coast will develop vocabularies different in many ways from those living between the mountain ranges, forest-dwelling hunters different from the nomads or the cultivators of the plains.

For instance, if it could be proven that the Mundas have in common, with Mon-Khmers, Malays and other related races of Further India and the Indian Archipelago, words for *cocoanut*, *rice*, *banana*, the names of certain fishes, terms for fishing, and boating implements, rudders etc., valuable inferences might be drawn as to the once common habitat of all these races on the coast of tropical seas. So far, however, the results of the investigation of the Austric languages tending in that direction are not exactly convincing.

The results of the labours of a few French scholars, Sylvain Levi,

Jean Przyluski, and Jules Bloch have been made available in India just now by the translation of some of their work. The translator is P. C. Bagchi, M.A. and the book has been published by the University of Calcutta, 1929, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India. On some words of typically tropical or semi-tropical things, as the words for *cotton*, *plantain* and *betel*, fairly satisfactory conclusions have been arrived at, while the words for *cocoanut* and *rice*, which are of equal interest and importance have not been sufficiently dealt with.

If the Santali words for rice, *horo* and *huru*, could be satisfactorily connected with the seemingly equivalent Mon and Khmer words, the equation thus established would go a long way towards proving that whatever the actual relation or contacts between the two groups of races may have been, the fact that they have common terms for tropical products would indicate where that meeting or contacts took place or what their original relationships were.

Will it be possible approximately to indicate what part of the various vocabularies of the group are really *Austric*, i.e., common to all? Until we know far more of the structure of Austric words than we know now, the existence of such a nucleus of Austric words will be difficult to prove. But to come down to less specific words than these, to the terms for such homely things as *oil*, *flower*, *tree*, *tortoise*, *grass* and *jute*, we have the following :

1. Santali :			
Kurku :	sunum		oil
Central Sakai	senam	"	oil

2. Mon :			
Mundari :	tanom,		a plant, tree,
Uraon :	tonang,		a forest

All these cases have in common the full words with a nasal at the end.

3. Central Sakai :			
Malay :	koer-koera		"
Khasi :	dykar		"
Santali :	horo		"

Compare with this :—

Mon :			
Sakai :	kroptu		covea
Santali :	jerkop	"	

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4. Mon :	pakao and kao,	flower
Stiang :	kao,	"
Khmer :	phka,	"
Sakai :	pon,	"
Santali :	baha	"

In these two cases we have a fading out of *k* into *h*, and of *p* into *b*, which present no great difficulties in equating the words.

The remaining pair of words in this list were added tentatively for the words *grass* and *jute*.

Mon :	kamot	grass
Khasi :	kymbat	" (Schmidt, Grundzuege der Khasi Sprache, p. 697).
Santali :	backom	"

Backom is the Santali word for the babui grass, used for making ropes. There is an up-country form *bad* or *bat* for the same grass.

Backom might well be related to *kymbat*. The change from *t* to *c* and the infix of *k* between the stem and the ending *om* will not present great difficulties.

And finally :—

Khasi : *kymbat*, flax, does at least remind one of the Bengali word *pat* for jute, and the Santali word, *bat son* for the Indian hemp.

We ought also look at the curious Santali word *merhet*, which seems to have no congruity among the Indo-Chinese group of Austric languages except perhaps the Mon words *mre*, a knife or cleaver, and a Wa word, *rom*, iron. There is however the word *mari*, for iron, in one of the Naga dialects, and Larsen as early as 1847 noted the Singoho word *mpri* for iron.

The Khasi has *rar* for iron, and of the Dravidian languages there is *irumbu* for iron, in Tamil, and, much closer, *irunu*, iron, in Telugu.

It remains to be seen how much such Dravidian traces will help in elucidating the Munda or Austric problems.

Mss. received January, 1930.
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II. THE EQUIPMENT OF AN IRANIST.*

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., PH.D.

The Heart. So far we have been considering merely the intellectual aspect of an Iranist. The aim was 'to know something about everything' in order to know everything about one subject. I hope I have made quite clear my view that an Iranist must have a wide intellectual outlook, and must try to keep abreast of modern research in every direction.

But for Zoroastrians this is not enough. Non-Zoroastrians may be satisfied with this much ; most of the great Western Iranists, our revered *Gurus*, have been content with a purely intellectual interpretation of our culture. But a Zoroastrian must go further. He must not only interpret, but also live the life of the religion he has inherited from his forefathers. It is only by his life that he can give full significance to his theories. Otherwise the interpretations are in danger of remaining partial and full of mental reservations. It is easy to argue that certain precepts were very good for primitive society but are of no use to-day. But such an attitude leaves us cold. I would much rather have the fervour of the so aimlessly. Verily to-day we and barren researches of the finest scholars without the faith that enlivens all.

Intellect introduces a feeling of superiority, which separates and divides, while a fervent heart unites. We Parsis have been too individualistic of late and have forgotten to work together for a common ideal. It is this absence of an ideal in life that has caused our people to flounder so aimlessly. Verily to-day we

"eagerly frequent
Doctor and saint and hear great argument,
About it and about that, but evermore
Come-out by the same door as in we went".

However glorious, however inspiring the ideal of a different religion may be, it cannot have the same appeal as our own. But unfortunately, we Parsis lack to-day the inspiration of our own past, of the message of our own prophet. If we could but realize that our own race had one day such inspiring ideals as raised them to the first rank amongst the

*Extracts from a lecture to Parsi Students. Continued from previous issue.
Editor, V.-B. Q.

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people of olden days, how different would be our outlook on life and on the problems that face us?

For this both intellect and feeling are necessary. The chief difference between the "intellectual" and the "emotional" approach to a religion lies in their respective points of view. The intellectual approach is definitely historical. In studying the life and works of a great religious prophet the emphasis is placed on the date, on the cultural background and the historical significance of his teachings. His greatness is admitted but such greatness is believed to be relative (and not absolute), having particular reference to a particular epoch. The other view, which I hold myself, is that a Great Teacher of humanity is great and has significance not merely for his own time but for all time.

I think it is a great mistake to look upon the Prophets as men only a little in advance of the average humanity of their time. The wisdom of their teachings have a permanent value, and can only be appreciated by humility, by search, by devotion. Zoroaster Himself asking wisdom from Ahura Mazda begins with the words "I beseech with hands uplifted in humility". This should be our attitude towards the Prophet.

The first requisite, then, for understanding the true inwardness of the message of Zoroaster is "humility", the realization of the greatness of His Wisdom and of His Divine Inspiration. Then comes the "Search", by deep and continuous meditation, with the help of all our intellectual equipment. The third thing necessary is "devotion", a patient following of the appointed path. It is only in this way that we can begin to appreciate the inwardness of the Message. As years pass on, as we grow stronger in our "humility", our "search" and our "devotion", we will gather more and more of the Divine Wisdom enshrined in the great Message of Zoroaster. As veil after veil shall lift we shall realize that this Message has a meaning not only for Iran of several thousand years ago but for all humanity and for all time. We shall realize that this same "message" which we have jealously preserved through the ages is indeed one which we need to-day, one which will solve all our present difficulties and doubts. (*Concluded*).

Mss. received September, 1930.

NOTES.

Future issues of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* will be published in parts, four to the year which will be reckoned from October to September in conformity with financial year of the Visva-bharati.

Rabindranath Tagore arrived in U.S.A. early in October, and was taken seriously ill almost immediately afterwards. The doctors advised absolute rest for sometime and all American engagements were accordingly cancelled. But though he himself could not attend them, very successful exhibitions of his drawings were held in New York and Boston. In our next number we will publish extracts from the comments of noted art critics on the Poet's drawings.

About a year ago we received a letter from an unknown Englishman expressing appreciation of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, and enclosing a most interesting article on *The Modern West*, which we had great pleasure in publishing in our issue of October, 1929. The writer, Mr. Reginald A. Reynolds, came to India shortly afterwards, and visited Santiniketan in last January. It will be remembered that he was commissioned by Mahatma Gandhi to carry his historic letter to the Viceroy, and was later placed in charge of *Young India* as its Editor. Before taking up his work in Sabarmati, Mr. Reynolds sent us a number of poems one of which we are publishing in this issue. He has also promised to write on the cultural relations between Europe and India, and we hope he will redeem his promise in the near future.

We are publishing in this issue the first of a series of three critical essays on the fundamental concepts of Sociology by Mr. Dhurjati Prasad Mukherjee, M.A., of the Lucknow University. In the two succeeding essays Mr. Mukherjee analyses the concepts of Equality and Social Forces in relation to Progress and Personality.

Dr. Julius Germanus, Ph.D., Nizam Professor of Islamic Studies, Visva-Bharati, discusses recent movements in Persia in the third article of a series, the first two of which, on Arabia and Turkey respectively,

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were published in earlier issues. The last article, on Egypt, will be published in the next number. Dr. Germanus is at present engaged in a detailed study of modern Islamic movements in India.

Dr. Harish Chandra Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., of the Calcutta University, contributes a study of the co-operative movement in India. He is the author of the well-known *History of Early European Banking in India*, and several intensive studies of economic problems. He was a brilliant student of mathematics at one time, and we expect great things from him in analytic studies in statistical economics.

It will be noticed that we have adopted the definite policy of publishing systematically research memoirs of the Vidya-Bhavana (Research Institute) of the Visva-Bharati.

Pandit Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, Adlyaksha, Vidya-Bhavana (Head of the Research Institute at Santiniketan), has initiated a comprehensive programme of comparative Tibeto-Sanskrit Studies. It is no exaggeration to state that as a result of his labours during the last five years he has succeeded in building up a new school for such study.

A critical restoration of the lost text of the Mahāyānavimśaka from Tibetan and Chinese Sources by Pandit Bhattacharya himself is published in full in this issue. The author of the work is believed to be Nāgārjuna, but whether the first Nāgārjuna (circa 200 A.D.) or the second Nāgārjuna (first half of the seventh century A.D.) remains undecided.

In this number is concluded a comprehensive and critical study of Jaina Schools and Sects by Mr. Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A. Mr. Sen was a research student of the Vidya-Bhavana, Santiniketan, for a number of years, and is at present working in Calcutta.

The restoration of the Sanskrit text (which was believed to have been lost) of the Nairātmyaparipṛeṣṭhā from a Tibetan version by Mr. Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyay, M.A., published in this issue, is of great interest in as much as it affords convincing proof of the objective validity with which such work of restoration can be accomplished. A comparison

with the original text (which was discovered and published after the work of restoration was completed by Mr. Mukhopadhyaya) shows that there is a substantial agreement between the two versions.

Arrangements have been made for publishing a series of research memoirs and studies under the name of Visva-Bharati studies. The following numbers will be available immediately :—

- No. 2. *Mahāyānavimīśaka*. By Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya.
- No. 3. *Schools and Sects in Jain Literature*. By Amulya Chandra Sen.
- No. 4. *Nairātmyapariprēccha*. By Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya.

The following two numbers are nearly ready and will be published very shortly :—

- No. 1. *Brahmasūtras*. Edited by Kapileswar Misra.
- No. 5. *Catuhśataka*. Edited by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya.

Other volumes in preparation are :—

ĀGAMĀŚĀTRA OF GAUDAPĀDA with a new Interpretation by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya.

NĀGĀNANDA, Tibetan Text. Edited by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya.

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EDITOR

P. C. MAHALANOBIS.

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VISVA-BHARATI

PRESIDENT: RABINDRANATH TAGORE



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THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY.

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DEFEAT.

By REGINALD A. REYNOLDS.

In change hath Death eternal dynasty :
This law of yesterday—these faded flowers—
Zimbabure, and the Babylonian towers
Are emblems of a mightier one than we,
Whose oldest songs are sadder than the sea.

Yet still, with infinite patience, toil and care
We rake the embers of the Past to find
Some vital spark to light the new-born mind ;
And as funeral ash the Phoenix bare
Our Faith is found in ruins of Despair.

For though the older Faiths have taken wings
We have no cause to fear. Our journey runs
Beyond the setting of a thousand suns ;
And the Eternal Swan forever brings
A continuity of beauteous things.

Nor shall they think of us, those men unborn,
“A race of weary labourers, whose toil
“Was bent to their destruction, that the spoil
“Of heart and brain and sinew might adorn
“The dying splendours of an age outworn.”

But rather, knowing how we toiled and planned,
Shall they discern amid the seeming loss
The mystery and meaning of the Cross :
And seeing here the working of His Hand
Thank God for suffering. . . . and understand.

INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL*

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

I wish to thank you for your words of welcome and for your approval of my work. I have been requested to speak a few words about international goodwill, but as this subject is so obviously controversial I hesitate to deal with it. I wish you could have had someone else more competent to deal with it.

One thing which I have realized in the East is that it is rather difficult in the Western Continent to cultivate the international mind. There are certain obstacles in the way which are militating against it. There is the spirit of individualism which has been so much raised by your culture in the West. Then it is apparent also that you have got here politics, and such politics as create differences between nations which are the cause of so much of the spirit of fighting and contention, making peace difficult to attain. We have also the same spirit of egotism in the people in the East, but I believe there is more community of interests there than excessive individualism.

It was during my voyage to America, I suppose, in 1916, that nationalism was first presented to me in its true light. When I came to Japan I had a chance of observing something that deeply hurt my mind. I saw the trophies won from the Chinese people being exhibited there. It was just after China had been humiliated by the Japanese people. It struck me as vulgar and vain-glorious that these people should forget everything and show this spirit of bragging. It was almost childish that a self-respecting nation should indulge in such a thing. It came to me very strongly owing to the fact that naturally the Japanese are very courteous and take an immense amount of trouble to make life beautiful and poetical. Because

*A summary of the speech given at the Reception arranged in his honour by the All People's Association at the Hyde Park Hotel, London, on January 8, 1931.

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of this intense nationalism in abstract form, humanity is obscured, and that is why the Japanese did not see the shame of indulging in such a display. I feel that this nationalism smothers the higher spirit of man which you often find in the individual.

I am not competent to deal with international relationships between different countries, but, as I have said, your politicians really represent the spirit of aggressiveness which leads towards separateness. I know you are trying to do something to rectify the mischief through the League of Nations, but the nations are not represented by their idealists but only by their politicians. I do not think it is right that the nations should be represented by their politicians in a work which has for its object peace all through Europe. To my mind it is like a band of robbers being asked to organize the police department. (Laughter and applause).

What I have in my own mind is to try to create an atmosphere of mutual sympathy in my own institution. Amongst my own students I have done my best to create that atmosphere. This institution is outside political entanglements, and it is the one institution in which the students are natural to those visitors who come from the West or from other Eastern countries.

I have attempted to create this atmosphere in co-operation with some of the great men from Europe. When travelling through European countries, I sent out my appeal to some of the great scholars. My plan was not merely to teach my scholars, but to work so as to create an atmosphere of cultural co-operation. Many from the West responded to my invitation. I had great scholars from France, from Germany, from Czechoslovakia, from Italy, from Norway and from other countries, and we have had help from Englishmen and Americans.

I have also had great help in my parallel work, which is my village reconstruction work. We have had students from all parts of the world, as well as from other provinces besides Bengal in my own country. This is the kind of practical work which I am trying to do, and even in the midst of this great

cyclone of political restlessness in my country I do hope that institutions of this nature will be able to spread their influence to these shores.

It is to counteract this evil of separateness and to have a free channel of communication in a full spirit of sympathy and co-operation that I have dreamed of a day when you in England would come to us, not merely as members of the ruling class, or members of a bureaucracy, but in a detached manner, spreading human love among the people.

WANTED AMBASSADORS.

By MADAME B. P. WADIA

It is a well-known fact that in the modern East, from Angora to Tokyo, a dislike and suspicion for the whole West exists. The feeling is almost a hatred. Deserved or undeserved—it is there.

Political domination, economical pressure and differences of culture are generally said to be the cause. Some hold, and we believe there is a great deal of truth in the opinion, that missionaries of various church denominations, have contributed substantially to that hatred, by their uncalled for interference with religious beliefs of peoples; and especially by their ignorance, or crude and distorted understanding of the religious lore of these ancient races.

On the other hand, it is also acknowledged that the fusion of cultures, mainly through the penetration of the Westerner, has been of some advantage to all concerned. Our western scientific, hygienic and material knowledge, our social institutions, our history and literature have wrought a mighty change in the habits and customs of the East. We must shoulder the responsibility for causing great injury to their moral well-being, for we have introduced in their midst many evils and many diseases. But they will all agree, unless biassed by strong passion, that the West has been instrumental in opening their eyes to spiritual corruption, to intellectual dishonesty, to moral lapses, to lethargy in action, which had overtaken them, which had already killed some of the finest spirits, and were killing the souls of others.

There has been a universal renaissance. Both hemispheres and their innumerable races have come under its influence; and if we of the West have been instrumental in rousing the East, forgetful of its mighty and honourable past, the Orient has been a splendid agent to tear the veil of our religious superstition and bigotry, our race pride and insularity, our ignorance

and hypocrisy. We often wonder if from the events of the last 50 years, the East has not taken better advantage of the spiritual renaissance which has touched us all, and that we have still to absorb the force that upwells from spiritual spheres of the world within.

But what of that hatred of which we spoke? Will it not precipitate a war between the many coloured races of Asia on the one hand and the many proud peoples of Europe and America? We hope not. But hopes are hollow, and if they are to be realized in a tangible fashion, we have to work for them.

As it seems easy to look at the faults of others than our own, let us glance at our Asiatic neighbours. It is difficult to find out in whom distrust for the West is absent. Dislike for us is everywhere, and not silent either. Perhaps if we ask in what classes of the Eastern peoples is there least resentment, we might be able to get some basis for consideration. Those who are thorough-going materialists in the East are most vociferous against the West. Asiatic students of European and American Universities distrust and dislike us the most. They do not hate our ways and our institutions in themselves; most of them adopt European costume and ideas; their outlook is mainly western. But they certainly are all wrath and contempt for us. The way in which they are received in Western countries, the treatment meted out to them, etc., etc., all go to build up their attitude towards us. We do not altogether blame them; we must be prepared to take the consequences of our sneering, snobbish, and superior attitude. On their return home these students beat us at our own games, lash us with the whips bought in Paris or London or Washington, shoot us with the guns of Sorbonne, of Oxford, of Yale. They quote our Holy Bible to prove how unchristian we are; they apply the lessons of our histories, the rebellions of our masses against our tyrants, and compose and sing their own Marseillaise; they imitate our orators, recite our poets, and kindle the fire in their countrymen and make them shout—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. They are assisted by the products of Western model schools and colleges in every Asiatic country. This factor has been recognized, but not to the extent it ought to.

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At the opposite pole is to be found another class which hates Westerners profoundly. If the student drunk with the wine of the West is vociferous, the priest full of his creedal hashish wars against us in silence. He does not fail to see that our western education has ruined his professional prospects, has shorn him of his powers, and has brought disregard and even contempt on his gods. We doubt very much if even the western officers of state really are aware of the subtle influence of the priest on the hearts of the masses? Our missionaries could know better, if they were really Christian in their brotherly contact with their own converts; but they are busy otherwise!

Thus two giant forces are working on millions of men and women of ancient and honourable Asia, and both are working up a frenzy of anti-western description. For many years this has been going on and now the results are visible.

Who are the friends of peace and universal good-will? Who are there who are likely to free themselves from the devil of hatred? What will cast out that devil? The western salesmen and shop-keepers are suspect as economic exploiters and they cannot work the miracle of peace. Our missionaries are the "enemies" of the religious natives—priest-shepherds and their flock alike; they have neither Christ-like straightforwardness, nor tactful diplomacy to work with. The officials, military and civil, are precluded by their position, their heavy work during their temporary stay in "heathendom," to become real friends of the people. They are not regarded as co-citizens, and there are important and vast tracts like Japan, China, Tibet, Persia where this official class even does not exist.

Who then? The spiritually minded in the West have a splendid chance to fraternize with the spiritually minded masses of Asia. Not Church-tied Christians, but those who have freed themselves from that narrow influence and who are not in Asia either for making money or to rule superciliously—such individuals are in demand. They can do world's work as harbingers of peace and good-will. But where are such men to be found?

We say, let them prepare themselves. Surely, the enthusiasm and endurance which under religious influence produced missionaries, catholic and protestant, who navigated oceans and

penetrated forests, are not incapable of begetting souls who will pierce the hearts of their brothers in Eastern countries. Nature supplies demand. It seems to us if we in the West and our colleagues in Asia plan to exchange ambassadors of Wisdom and Love, who will teach while they learn, and are willing to give and receive advice and instruction, a great forward step will be taken. The Poet Tagore has already done this in a measure and all homage to him, but a more universal planning seems necessary. Who is there in this beautiful Paris, in this land of France, who is prepared to join hands with us? We shall be glad to hear from them.*

*Translated from an article in Theosopie.

TRAINING FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT IN AN INDIAN SCHOOL.

By F. G. PEARCE.

The boys attending the Sardars' School, Gwalior, which was founded by His Highness the late Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia, are drawn exclusively from the class of Sardars and Jagirdars of the Gwalior State; that is to say, they are the sons of nobles and landed gentry. The great majority of them are of ancient Rajput or Maratha lineage, with fine traditions of military service. They differ markedly from the average Indian schoolboy of the present day in possessing in a high degree the equalities of initiative, organising capacity, and energy, but many of them are, on the other hand, decidedly below the average in their capacity for and application to bookish studies. This has made it all the more necessary to provide in this School suitable outlets for their energies, in the form of practical work, organised games, and all such activities as may help them to develop and to learn to use wisely and usefully those powers which they outstandingly possess.

The Prefect System.—The School is fortunate in generally keeping its pupils for many years. Quite a large number of them enter when they are of tender age, and do not leave until they have attained majority. This late age of leaving is due mainly to their backwardness in studies. But it is not altogether a disadvantage. It means that there are always in the School a number of senior boys, or rather, young men, who have grown up in the School, who really love it, and who are greatly respected by the younger ones. From among these seniors it is not difficult to find some who make excellent Prefects, and who can be entrusted with very considerable responsibility.

The Prefects are all nominated by the Principal, this being almost the only undemocratic item in the whole of the internal management of the School affairs. But, as they are responsible to the Principal for the maintenance of the tone of the School, its harmony and discipline, he retains this right of choice solely in his own hands; however when a new Prefect is to be appointed, he very often consults the other Prefects informally on the matter, so as to ascertain whom they consider worthy to be added to their number.

There are four Prefects, one for each dormitory; and four Assistant Prefects, likewise one for each. The boys are grouped in the dormitories roughly according to size and age. Three of the four dormitories have from 15 to 20 boys in each; in the fourth dormitory there are only five or six senior boys who are given special privileges; they belong exclusively to the two highest classes in the School, the Matriculation Class, and the Jagirdars' Class,—the two classes from which boys leave the School. The Head Prefect of the School is the Prefect of this "Collegians'" dormitory, as it is called.

The Prefect of each dormitory (and, in his absence, the Assistant Prefect) is expected to see that the boys in his charge adhere to the routine of the Daily Programme of the School, which is a very full one, and he is also expected to know if anyone is absent, and, if so, for what cause. To enable him to keep a check on this, no leave is granted except on the recommendation of the Dormitory Prefect, and, on returning, a boy who has been on leave, has to report to his Prefect. The actual granting of leave is not in the hands of the Prefects, but in those of the Boarding-House Superintendent.

The School Council.—The School Council is an exceedingly important body. It consists of the four Prefects, the secretary of the Mess Committee, the secretary of the Games Committee, two other boys elected by the whole School, one boy nominated by the Principal, the Boarding-House Superintendent, and the Principal; the Principal is ex-officio Chairman; the Council elects its own secretary and treasurer.

The Council has been given very wide powers, since, for

several years past, it has been doing excellent work within a more limited scope. It is clearly understood, however, that the powers are delegated to it by the Principal, who retains the right to resume them if he thinks they are being misused. In practice, however, the Principal avoids interference, and hitherto has acquiesced in decisions of the Council even when he has considered them to be ill-advised, his policy being to let the boys learn by their own experience, except when any extreme danger to the reputation of the School might be involved,—in which case he believes that the Council would be likely to defer to his judgment.

Practically all matters concerning the welfare of the School and its internal management,—with the exception of those relating to the staff, and matters which are within the power of the Governing Council of the School alone to decide,—are referred to the School Council. It is not simply an advisory body, but has certain definite executive powers, including the power to spend a considerable sum of money, for the Principal believes that power is not felt to be real unless it includes power to perform, power to spend, even though the funds may be very limited.

In this School, apart from the payment of the salaries of the staff, which are fixed by the Education Department, and the granting of certain sums of money for equipment, apparatus, and repairs, which is in the hands of the Managing Body, the income of the School is spent on the boys in three ways, first, on food, second, on clothing, and third, on the miscellaneous activities for the benefit of the boys, comprised under the heads of what is known as 'The School Fund,' which will be explained in the following paragraph. It will be shown how the School Council practically controls all these three ways of spending money on the boys, the total amount of money involved annually being more than Ten Thousand Rupees.

The School Fund.—The Managing Body of the School fixes the amount to be allotted annually, per boy, for food and for clothing. In addition to this each boy pays to the School, as a part of the fees, a sum of five rupees per month,

for 'The School Fund.' This is intended to cover the cost of personal requirements such as laundry, hair-cutting, etc., and also school-books, games, picnics, trips, and all other amusements in which the boys participate.

The Principal has placed the use of this money entirely in the hands of the School Council. It may seem a risky step to have taken, but he believes that, in education no less than in political administration, you can never train people to govern themselves, unless you actually let them govern. To do this, you must be prepared to run some risk, just as you must do if you are going to teach a man to swim or shoot. You must face the possibility of mistakes being made, for the sake of the chance of success. It is worth the risk, especially in this School, for in later life its pupils will have to administer great estates, and, if they do not learn to handle money wisely while they are at school, they will surely make worse mistakes later.

In actuality, there is no great risk. The School Council has to frame a Budget, reckon how much it wants to spend on each head, and allot the funds at its disposal accordingly. The actual money is kept in a Bank, and can only be drawn by authorisation of the Principal. Nevertheless, the knowledge that the spending of so large a sum of money paid by the estates of the boys for their own common welfare while at school, is in the hands of their Council, has the effect of giving the Council members a sense of their own importance, and of their responsibility to their fellows and to the School. Membership of the School Council is an honour not lightly esteemed. The fact that this honour is obtainable in several ways is also of value. It can be gained by the steady, reliable boy who becomes a Prefect, as well as by the popular boy who gets elected. The inefficient, if elected, are soon found out, and not elected again.

The functions of other elected bodies will now be described.

The Mess Committee.—Once in two months the whole School, in its Assembly, proceeds to elect a Mess Committee of four members, to which are added, ex-officio, the Assistant

Boarding-House Superintendent, and the School Doctor. This Committee has absolute control, under the Principal and the School Council (to which it is held responsible), of the money allotted for the Food supply.

There are two dining-halls, one vegetarian, and one non-vegetarian. (Note the absence of distinctions based on caste, which detractors of India are so fond of emphasizing on every possible occasion.) It is a standing practice that each dining-hall must have at least one representative on the Mess Committee. The Committee elects one student-member of its number as its secretary; he automatically becomes a member of the School Council, and it is his duty to represent the Mess Committee in the Council, as well as to convey to his Committee any decisions which the Council may make from time to time regarding the matters referred to the Council by the Mess Committee.

A Mess Committee holds office for two months, and its four student-members divide this period of duty, taking either a week each, alternately, or a fortnight at a stretch, or a month between two members acting jointly. The duties of the member-in-charge are arduous. First, he has to ascertain roughly how much he can afford to spend in his period of office, for he will not be permitted to exceed that amount. Bearing this in mind, he arranges the ménus for the meals. If any School picnics, feasts, At Homes, or other social functions fall within his term of office, he must allow for these in his budgetting. He has absolute control over the food supply, except that, if he is found to be indulging in unwise experiments, he will be pulled up by the School Doctor or the Council. If his ménus are not satisfactory he will soon hear about it from the boys; there is also another check, the Day-duty Officer, of whom more will be said later. The Mess Committee also controls the kitchen-servants, and can make recommendations to the School Council concerning any changes it considers desirable.

The Games Committee.—Games and sports form a very important part of the training imparted in this School. They are organised entirely by a Committee which is responsible to

the School Council in the same way as the Mess Committee. The School Council selects the first 'Fifteen,' which consists of the tried and (generally) all-round athletes of the School. The members of the Fifteen elect the captains of the four chief team-games, Cricket, Hockey, Football, and Tennis. These four, together with the two Games-masters of the School, and the Military Instructor, form the Games Committee, which elects one of its student-members as Secretary, who represents its on the School Council.

At the beginning of the year, the School Council allots a certain portion of the School Fund for the use of the Games Committee. The School also has a grant for games in its annual Budget, and these two amounts are at the disposal of the Games Committee for the year. The Committee has to frame its annual Budget, and it is responsible to the School Council not only for the spending of the money allotted to it, but also for the entire arrangement and working of the programme of games and sports throughout the year. The Committee allots different parts of the work to its various members, supervision of marking out the ground for sports, to one member, acting as starters and timers and judges, to others, and so on. Thus each member who is elected to any Committee feels that his office is no mere sinecure or excuse for a title, but that he is entrusted with real power and responsibility, and if he does not perform the duties of his office, he will be made to feel it by the boys.

Boys' Day.—Once a month a full day is given to the boys on which no ordinary classes are held. It is called "Boys' Day." It is not a holiday in the ordinary sense of the word, but a busier day than usual, for throughout this day are held all sorts of activities which the boys enjoy, and which are organised mainly by them, with the help of some members of the Staff. The Boys' Day Committee consists of three members of the Staff, elected by the Teachers' Council, and three boys, elected by the School Council. This Committee arranges the programme for the Boys' Day of each month. The Day generally begins at an early hour of the morning with a short prayer in the open air, under the trees, followed

by some exciting Scout Games. After a rest and some refreshments there follows a programme of some two or three hours devoted to recitations, dialogues, and a debate. The boys have been preparing during the previous weeks for these items, and a panel of Judges awards points which are counted towards the Clan Championship (which will be referred to, later on.) After lunch, there are competitions in indoor games, and then a match in some team-game, followed by an At Home to which old boys and parents are invited. All the arrangements and entertaining are organised and carried out by the boys under the Social Officer who is one of the members of the School Council. In the evening there is usually a cinema show.

Other Officers of the Council.—A fixed sum is spent each year on the clothing of each boy. The School has its uniforms,—the standard pattern of clothes prescribed for daily use, in summer and winter, for games, riding, school etc. The boys take a pride in their clothes, and rightly so. The Council therefore elects one of its members as Clothing Officer; he, and the member of the Staff who is in charge of clothing, and the Boarding-House Superintendent, form the Clothing Committee. This Committee makes the Clothing Budget, selects materials to be used, and sends up its proposals to the Council, through the Clothing Officer.

The Council also elects certain other officers who have important duties to perform. These are the Sanitation Officer, the Common-Room Officer (who has charge of the indoor games, and the periodicals supplied to the reading-room), the Social Officer, who has the important duty of looking after guests. The School has a special Guest-room, always ready, and specially meant as an encouragement to ex-students to visit their old school.

Besides these, the Council keeps a list of older boys, about twenty-five in number, who it considers responsible enough to be entrusted with an office entitled 'Day-duty.' The 'Day-duty Officer' wears a cadet uniform and is on duty from early morning until bedtime, on one day only in each month. His business is to observe everything. He is to

note in detail whether everything is running as it ought to do,—who comes late for morning parade,—who is not properly dressed for School Assembly, or for games,—whether the meals are in time, and of good quality,—whether the dormitories, bathrooms, school buildings and surroundings are swept clean, and so on. He notes his observations in the Day-duty Officers' Diary, which he receives from the Officer of the previous day, and shows it to the Principal on the next morning. This diary is of the utmost use. It enables the Principal to nip in the bud many a piece of slackness, for a boy who is on duty only one day in the month, and who feels it a privilege to have been chosen for this work, is far more keen-eyed for defects than a regular officer who has to perform the same round and routine every day. Deprivation of the privilege of being on the list of Day-duty Officers is one of the severest penalties which the Council metes out to offenders against discipline and good form.

The Clan System.—Though not directly bearing on the question of self-government, reference may here be made to another feature in the organisation of the Sardars' School since it forms a very strong stimulus to many other activities. The School is divided into four groups, named 'Clans,' each bearing the name of an Indian hero, and having its own distinguishing colour. As far as possible the Clans are so divided that they contain an equal number of boys of outstanding ability in games. The Council regulates the division and frames all the rules of the Inter-Clan competitions.

These competitions comprise practically every activity of the School, not only the games. Points are awarded to individuals for regular attendance, conduct, school work, deeds of bravery, athletic prowess, scout tests, objects made by the boys themselves, objects collected for the School Museum, and these points go to swell the total of points scored by the Clans to which the individuals belong. Points are also deducted for absence, violation of School Rules, and a few other offences. There are inter-Clan matches in all team games, and also in such activities as riding, shooting, gardening, gymnastics, indoor games etc.

An important feature is that no individual prizes are awarded in this School, with two exceptions,—a Silver Cup to the senior boy who scores the largest number of points of his Clan during the year,—and a similar prize to the junior boy who accomplishes the same. A Championship Cup is awarded annually to the Clan which scores the largest number of points for all the activities of the year (including marks in the School Examinations), and the members of the winning Clan are entitled to wear a small badge throughout the following year, which they forfeit if their Clan loses the Championship.

We have found that this system has most of the advantages of competition without its evil effects. The smallest boy feels that he can do something for his Clan, even if it be only by attending school regularly and scoring full-attendance marks. In actual practice the younger boys do contribute as much to the Clan total as the older ones, for they are specially active in such things as handwork, collecting and so on.

The entire Clan system is organised and directed by a special committee consisting of the four Clan Chieftains, who are boys elected by the members of their respective Clans. This Committee, however, is also finally responsible to the School Council.

The Clan system has now been in operation for about a year and a half; other items of self-government have been in existence longer. With such a preparation as a foundation, it is in the natural course of things that an effort should now be in progress to extend the self-governing principle to studies also, in the form of the Dalton Plan. This is now being tried in the four highest classes of the School, and it remains to be seen whether for this type of boy self-government in studies proves as successful as self-government in other activities seems to be.

(Mss. received October, 1930).

EQUALITY AND PROGRESS

By DHURJATI PRASAD MUKHERJEE.

The idea of equality has differed in different countries and in different times. It has varied with the varying vicissitudes of group-suffering. For the concept of equality has usually been determined by the reaction against the particular form of disabilities imposed upon the sufferers. Sometimes it has been the exclusive political privileges, sometimes the tyranny of the priestly classes, or at other times the economic exploitation of one class by another which would become galling and oppressive. Discontent spreads among the exploited class, and usually the conscience of a few rare individuals of the exploiting class is also aroused; the social equilibrium is perturbed, and the forces of revolution rally round a newly forged concept of equality.

Equality among the members of the ruling race marks the earliest stage in the evolution of the State. Thus, in the Greek democracies, in the Roman Republic and Empire, among the Germanic tribes and Federations of Central Europe (no less than in India, China and Japan), the descendants of the conquerors were the only citizens in possession of full civic rights. The ancient State was a pyramid, the apex of which was the conquering race and the base of which was formed by the vanquished tribes. This is why Socrates, Plato and Aristotle 'very nearly taught a doctrine of spiritual inequality'. The Stoics were really the first people in Europe to believe in and preach the spiritual equality of mankind. Their faith in the intrinsic rationality of human beings was strong. Yet stoicism remained an aristocratic creed; it never appealed to the masses though 'good' was conceived hedonistically, and rationality was granted to all men. For, with the Stoics, the faith in equality and unity of mankind was an intellectual and impersonal abstraction. As Dr. Willoughby observes, "it was not a unity based upon a mutual charity, sympathy and love, following from a conscious recognition that all men and

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women are moral beings, all the objects of a single divine and loving will". Man as an ethical being, as an individual who is an end by himself, was not recognized by the early philosophers of Greece as a rule. The social good was appreciated but the value of the life of the individual was ignored. (Is it not strange that stories of human beings as members of a family, as fathers, mothers, sons and daughters, or lovers are rare in the chronicles of Greece? Is it because of the fact that the whole emphasis was on the civic virtues and duties as opposed to individual merits?).

Even in the best period of Greek civilization, an individual was never interpreted in the light of his conscience. So when the Apostles preached equality before God in fellowship with Jesus Christ, the unenfranchised poor found a ray of hope in the message. The patrician was responsible for the greatness of Rome, and the poor foreigner was debarred from enjoying the privileges of the patrician. In principle, the Roman republic was an extension of the city-state of Rome, itself modelled on the aristocratic city states of Greece. Those debarred from enjoying the rights and privileges of citizenship flocked to the catacombs. But their hopes of millennial equality where all were equal in faith, hope and charity, were not to be realized, for such realization depended on the intervention of the clergy drawing their power from one man who held the key to the ultra-mundane kingdom. The Pope ruled in apostolic succession, and by virtue of his possession of the key, became the arch-mediator between God and His children, and the supreme authority for laying down and interpreting the conditions of fellowship in Christ for the faithful.

In the meantime, the Republic had changed into an Empire. Rome had now become the centre of the world's trade and commerce. Foreigners were settling in great numbers in Rome. Their presence increased the wealth of the city. The task of colonial government and the problem of the alien introduced the principles of equity in Roman jurisprudence. The growth of equity succeeded in throwing open to all the inhabitants of the Empire the rights and duties of being governed by the Jus Civile of Rome. The Emperor Caracalla

satisfied a long-felt want, and the year 211 A. D. must be recognised as a landmark in the annals of democracy, when the principle of equality before the law was first formally recognised. What has happened in Europe since then in the matter of legal equality is either an extension or a variation of this principle. This idea of equality in the eyes of the law, however important an achievement it might be, was and is neither universal in its scope nor practicable in administration. Even when legal equality is recognized as the source of individual rights, the exercise of such rights always depends on the possession of certain capacities. These capacities, however, are not constant for all individuals or all groups of individuals. There are the minors and the dependents, women amentes and dementes, the morones and the insane, in fact, the whole class of the feeble-minded who have to be protected. And there are the 'backward races unfit for self-government' for whose benefit administration has to be carried on by self-appointed trustees. Over and above that, there is class-legislation.

Historically, the idea of legal equality could not be carried to its logical conclusion in the Imperial Rome of later days, mainly for the reason that the secular state had become transformed into the Holy Roman Empire. The church displaced the city in later times, and created a division between the laity and the clergy. Naturally, the object of popular opposition was not so much the legal inequalities that prevailed as the clerical supremacy in theological and intellectual matters and the clerical tyranny in the moral affairs of men. St. Paul's sentence, 'there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, bond nor free', and the Christian writer Tertullian's dictum, 'the world is a republic, the common land of the human race', became meaningless arrays of dead phrases. Numerous sects arose all over Europe, in England, France, the Netherlands and Germany, and began to reinterpret the doctrines of the church in the original spirit of Christ and Paul. They were the precursors of the Reformation. A parallel movement was started in education to free young minds from the bondage of theology and the domination

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of the clergy. The growth of a new humanism initiated a new phase in European civilization. The idea of moral and economic equality practised by the leaders of early Christianity gained fresh significance. Martin Luther denied the authority of the Pope and his clergy, while the German peasants denied the claims of the princes, (but Luther was not conscious of the parallelism between the two movements). Men were the same before God, and had equal rights in his gifts. Therefore men were entitled to attain the same status before the Father and no priests were needed to put them on the same level.

The idea of economic equality did not, however, develop for a long time. It had to wait for the transformation from an agricultural to an industrial condition of society. The agricultural type of civilization was not congenial to the growth of economic equality. But a start was made in the Protestant movement. This movement did something more than protest, it had a constructive aim with its active principle of moral equality. But the movement as such was lost in the midst of religious wars conducted apparently for otherworldly reasons but essentially in the interests of the Roman Church. The folly of religious wars created such a reaction that Luther's magnificent effort to teach man to depend on himself came to naught for the time being. Society became organized into states, and the autocracy of princes supplanted the tyranny of the clergy. In the Catholic states, the clergy adopted a new stratagem and invested the king with a measure of divine authority proportional to his military and bargaining powers. In the protestant states, the king became the defender of the faith. If he was powerful, he seized the powers and privileges (even the property) of the clergy. When the king became the head of the church and the state alike, he could enter into conspiracy with the noble and the clergy in an orgy of exploitation of the masses. Thus were sown the seeds of the French Revolution.

Political equality was the dominant idea of the 19th century, not in the sense that it was successfully achieved, but in the sense that collective human endeavour in Europe, for the first time, expressed itself consciously and deliberately

in favour of equal political and civic rights for the people. The initiative had been taken during the French Revolution. On the negative side it succeeded in destroying certain old world conventions. The feudal nobles and the clergy were forced to give up their privileges. On its positive side, the three catchwords of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' were the chief contribution of the Revolution to the making of subsequent history. In civic affairs, careers were opened to talented individuals. In affairs of state, the new religion of Nationalism became firmly established and gave sanction to the right of every nation to pursue its own course of political and civic development.

The point to be noted here is that the idea of equality in post-Revolutionary Europe was essentially political in nature. The extension of the franchise was considered to be the most important condition precedent for all other reforms in the 19th century. England extended the franchise, consolidated the rule of law, engaged in free trade with every country of the world, allowed the largest measure of freedom to her citizens, and became the model state for the rest of the world. In England at least, "the judgments rendered were to be determined wholly by the facts and law involved, and hence irrespective of the social, economic, political or even moral standing of the parties litigant". Politically, England profited most by the French Revolution.

The Industrial Revolution, which started in England and spread gradually to the other countries, wrought enormous changes in the means of production, and consequently in the stratification of society. In the early days, society was synonymous with the conquering race and their progeny; then it was supposed to be mainly composed of landlords and bishops. After the Industrial Revolution society became identified with the capitalists. The exploited labourers became restless and discontented. A theory was elaborated to explain and justify this spirit of unrest, and show its consequences. Karl Marx gave a materialistic interpretation of history with the thoroughness of a German, and though he recognized the role of moral, religious and other ideas, he sought to banish non-

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economic sentiments and actions from the list of the main driving forces of history. The rock-bottom of the question, in his opinion, was the conflict of interests between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots', the rich and the poor. Socially necessary labour alone determined the value of the commodity, and the surplus value exploited from the unorganized labourers went to swell the profits of the capitalist. So, as on the one hand, the labourer was getting poorer, on the other hand, the capitalist was securing a superfluity of material goods. A revolution was therefore inevitable, and future history would be shaped by the creative forces of this revolution.

The socialistic criticism of the present iniquities in the possession of material goods contains many elements of truth. In the first place, the insistence on the social aspect of labour in the determination of value; secondly, the necessity for the organization of labour; thirdly, the usefulness of self-government in industry; and, lastly, a spirit of hopefulness regarding the time when the labourer would come into his own in society, all combined cannot fail to exercise a potent influence on the future history of civilization.

Socialism in demanding economic equality feels certain that all other forms of equality, social and political, would follow inevitably. That is, from the point of view of freedom, the socialist maintains that once economic needs are adjusted, other aspirations and creative activities of individuals would find a free and natural outlet. Under capitalism, he says, creative efforts are possible for a small class of people, the rich; for the rest such activities are practically impossible or only possible under the greatest difficulties. Therefore, the creative efforts either become leisurely activities or partake of the nature of the difficulties overcome. Art becomes aristocratic, unreal and unbalanced, and reflects only one aspect of human nature. All inventions are patented for private gain. Snobishness and bitterness tinge all social activities. In so far as the creative impulses are fettered and atrophied by long repression, there is a disturbance in the balance of the human being, and that is an ethical loss. So the most important demand of the socialist, from the point of view of freedom, is

for opportunities which will allow the creative impulse of individuals to work unhampered.

If we substitute the word "proletariat" for the word "citizen," then the following remarks on the spirit of the French Revolution may very well apply to the Communists' movement. "That spirit had in it the fierce quality of enthusiasm. When men come to think of the world as a universe in which their lives count, in which their individual minds are associated with a great harmony of functions and purposes, their response to this new vision has a kind of mystical force. There is in the atmosphere of the French Revolution as in that of the early Christian Societies, the rapture of confidence and expectation. The word 'citizen' meant to this movement what the word 'Christian' had meant to the other; it brought into men's minds a driving power such as could be brought by no mere sense of wrong; men were eager to die for it; they became, (unhappily) scarcely less ready to kill for it. The secret of happiness and virtue, it was a word to send armies to encounter every kind of peril from one end of Europe to the other. It is just this quality in revolution that makes it at once so intoxicating and so terrifying. Minds take sudden light from it, and a power that teaches by flashes is a dangerous master. Enthusiasm turns to fanaticism and under its spell men are better and worse than their fellows. In the French Revolution, politics are at once sublime and brutal, generous and savage, surpassing the most ardent hopes of the age, outrunning its wildest fears. Men are born equal and with equal rights. Free and equal they remain. The first article of the Declaration of the Rights of Man sped on wings of passion from the study to the Assembly, from the Assembly to the streets of Paris, from the streets of Paris to the battle-fields of Europe."

That Communism in Russia is a new faith which inspires confidence for it in men who are as ready to die as to kill has been noted by all observers. The mental attitude of the communist is in many ways that of a mystic or a fanatic. But has the spirit of equality, liberated by the shock of wide-spread destruction, found free expression in the new scheme of things? Even the greatest admirer of the Russian Revolution has to

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confess that there exist serious gaps between professed aims and actual achievements. The excuse of enemies abroad, the indifference of peasants, and the transitional need of strict control over the wavering and the heretic are cold comfort to those who had no doubt suffered from inequalities under the old regime, but who still suffer from the ruthless efforts from the top to secure adherence to certain abstract principles. The Russian labourer has acquired a wonderful sense of dignity. He is participating in startling experiments. He no longer walks with stooping shoulders. But he does not as yet look like 'a poplar shooting its head up into the skies,' when he has to merge himself in a collective whole, the interpretation of the purpose of which is in the hand of a particular party in power. Civic equality which postulates the right capacity and practice of taking continuous initiative is confined to the executive of the party. Even individuals who have energy to survive this process of surrender to the collective whole emerge as colourless, uniform quantities whose value, logically, is one. There can be no equality in uniformity. The value of equality consists in variety which is possible only when individuals have the right to differ from one another and be respected for the sake of such very differences.

There appears to be a real conflict between the fundamental ideals of philosophical communism and the method adopted for their realization in Soviet Russia. A theory of action which insists on emphasizing the superiority of the collective group over the individual unit is bound to frustrate individual initiative to a great extent.

The above survey should not lead us to the conclusion that inequality has been the monopoly of European societies. Whenever there have been conquests, there has been a stratification of society. In the beginning it is essentially two-fold : the victors and the vanquished. Later on, society is split up into a number of strata. The existence of rank, based on wealth, prowess, superior knowledge of the mysteries of nature, and the magical control of elemental forces by propitiation and incantation, is to be noticed in all primitive and tribal societies. In the civilized communities of the East, there has always

been a marked difference in the sharing of social, political and economic privileges. In recent time, however, such internal differences have been overshadowed by other inequalities created by new political and economic situations arising out of the domination of the East by the West. It is no longer the Brahmin or the Mandarin group of oligarchy that commands all the special privileges; in many ways they have been replaced by the white members of powerful Western nations. 'The white man's burden,' the 'sacred trust' of the West to civilize the East are the slogans with which the continuance of political and economic domination of subject races is sought to be justified. The reaction against this attitude has taken the form of the intense preoccupation of the Eastern people with the problem of removing political inequality. Looking beyond the immediate political struggles, we find that in the Eastern, as well as in the Western society of to-day, individuals are, for all practical purposes, enclosed in class or caste. The Indian speaking of destiny often means status which is determined by birth. In an advanced state of society the growing admixture of races and the increasing division of labour lead to the recognition of functioning as an important element in the social structure. It must not be assumed, however, that the functional organization of society means equality for all. Admitting the validity of Nesfield's theory of the functional origin of caste in Northern India (it is valid for more than 75 per cent. of the castes in the United Provinces), all that we know of the measure of equality achieved within the caste is that the caste-guild or Panchayat, where it works efficiently, seeks to remove unfair economic competition from among its members. The means adopted are, first, regulation of prices, wages, hours, and other conditions of employment and marketing; secondly, provision of a certain amount of technical instruction and training through apprenticeship, primarily for the young members of the family of the craftsmen but to the benefits of which young men of the same caste are socially entitled; and thirdly, by the organization of social and religious festivals in which all, without distinction, can and very often do participate. Instances of efficient caste-guilds are not rare even now. For obvious

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reasons they are disappearing. But they prove that there was a time when society was organized on a functional or occupational basis.

The caste, however, is a socio-economic group, in which the social functioning of a member is more important than the economic. This has been a characteristic feature of almost all Indian communities, even of those which do not recognize caste in the orthodox sense of the term. The overwhelming importance attached to 'sainaj-dharma' has been largely responsible for the stability and consolidation of such communities inspite of their political vicissitudes. Social solidarity, in the past, largely compensated for political atomism. The existence of numerous castes within the village has always been of less significance than that of the caste feeling that comprehends villages, districts and even provinces. The political importance of the Hindu Mahasabha, incorporating all castes and transcending provincial barriers, is a recent example of the same tendency.

Once we recognize that the genius of Hindu culture is essentially social, it is easy to notice how the sense of social solidarity has retarded economic disruption.

A society based primarily on a particular system of production is apt to be dismembered into conflicting classes. The same could be said of a society based on a particular system of sharing political spoils and privileges. The comparative stability of Hindu and Chinese societies (based as they are on principles of social obligation with political or economic rights and duties following therefrom) proves that disruption can be stayed by an insistence on the social aspects of group-living. The social aspect is emphasized by other factors than caste. Thus the joint-family, especially under the Mitakshara and the Dayabhaga, secures to the aged, the disabled, the weak, the widow and other dependents a certain measure of economic support and prevents them from being driven to slums—the breeding ground of class-consciousness. The same could be said of Muslim and Chinese societies. The family-life of all Oriental communities lays a religious and moral obligation on the able to support the unable and the disabled. It is a socio-

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religious counter-move to economic inequality. The common fund of the village, the democratic procedure of village and caste-panchayats, the division of waste-land by lot and its distribution by rotation, the strong tradition of co-operation in social and economic life, have all combined to mitigate to a great extent the hardships arising out of the inequality implicit in the caste-system. That castes are still undergoing the slow process of fusion, mainly, as a result of changes in occupation, that "new endogamous groups are constantly being created, the process of fusion is ever in operation, and what is more important still the *novus homo*, like his brethren all the world over is constantly endeavouring to force his way into a higher grade," are facts about the present day caste in India which have to be recognized along with those about its rigid restrictions. The important point to be noted in the present discussion is the fact that within the caste, there was, at least, in the past, a perceptible measure of economic equality, secured by the caste-guild, and also no small measure of social equality secured through the sense of social obligation informing all the members of the community, rich and poor. Yet the fact remains that the social obligation was itself a function of birth.

Let us grant that in the good old days the caste-guilds worked smoothly. We should not forget, however, that both status and occupation were determined by birth. This principle at its best, was based on a crude knowledge of the heritability of certain traits of craftsmanship, and the desirability of fostering them by the provision of a congenial atmosphere and suitable instruction. The caste principle divided society into a few broad classes, within each of which a certain amount of equalization of opportunities may be said to have prevailed. In other words, in the healthiest period of Oriental Society (Indian and Chinese), within a particular group or caste, function was, in practice, almost as important as birth in the determination of status. But even in the golden age, so far as the whole structure of the caste system was concerned, especially in the relation of one caste to another, function remained secondary to the older principle of birth. In the period of decadence function itself became as stereotyped as birth.

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This is the position of Hindu society to-day. The caste is no longer an equalizing agency within its fold. The caste-guild no longer exercises a quasi-monopoly. But the caste-feeling is not yet dead. As the lower castes in India are very poor, and caste-feeling, instead of dying, is increasing among them, the gulf between work and wages (which would usually be small when choice of occupation is free and dependent on acquired skill), is becoming wider. The disagreeable occupations to which some are born are not fetching high wages, as they should normally. Occupations stratified into caste cannot admit of any principle of free competition for equal wages or opportunities.

The heritability of certain gifts and of the need for their development by proper stimuli, which was the primary merit of the caste-system in early times, has been misinterpreted for their own advantage by interested parties like priests and warriors. At the present time, this crude knowledge which is supposed to be stored in caste-traditions offers no hope of the enjoyment of proportional opportunities for the development of individual abilities. The caste-system in modern Hindu society cannot, by any stretch of sociological imagination, be considered to be serving eugenic needs. Nor can the present structure bear the stress of democratic and individualistic tendencies of the Western civilization in which the idea of equality has a peculiar significance of its own. It is not surprising, therefore, to find in recent Indian thought a growing emphasis on the urgent need of doing away with differences determined by birth. The increasing discontent among the depressed classes against social superiority of the higher castes, as well as the urge in the mind of the educated and politically-minded intelligentia to remove the social and political differences between the "natives" and the white members of the foreign ruling class, (who are the glorified Brahmins of modern India with powers of good and evil increased a thousand-fold) are different phases of the same movement.

It must be remembered, however, that the idea of political, social and economic equality, as entertained by the Oriental of the 20th century, is distinctly of European origin and that it

is primarily in reaction to foreign domination that this idea is gathering strength in the East.

But what is the abiding value in the idea of equality? Is it a necessary factor for progress? Progress in the ultimate analysis involves change, directivity and purpose. The conditioning phenomena are (1) geographic, *i.e.*, "climate, soil, water-supply, other mineral sources, flora, fauna, topography"; (2) technic, *i.e.*, "the material products of human work, which having once been produced are conditions of further activities"—these, being human achievements, are more subject to human control than the geographical conditions; (3) psycho-physical—which are either congenital, like age, sex, race, psychic predisposition, temperament, natural endowment, hereditary disease and defect; or acquired, like other diseases, defects, developed strength and skill, habits, etc.; (4) the social, *i.e.*, the ideas and sentiments, customs and beliefs, mores and folkways in which an individual is born. This is the classification of the conditioning phenomena given by the late Prof. Hayes.

The geographic factor is comparatively fixed. The technic and the social conditions are subject to rational human control. They merely represent the process of differentiation between individuals, institutions, customs, beliefs, traditions, etc. in the light of values and meanings. But a social force is neither a physical force, nor a moral one. From one point of view, it may be understood as an item in the causal chain, where cause means either a condition precedent or a liberating agent. Rituals, public opinion, traditions, educational agencies are all useful institutions in the sense that with their help the individual can adopt definite sets of values, but to think that they alone create values is no less unwarranted than to consider that the needle on the record creates the music. Social force, if it is to be considered as a force at all, is inherent in the individual living in association with other individuals. Religion, public opinion, or educational agencies depend for their value entirely on the individuals associated with these institutions. It is not rare to find that they often lack positive ideals, are actuated by motives more worthy of the lowest organisations than of human beings, and are powers of evil rather

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than of good. The charge may be laid that I am confusing ritualism for religion, the yellow press for public opinion, and a third rate school or college for the right type of an educational agency. If this charge be true, it would only show that the rightness or the wrongness of the type depends entirely upon individuals associated with these agencies. Unfortunately, there are far too many examples of religions falling to the level of barren ritualism, of journalistic activities originally started under good auspices pandering to crude sensationalism, of schools and colleges degenerating into machines for cramming examinees. Thus religion, public opinion or educational agencies may be instruments for either good or evil. They are not necessarily uplifting, and cannot create values by themselves.

In the same way ideas also may be powerful influences for good or for evil. People have been known to die for ideas. For aught I know, people have more killed for ideas than died for them. Ideas, as such, are therefore not on a higher level than other social forces. The very idea of equality has been responsible for much oppression. It has also supplied a most powerful urge towards the improvement of social conditions. Its significance for progress again depends on the sense of value of individuals.

Equality is not to be interpreted as identity in the possession of material goods, however necessary and important their possession might be for the enjoyment of opportunities for the development of human capacities. Economic equality, as preached by the Utopian or the doctrinaire, cannot be accepted as the only tenet of distributive justice in so far as it ignores a fact of supreme importance, namely, differences in individual aptitudes.

In case innate gifts had been distributed equally between all individuals, the case for an equal distribution of all material wealth would have been irresistible. The fact appears to be, however, that innate gifts are neither distributed equally among different individuals nor at random among different classes. This has been made the basis of an attack on the equalitarian doctrine in recent times. But the attempts to

prove the innate superiority of one race over all others cannot be considered to be scientifically established. A race inferior in certain traits may easily be found to be superior in other desirable traits. Yet the biological residuum of fundamental inequality between individuals, and probably also between certain economic classes, remain an open challenge to the idea of equality. The strictly scientific findings of Eugenists are (1) that innate group-differences exist, but they are small, (2) that differences obtaining between individuals of the same group are usually greater than those subsisting between different groups, and (3) that such differences correspond, roughly, (at least in certain sections of English and American societies) to differences in social status. Cyril Burt writes: "the main conclusion that can be drawn from experimental work is, I think, the following: innate group differences exist, but they are small". In this connection, Carr-Saunders remarks: "if opportunity was equal for all, if social acquirements counted for nothing, and if examination tests were rigorously imposed, we might expect to find greater intellectual differences between the members of professions and other elements of the population than we do find inspite of the fact that such tests sort out emotional as well as intellectual qualities". Later on, the same authority states: "whether we consider racial groups large or small, or whether we consider the classes into which members of the same racial group fall, we find the differences between the average of one group compared with another are small. The differences are small relative to the vast differences which exist between members of the same community. Innate differences therefore are not distributed at random throughout the population." The above conclusions are supported by the fact that there exists a positive correlation between the distribution of mental gifts and the social distribution of individuals according to rank and position in English and American societies. It also appears to be a fact that inspite of increasing educational facilities offered by enlightened states to the labouring classes in the 19th century, their contribution to the production of men of first-rate abilities has been proportionally less than that of the

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middle or higher classes. "Passing from the bottom of a social pyramid to its apex we see a systematic increase of the number of men of genius—an absolute as well as a relative increase." If it is true, as is claimed to have been established by rigorous analysis, 'the higher social classes are more intelligent than the lower ones', then the right relation between the idea of social and economic equality and progress would appear to be what has been indicated by Karl Pearson:¹ "Let there be a ladder from class to class and occupation to occupation, but let it not be an easy ladder to climb; great ability (as Faraday's) will get up, and that is all that is socially advantageous. The gradation of the body social is not a historical anomaly; it is largely the result of long continued selection, economically differentiating the community into classes roughly fitted to certain types of work."

The basic problem of equality is thus concerned with the desire for an equal distribution of wealth fostered by a natural reaction against exploitation of one group by another, and the fact of inequality in the distribution of innate gifts. The problem can be resolved only by the provision of proportional opportunities, on the one hand, and by the recognition of Personality as an important element in the determination of social justice, on the other. It is quite clear that economic inequality cannot be accepted as the only tenet of distributive justice in so far as it ignores differences in abilities. But it is equally clear that the concentration of the greater part of material wealth in the hands of the upper classes cannot be supported by any sort of engenic consideration. The present inequalities of income are *not* based on hereditary difference—this is the cardinal fact of modern industrialized societies. The present inequalities in political privileges are not warranted by racial differences—this is the cardinal fact about the present political situation.

The programme of socialism to do away with such class or national differences in the distribution of wealth appears to be based on sound principles.

¹ National Life from the Standpoint of Science.

But in so far as individual (as opposed to class) differences are concerned, the principle of equal division cannot be considered fair. Emotional and temperamental qualities although not yet successfully measured by the psychologist are as likely to show as large individual differences as intellectual and other abilities. For this reason as well as on account of the known large differences in abilities, the possession of the same amount (and quality) of material goods (above the level of the subsistence minimum) must yield different amounts of enjoyment to different individuals and is consequently valued differently.

One important point may be noted at once. Recent advances in biological knowledge are equivocal in certain ways. One line of advance has been towards a greater insistence on the role of the germ-plasm, which is supposed to be the receptacle of all possibilities of growth. From this point of view, heredity is the most important factor of all. On the other hand the study of conditioned reflexes by Pavlov and his disciples, and the striking results obtained by the Behaviorist school show that rational training may become all important. One thing, however, is clear. Changes in the germ-plasm whether to be brought about by natural and sexual selection, by complicated Mendelian segregation, by unconscious social selection through such agencies as war, disease, etc., or, finally, by conscious eugenic selection, would require enormous periods of time measured in hundreds and thousands of years. On the other hand social changes brought about by great personalities like Buddha and Asoka, Alexander and Napoleon, Lenin or Gandhi, become accomplished facts in a few breathless moments. Hence, in the supreme question of the development of Personality, greater emphasis is to be laid upon the social environment which is more amenable to control by voluntary agencies than upon the mechanical regulation of heredity.

In the absence of specific knowledge regarding the means of regulating the mechanism of heredity, it would be safer to give a fair chance to everyone by removing glaring iniquities and inequalities in the distribution of opportunities. Which chances are to be given to which individuals is subsidiary to the main question that chances should be given to all. In

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other words, the fundamental principles of Democracy, *viz.* political and economic equality, though not the only principle of social justice, must be given precedence over all others. The innate differences, if they are obdurate, will not be effaced by the provision of political and economic opportunities for all, and will come out in the long run. Further, the existing organs of government, public opinion, religion, and educational institutions are so much under the control of vested interests and dominated by inertia that there is no prospect in the near future of eugenic or social or vocational survey of population (however desirable such a survey may be) being undertaken on strictly scientific, that is, non-selfish and disinterested principles. The most practical course would therefore appear to be to press for the removal of the existing class-barriers.

The removal of class-barriers and class inequalities will allow social selection (if there is any virtue in it, which I deny) to make itself felt. If social selection does not manifest itself, and in case a scientific survey of inherent abilities becomes possible, we may set about to distribute opportunities according to individual talents.

If no such survey can be held, or after a survey it is found impossible either to measure the eugenic differences, or to distribute opportunities according to such differences it will still be wise to allow the idea of equality free play in society. From the point of view of what is known as social psychology, the desire for equality expresses a sub-conscious desire of the human mind. Whatever may be the explanation (psycho-analytic, psychonic, endocrinological or otherwise) of the origin of this idea of equality, the fact that all men hope to see this dream realized cannot be ignored. The idea of equality, it may be safely asserted, is at least as real and as potent as any other faith or myth. It is the only consolation of the weak and the only hope of the dispossessed.

Natural rights, as such, have already entered into the ideology of the politically minded Indian. Tilak's famous phrase, 'freedom is the birth right of every Indian' has already made history in India. The insistent demand for complete independence gathers strength from the belief in the idea of

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equality. These concepts have become charged with emotion. To become forces, they must however be externalized into social behaviour. But if the individual valuation is inadequate they will remain barren.

The above discussion shows that capacities, though various, are more approximate in their urgent need of expression for development than is generally supposed. The modes of expression are various. That different potentialities require different environmental stimuli for adequate response is a fact which must ultimately become important for the equitable distribution of opportunities. But what is important at the present time is that in order to bring about those conditions in which every individual will receive an adequate stimulus from the proper environment for his development, we should try to break up as quickly as possible all class barriers with their glaring inequalities artificially bolstered up by interested people.

The inequality which people have been made to feel most and have protested most against is that imposed by one group over another. Individual tyranny has been much more easily tolerated. In Europe, dictators and tyrants have alternated with democracies and republics. The Asiatic people have never objected to an autocratic ruler of the benevolent type. Leadership of great individuals has always been rather liked by them. But when power is grasped by a group, and is sought to be perpetuated by claims of the intrinsic superiority of one group over another, the human spirit rises in revolt. The individual man has always recognized, even if unconsciously, the fact that group tyranny is most inimical to the development of his personality.

In the existing close and artificial social atmosphere, especially in India, the individual has very little opportunity of developing his personality. At best, he can merge himself into a stagnant group-existence. This has almost always been disastrous for social progress. Owing to the demand of the group (family, clan, caste, etc.) upon the individual to merge his existence in that of the group, and owing to improper recognition and interested interpretations of the purpose of group-

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life by the more numerous members of the group, stimuli offered by the group are not adequate for the varying capacities or responses of the individuals. The group demands and creates dead levels.

Progress requires the growth of personality, and it is the task of social justice to remove all restrictions which hamper the development of personality. Herein lies the value of the idea of equality, for it emphasizes the need of providing adequate environmental stimuli to enable potential capacities to develop. If the actual response is small, even then something will have been achieved by the removal of repressions. If the response is large the whole of society is benefited. Rightly understood, equality is not only a valuable instrument of social justice, but is a necessary and fundamental condition of social progress.

MEETING OF THE EAST AND WEST.

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

[Under the auspices of the Discussion Guild and the Indian Society of America, Rabindranath Tagore was given a reception on December 1, 1930, at Carnegie Hall, New York.

Extending welcome to the Poet, on behalf of the Discussion Guild and the Indian Society of America, Mr. M. S. Novik in course of his speech said :—

“It is indeed a pleasure to welcome you all here to-night. We are aware of the honour and the privilege which is ours and were indeed proud to act as platform hosts to the beloved poet of the Far East.

“We are starting a few minutes late only because we were trying our utmost to take in as many people as is humanly possible within the walls of Carnegie Hall. It ought to be said, and I hope it brings comfort to the Poet, and to all friends of India, that there are just as many people trying their utmost to get in, but we have fire rules, and they must be lived up to.

“We have invited the most outstanding woman connected with a University in the United States, and we are fortunate, indeed it is a privilege for us to have as presiding officer one who certainly can be called the Dean of the University women of America, the President of Mount Holyoke College. It is a pleasure to present to you as presiding officer, President Mary E. Woolley.”

President Mary E. Woolley said :—

“Mr. Chairman, Dr. Tagore, and the members of this audience, I am sure that our guest of the evening needs no introduction. I feel that he hardly needs word of welcome. The fact that so many hundreds of people are delighted to have this opportunity to pay their respect to a man who holds the respect of the world at large is in itself the greatest of welcomes.

“It is very difficult to select any phase of the work of our guest, especially to emphasize any one phase. He has done so much in so many different ways. Surely no one has done more, or is doing more, to help in solving India’s problem than our friend here to-night. He

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has emphasized in his educational work the importance of the individual. And he has emphasized the ideal of peace.

"More than twenty-five years ago he started in far-off India a school for children, of which I think many of us (who are but 'children of a larger growth') would have been glad to have been a part. Because the theory underlying that education was the development of the individual child by giving to him the freedom to grow. He had no sympathy with machine-made lessons. And consequently in the Poet's Institution, lessons are given under the shade of trees, in the living presence of nature; plays are acted, there is dancing, there are songs of the spring, songs of the rain, which are composed and set to music by the Poet himself for such festive occasions.

"Freedom and progress were the two educational watch-words in that school. There was an atmosphere of culture. Learned men who could give much came to talk to and interest the children. There was freedom also, as far as caste and race and nationality were concerned. And liberty, the spirit of liberty was in their lives.

"But that school for the children has grown into something very much more significant even than that group, with all the joy in living and the joy in thinking, and the impressions that arose from the things of beauty by which they were surrounded. Soon there will be the tenth anniversary of the University which was established as the out-growth of the smaller school. It is a cultural meeting place between the East and the West, and its object is 'to study the mind in its realization of the different aspects of peace from diverse points of view, and to bring into more intimate relations with one another the different cultures of the East on the basis of their underlying unity; to approach the west from the point of view of such a unity of life, to seek to realize in Asia a common fellowship of study, and the meeting of the East and the West and thus ultimately to strengthen the fundamental conditions of world peace through the free communication of ideas between the two hemispheres.'

"Truly a cultural meeting place between the East and the West. And I suspect that if you and I were to visit that International University, we should find many things that would be surprising from the practical side as well as the idealistic side. There are, for example, experimental farms with growing vegetables; there are spinning-wheels, looms and work along other practical lines. A practical visionary at

work. I sometimes wonder whether the real visionary, that is, the man with vision, is not after all the most practical of all human beings. A practical visionary at work. From dreamland to reality, for in this effort to build up a school, a University representing Indian culture at its highest, it was thought well to develop the practical as well as the ideal. An institution based upon the ideal of spiritual unity of all races. That is the underlying thought.

"And so to-night I have the honour to present to this great audience our visitor, our guest, who needs no introduction. Rather it is for this audience to welcome our guest of honour and our speaker,—a man who is poet and philosopher, teacher and friend of humanity: Rabindranath Tagore, who is going to speak to us on the Meeting of the East and the West."

The speech of Rabindranath Tagore is given below.]

I have felt the meeting of the East and the West in my own individual life. I belong to the latter end of the Nineteenth Century. And to our remote country in Bengal, when I was a boy, there came a voice from across the sea. I listened to it. It would be difficult to imagine what it meant for me in those days. We realized the great heroic ideal which had been held in Ancient Greece and that art which gave expression to its greatness. I was deeply stirred, and felt as if I had discovered a new planet on the horizon.

THE MESSAGE OF THE WEST IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

It was the same feeling which I had when I listened to those in my family who recited verses from English literature and from the great poets of those days. Then also I felt as if a new prophet of the human world had been revealed to my mind.

You all know it was the last vanishing twilight of the Romantic West. We had been living in the atmosphere of the lyrical literature of poets like Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, and we know what inspiration they had within them. And what it was for the rest of the world. There was an upheaval of

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idealism. In Europe, the French Revolution had not died out, and people were dreaming of freedom, of the brotherhood of man. They still believed in the human ideals that have their permanent value, ultimate value in themselves. And it moved my heart. I cannot express how it did move my soul.

I remember as a boy how a friend who had just read a poem came running to me in the night when I was asleep and awaked me, saying, "Have you read this?" And he recited the lines to me, and it stirred us deeply. It was that atmosphere, that human aspect of the Western civilization which appealed to us. It was the humanity of the West. It was not anything mechanical; it did not represent any physical or material quality. Ah, no. It was the message from the heart of the West that touched us deeply.

The West at that time believed in freedom of personality. We heard about Garibaldi, about Mazzini, and it was a new revelation, an aspect of humanity with which we were not quite familiar—the great ideal of the freedom of man, freedom of self expression for all races and for all countries. And we had great reverence for the people who were dedicated to that dream, through their literature, and also through their practical life.

THE MODERN WEST.

I may tell you what I think is the characteristic difference to-day between the East and the West. We, in the East, believe in personality. In the West you have your admiration for power.

Whenever our heart is touched with something that is perfect in human nature, in its completeness, in the spiritual aspect of it, we bow our heads before it. We have a feeling of reverence for the divine in man. And I thought that this human aspect of civilization, which I saw and which I realized in the West when I was young, was something permanent that would help to save the whole world.

There are times when some particular people play the part of messengers of humanity. They come to rescue human

relations from all kinds of fetters of ignorance or moral degradation and despair and weakness of will. We thought the present age belonged to the West, that they had come to save us, to save the whole world from all forms of weakness and which still remains inexhaustible. All these great revelations of history. We knew what India herself had done in olden times. We knew what Greece had offered to humanity and which still remains inexhaustible. All these great civilizations had the effect of redeeming the minds of men from fetters and narrowness, from sluggishness and stupidity.

It is evident that this modern age can belong to the West. You have the illumination, and we have been waiting for long that it should reach us in the East. And we hoped that you would come to us with a message which was universal, which had nothing provincial or exclusively national in it, and in a language that was not ashamed to have itself surrounded by an atmosphere of beauty,—a beauty that had a universal appeal.

And I say as an individual that the West and the East did meet in India in my younger days. But how short was that twilight of a vanishing age, of chivalry, of idealism higher and greater than one's nationality. That age came to an end, and you know, in what a great clash and conflagration of war and misery all over the world.

THE MENACE OF POWER.

And what is the harvest of your civilization? You do not see from the outside. You do not realize what a terrible menace you have become to man. We are afraid of you. And everywhere people are suspicious of each other. All the great countries of the West are preparing for war, for some great work of desolation that will spread poison all over the world. And this poison is within their own selves. They try, and try to find some solution, but they do not succeed, because they have lost their faith in the personality of man.

They do not believe in the wisdom of the soul. Their minds are filled with mutual suspicion and hatred and anger,

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and yet they try to invent some machinery which will solve the difficulties. They ask for disarmament, but it cannot be had from the outside. They have efficiency, but that alone does not help. Why? Because man is human, while machinery is impersonal. Men of power have efficiency in outward things; but the personality of man is lost. You do not feel it, the divine in man, the divinity which is in humanity.

I have felt it, and I have said to myself, I have repeated that song : "Where shall I find him? Man the Great? The Supreme Man?" Not in the machinery of power and wealth shall I find the humanity of the world. If he is not in the heart of a civilization, where is he? The great man, the harvester, the music-maker, the dreamer of dreams, where is he?

Almost every day I feel my heart go back to my own country, to the personal, the dreamer, the believer in God. I seek Him, and I want to go back to my own country. I have my school there. Do not think that it is an ordinary school. I enjoy the wealth of human relationship there. Those boys and girls, they are my children. There is something that is indescribable in that school. Our relationship is spiritual—and I may not merit it, but I know that they do reverence *Man* in my own person; not the schoolmaster, but something higher than that. It is not superstition. In the East we believe in personality which is above all things.

You fight against evil, and that is a great thing. I often think you should come to help us fight all those difficulties, those material evils, from which we suffer. We have been praying for centuries, that the West would really come to us, that their chivalry would help us in our trouble. We are unfortunate. We have much need, for our injuries are great. We had formerly our own system of education—that has vanished. We had our industries to help to eke out the income of those dependent upon agriculture for their livelihood, but all those industries have vanished like the autumn leaves. And we pray that the West would come to us as a member of a common humanity. We claim it from you who have wealth

which is overflowing, and we are in the direst and deepest shadow of poverty and distress on our side of the world.

GANDHIJI'S SPIRITUAL POWER.

We have been waiting for the Person. Such a personality as we see in Mahatma Gandhi (applause). It is only possible in the East for such a man to become a great personality. He has neither physical nor material power, but through his great influence people who have been in subjection to all kinds of tyrannical power have stood up; and he is the strongest spiritual power in this world to-day. Not because of his political prudence, but for his spiritual influence the people believe in him, and they are ready to die for their faith. They are ready to suffer. It is a miracle that these people, downtrodden for centuries, are coming out, and without doing any injury to others, they suffer and through suffering, conquer.

And our women,—only the other day they were secluded in their own inner apartments—they have come out to follow this man, this leader. Not an association, not an organization, not a politician, but a Man! And his message goes deep into our veins. He attacks the enemies that are within us. Not like the political machinery which you have that attacks from the outside and that tries to work through the external. But he attacks the inner man. They believe in him, in this man who is not a Brahmin, for he belongs to a class of money-makers who have been despised for centuries.

PERSONALITY IN HUMAN HISTORY.

When times were dark, there came a Man in other days to people who were seeking salvation, emancipation from evil. He came to their door. The babe who was born centuries ago, brought exaltation to man. Not machinery, not association, not organizations, but a human babe, and people were amazed. And when all the machinery will be rusted, he will live.

I have felt that the civilization of the West to-day has its law and order, but no personality. It has come to the perfec-

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tion of a mechanical order but what is there to humanize it? It is the Person who is in the heart of all beings. When you follow the atoms, you come to something which has no form, no color. It is all abstraction; it is reduced to some mathematical formulæ. But Personality goes beyond the heart of these atoms. I have seen, I have known it within me, in the depths of my feeling. And I know that only when you come to Him will there be peace.

[Mr. Novik said: "The Poet feels that he has given his message to us. I wondered as I sat here what he would feel from this audience if each one of us were able to speak to him and to tell him what his message has meant to us. Probably for many of us there will be new inspiration in our individual living. After all, what we shall be as persons depends not upon chance but upon ourselves. And I think new inspiration has come to us in these moments.

"And may be as he goes back to the East, he will carry our message to India, our hope that the day is not far distant when the East and the West shall meet indeed, when each may contribute to the common good of humanity."]

VEDIC INTERPRETATION AND TRADITION*

By VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ नमो वेदविदे च वेदान्तकृते च ॥
 ॥ नमः परमर्षिभ्यो वेदविद्याप्रवत्तकेभ्यः ॥
 ॥ नमः श्रोतृजनेभ्यश्च सुहृद्जनेभ्यश्च ॥

In this paper I have approached some of the fundamental problems in the interpretation of the Veda with special reference to those who hold it as an inspired and a sacred heritage, and find it a great source of peace and happiness in their lives.

Let me begin with a short analogue which has been handed down by the Rishis :

विद्या ह वै ब्राह्मणमाजगाम ।
 गोपाय मा शेषधिस्तेऽहमस्मि ॥

—*Samhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, 3.

'Verily Vidyā (the Vedic Lore) approached the Brahman thus : "Protect me, I am your treasure."'

The Brahman realized it, and undertook to protect her. He was also duty-bound to do so, for he knew the old injunction : 'When a man is born, he is born with a debt (to pay)—a debt to the Gods, a debt to the Rishis, and to the Fathers, and to Mankind.' (SB, 1. 7. 2. 1 ; See TB, VI. 3. 10. 5). He must free himself of his debt to the Gods, the Rishis, as well as to the rest. So far as his other debts are concerned, the scriptures teach him how to repay them. His debt to the Rishis can only be repaid, as they declare, by becoming their 'Treasure-warden' (*nidhi-gopala*), by protecting the treasure ; in plain words, by continuing the study of the Veda.

*Presidential Address in the Vedic Section of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, December, 1980.

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Whatever might be our attitude towards life and culture, it has got to be admitted that the Veda is really a treasure, a treasure not only for the Brahman, but also for the humanity at large, a most precious inheritance of the past. And it is specially so for us Indians, as it is the ultimate source, directly or indirectly, of whatever we have thought about and striven for the peace and happiness of man and the universe during the whole course of our existence as a people.

Let me, however, strike a note of warning, and I think that the ancient teachers will lend me their support when I do so. The treasure must not be confounded with its receptacle: we should know that the *ādhāra* is generally of a different material and character from the *ādheya*. The gems of truth are ensconced in the entire mass of the Veda. The Greek proverb says that the part is greater than the whole. Yet the *whole* has its value and its justification—as a fact of history and as an influence on life when it is an influence. Human Society is a chequered pattern, and we have wise men and foolish men, we have saints as well as sinners. What we may be tempted to regard as useless may have its use with others. And we must take note of it.

Be that as it may, I was telling you the story of Vidyā. Let me continue it. The Brahman undertook to protect her. But has he done so? If so, how far has he succeeded? Did the Vedic tradition remain unbroken? If it did not, how long then did it continue? I want to tell you another story. Fifty years ago it was first told by Max Müller in one of his Hibbert Lectures,¹ and I think it is worth repeating, even though it may be a little long.

"These men," continues the great savant referring to the Brahmans of his time, "and I know it as a fact, know the whole of Rig-Veda by heart, just as their ancestors did, three or four thousand years ago; and though they have MSS., and though they now have a printed text, they do not learn their sacred lore from them. They learn it, as their ancestors learnt it, thousands of years ago, from the mouth of a teacher, so that the Vedic succession should never be broken. The oral teaching and learning became in eyes of the Brahmans one of the 'Great Sacrifices'.....I have had visits from natives who knew large portions of the Veda by heart; I have been in correspondence with others who, when they were twelve or

¹ Collected Works of Max Müller, Lectures on the Origin of Religion, Longmans, Green & Co., 1898, pp. 182 ff.

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fifteen years old, could repeat the whole of it.² They learn a few lines every day, repeat them for hours, so that the whole house resounds with the noise and they thus strengthen their memory to that degree, that when their apprenticeship is finished, you can open them like a book; and find any passage you like, any word, any accent. One native scholar, Shankar Pandurang, is at the present moment collecting various readings for my edition of the Rig-Veda, not from MSS., but from the oral tradition of the Vedic Śrotiryas. He writes on the 2nd March, 1877; 'I am collecting a few of our walking Rig-Veda MSS., taking your text as the basis. I find a good many differences which I shall soon be able to examine more closely, when I may be able to say whether they are various readings or not. . . . As I write a Vedic scholar is going over your Rig-Veda text. He has his own MSS. on one side, but does not open it, except occasionally. He knows the whole Samihitā and Pada text by heart. I wish I could send you his photograph, how he is squatting in my tent with his Upavīta (the Sacred Cord) round his shoulder, and only a Dhoti round his middle, not a bad specimen of our old Rishis'.

"And though it may have sounded to some of you like a fairy-tale, believe me, it is truer in all its details than many a chapter of contemporary history."

This story depicts the condition of the Vedic studies by the Brahman fifty years back; and I can tell you that even at the present time you will find, mostly in the South, such half-naked Brahmans (their race—a race of giants—is, alas, declining every day), repeating the sacred hymns handed down to them from generation to generation and saying those prayers which were first uttered thousands of years ago on the banks of the Sarasvatī or some other sacred river by Rishis like Vasiṣṭha or Viśvāmitra—the Rishis who stand at the head of Indian Culture, but who in the hands of unsympathetic though "ingenious and judicious" experts on Indian culture received, together with their gods, the sobriquet of "barbarians".

You are now to draw your own conclusion as to whether the Vedic succession or tradition was completely broken at the time of Yāska, or of Sāyaṇa, or whether it continued unimpaired down to a generation back,—since when, owing to altering conditions and ideas of life, it has suffered a

² *Indian Antiquary*, 1878, p. 40: "There are thousands of Brahmans" the editor remarks, "who know the whole of the Rig-Veda by heart and can repeat it."

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check ; and it was lucky that we could save some of it through the printing press.

Here naturally arises a question. The request of Vidyā to the Brahman was for her protection. This certainly did not mean protection of only the text in which she was enshrined, but also of the interpretation in which dwells her soul. For the Brahman was enjoined not only to read, but also to understand the Veda (*adhyeyo jñeyas ca*), without looking forward to any earthly reward for it (*niskāraṇa*).

Now, so far as the text is concerned, it has been universally accepted as having been preserved intact. The Brahman here has performed his task to perfection. But what about the interpretation ?

In order to understand the situation in the matter of the correct interpretation of the Veda-vidyā—the interpretation which was intended by the Rishi to whom the *mantra was revealed*—let us take note of the difficulties from the case of a living poet and his composition. We have here a living poet of world-wide fame, Rabindranath Tagore. Let us take one of his best known mystic poems, approach some of our best scholars and cultured men who have the requisite training in and feel for literature and are teachers of the subject, and ask them individually to interpret that particular poem. And what shall we see? We shall see that *nāsau munir yasya matam na bhinnam* ; there may be partial agreement here and there, there will never be entire agreement ; in fact, there will sure to be some disagreement. And yet it may be that none of the interpretations proposed by these eminent scholars is the right interpretation, that is, the interpretation which the poet himself had in his mind when he composed it. Supposing that these scholars and experts in literature went on in their own way, and each taught his own particular interpretation to his group of pupils, and these latter in their turn also taught their own pupils the interpretation received from their masters, we would have a series of traditional interpretations, each equally old. How can a man of a future generation judge these various traditions, or one tradition, as correct? How can it be maintained that the interpretation first offered by those prominent teachers was the right interpretation, simply because these teachers were eminent men, or because they were contemporaneous with the poet himself, or were associated with him?

A poet does not necessarily interpret his own poem, for he is not bound to do so; nor is it his business. He composes a poem and there

ends his work. But he may give his interpretation if he pleases. Now, let us again think over another aspect of the question. Supposing that the poet explains at a time one of his poems to a particular individual. The latter perhaps does not fully comprehend, or comprehends the explanation fully, but does not remember the whole of it, and without any consideration of the fact of his forgetfulness he starts to explain the poem to the group around him, and from the group begins a school of tradition. Here we may ask a question: Will it be right to think that one who has received this tradition is justified in claiming that *his* is the right interpretation, because the line of succession he belongs to is directly connected with the composer of the poem? Will it be reasonable to hold that the direct connection with the author of the poem is itself a sufficient ground for the genuineness of the interpretation given to it?

There can be another situation to make the whole question further complicated. It may be that the poet himself explains one of his difficult poems to a person of superior culture, intelligence, and memory. This person retains the explanation perfectly well and hands it over to a second man, and the second man to a third man, and in this way another line of tradition grows up. But facts relating to the origin of this tradition, that it goes back to the poet himself and has been transmitted unimpaired, remain unknown. This interpretation, the only *right* one, is not noted down in any book for some generations, though passed traditionally, and then a late writer offers it, without mentioning its credentials. How are we to discriminate the genuineness of the tradition in a case like this?

Situations like the above are possible with a living poet; in fact, some of these cases have actually happened with the works of Rabindranath himself. It is quite conceivable that in the case of a Vedic poet, to whom a particular *mantra* was revealed or by whom it was 'visioned' (*drṣṭa*) thousands of years back, similar things have happened.

The difficulty of discrimination in this matter seems to have been noticed or anticipated even by a poet in the Rig-Veda itself (X.71.4), when he says:

उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाच-

मुत त्वः शृणुन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।

'Even while seeing, one does not see Speech ; even while hearing, one does not hear it.'

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And it is also quite clear from Yāska's observation (I.20) to the effect that there were Rishis who had intuitive insight into *dharma* (*sākṣātkṛtadharman*), but the teachers of a subsequent age lost that intuition. And these later teachers who, according to a commentator, may be described as *śrutarśis*, i.e., sages who derived their wisdom not directly as the earlier sages did, but from others, declined in the power of communicating instruction. This is quite natural on account of impermanence of human knowledge (*puruṣavidyāṇītyatvāt*), as Yāska would express it.

This lowering of the high intellectual position, as time went on, brought in new view-points and new interpretations. And I may refer you, for instance, to the mystic hymn called *Asyavāmiya* in the Rig-Veda (I.164). It is found there, as you all know, how some of its stanzas have been interpreted in different ways in the commentary of Sāyaṇa. It is well-known that Sāyaṇa is not the author of *all* these interpretations, as it can very clearly be shown that in a number of cases his variant interpretations were current in the country hundreds of years before him. Let us take, as an example, the following stanza (32) of the same hymn:

य ईं चकार न सो अस्य वेद
य ईं ददर्शि हिरुगिन्नु तस्मात् ।
स मातुर्योना परिवीतो अन्त-
र्बहुप्रजा निर्गतिमा विवेश ॥

'He who made him knows not of him; [he is] verily out of sight now of him who saw him; he, enveloped within his mother's womb, with numerous progeny, entered into *nirṛti*'.¹

It is to be noted that the word *nirṛti* in the fourth line of the stanza has two meanings, 'calamity' and 'earth'. Now, what does the *mantra* mean? The opinion is divided. Some say, it implies that one having a number of children falls into calamity; while others are of opinion that it refers to the phenomenon of rain (*varṣakarmāṇi*). The former are the Parivrājakas or wandering religious mendicants, while the latter are the Nairuktas or scholiasts. And both the views are mentioned by Yāska in his *Nirukta*, II.8.

Here is another mystic *mantra* from the Rig-Veda, IV.58.3:

¹ Whitney AV. Tr., IX.10.10, slightly modified.

चत्वारि शृङ्गां त्रयो अस्य पादा
द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो ररवीति
महा देवो मर्त्याँ आ चिवेश ॥

'Four are his horns, three are his feet; his heads are two, and his hands are seven. Bound with a triple bond, the strong one (or the showerer of bounties) roars loudly; the great god enters into mortals'.¹

Who is that great god? Some say, according to the *Nirukta-pariśiṣṭā*, XIII. 7, he is *yajña*. The four horns are with reference to it four Vedas; the three feet are the three *savanas* or pressing out of *soma*-juice at the three periods of the day; the two heads are the two libations, introductory and concluding; the seven hands are the seven metres; 'bound with a triple bond' refers to three-fold scripture, *Mantra*, *Brahmāṇa*, and *Kalpa*.

Others say, the great god is the sun: the four horns are the four directions or cardinal points (*diś*); three feet are the three Vedas (as, according to the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, III.12.9.1., the movement of the sun is connected with the three Vedas: *Vedair aśūnyas tribhir eli sūryah*); the two heads are the day and night; the seven hands are the seven rays of the sun; 'bound with a triple bond' refers either to the three regions (terrestrial, atmospheric, and celestial), or to the three seasons (hot, rainy, and winter).

I want to refer you to one more explanation of the above passage which the great Patañjali, the commentator of Pāṇini (1.i.i.) gives. He explains it with reference to speech (*śabda*) from the point of view of the grammarians. He says that the great god is speech; the four horns are the four kinds of the words, viz., noun (*nāman*), verb (*ākhyāta*), preposition (*upasarga*), and particle (*nipāta*); the three feet are the three times, present, past, and future; the two heads are the two forms of speech, eternal and artificial; the seven hands are seven case-endings (*vibhaktis*); the triple bond signifies the connection of a word when it is uttered with the three parts of the body, the chest, the throat, and the head.

And if you want to know the observation of Sāyaṇācārya, he would tell you that other explanations are also possible here.

¹ Griffith (modified).

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I should like to quote here one more *mantra* from the same *Asyavā-mīya Sūkta* (RV, I.164.45) :

चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि
तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेत्रयन्ति
तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥

'Speech hath been measured out in four divisions: the Brahmins who have understanding know them. Three kept in close concealment, they do not move. Of speech men speak only the fourth division.'¹

Now, what are these four divisions of speech? Look into the *Supplement to the Nirukta* (XIII. 9), and into *Sāyaṇa*, and you will find not less than seven interpretations, according to different schools, to one of which belongs the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, Patañjali, explaining the stanza himself (I. 1. 1.).

Apart from the explanation of different Vedic passages great divergency is found also with regard to particular points; for instance, the identity of the Aśvins—a question which is still being discussed. Yāska himself raises it and gives his answer (XII.1): "But who are the Aśvins? Some say 'heaven and earth'; 'day and night' say others; while others say, they are the sun and the moon. But according to the *Aitihāsikas*, they are virtuous kings."

Not less than eight or nine schools of older expounders of the *Veda*, such as the Yājñikas, the Vaiyākaraṇas, the Naidānas, the Parivrājakas, the Nairuktas, and so on, are mentioned by Yāska, besides more than one and half a dozen of teachers holding different views with regard to particular points in the Vedic texts.

There is no reason to think that the interpretations offered by them are always without authority. For instance, the identity of the Aśvins with heaven and earth referred to above is actually found in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV. 1. 5. 16; and it may be noted that the derivation of the word *Aśvin* as given by Yāska is also fully supported by the same passage of that work.

Many interpretations, whether right or wrong, reasonable or fanciful, which are found in the *Nirukta*, are based on some passage or passages

¹ Griffith (modified).

in a *Brahmana*. For instance, one may be referred to the derivation of the word *Vṛtra* (*Nirukta*, II. 17). It is also to be noted that in *Brahmanas*, too, the same diverse explanations also occur.

All the above explanations, in their bewildering diversity, are traditional ones. But here arises a question : Are all of them without exception true explanations, simply because they are traditional? The true explanation that intended by the author or the Rishi himself can only be one. The doctrine of Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahmasūtras* can only be one, and this may be either *dvaita*, or *advaita*, or *viśiṣṭādvaita*, or *dvaitādvaita*, or something else ; but in no case it can be equally *all* of them. One may, however, try to find out a conclusion that may somehow or other reconcile all the different views. But can one say that this reconciliation, or *samanvaya*, was intended by Bādarāyaṇa himself? It may or may not be so, but there is no way to find it out. All that can be said with certainty in this connection is that this attempt at reconciling the conflicting schools is the aim more of the scholars who are for this reconciliation than of Bādarāyaṇa himself. But we are not concerned with it, we want to know what the original author himself actually intended to say. But is it possible to do so under the circumstances described above? It is exceedingly unlikely that that can be done ; but nevertheless, we should try to get as near to the truth as possible.

Here the *Nairuktas* offer us something to go by. Having explained one of the stanzas of that mystic hymn, the *Asyavāmīya Sūkta*, already referred to (RV. I. 164.39), in three different ways, viz., with reference to *devatā*, to *yajña*, and to *ātman*, the author of the *Supplement to Nirukta* (XIII.11) observes :

अयं मन्वार्थम्यूहोऽयूहोऽपि श्रुतितोऽपि तर्क्तः ।

'This reflective deduction of the sense of the hymns is effected by the help of oral tradition as well as reasoning.'

न तु पृथक्केन मन्वा निर्वक्तव्याः । प्रकरणश एव निर्वक्तव्याः ।

'The hymns are not to be interpreted as isolated texts, but according to their context.'

न हेषु प्रत्यक्षमस्त्यनुषेरतपसो वा ।

'For, a person, who is not a Rishi, or who is without severe meditation, has no intuitive insight into them (*mantras*).'

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पारोवर्यवित्सु तु खलु वेदितृषु भूयोविद्यः प्रशस्यो भवतीत्युक्तं पुरस्तात् ।

'It has already been said (*Nirukta* I. 16) that among those who are versed in tradition, he who is most learned deserves special commendation.'¹

The author then proceeds to show the importance of reasoning in the following passage quoted from a *Brahmana*:

मनुष्या वा ऋषिष्वृत्कामत्सु देवानवृवन् को न ऋषिर्विष्टतीति । तेऽन्य एतं तर्कमृषिं प्रायच्छन् मन्त्रार्थचिन्ताभ्यूहमभ्यूढम् । तसाद् यदेव किञ्चानु-
वानोऽभ्यूहत्यार्थं तद् भवति ।

'Verily when the Rishis were passing away, men inquired of the gods, "Who shall be our Rishi?" They gave them this science of reasoning as Rishi (*tarkam r̄ṣim*)² for consideration of the sense of the hymns. Therefore whatever is decided by a man well-versed in the Veda becomes *ārsha* or derived from a Rishi.'

It is then clear from the above that in order to understand the significance of the Veda our traditional method regards these three things as essential: (1) *śruti*, oral tradition from the mouth of a competent *Ācārya*, or from repositories of traditions, such as the *Brahmanas*; (2) *tarka* or reasoning; and (3) *tapas*; which I think ought to be translated in such cases, as Muir has already done, as 'severe meditation'.³ Of course, it is understood that the essential preparatory knowledge of the six *Vedāṅgas* or supplementary Veda sciences (*viz.*, phonetics, grammar, science of language, metrics, astronomy, and ritual), have been already acquired.

The above method will meet with the fullest approval of the modern 'scientific' investigator, who has practically nothing more to add, excepting a study of the culture of the age from a historical and comparative

¹ Translations mostly by Muir.

² This reminds one of the following words of the Buddha in the *Mahāparinib-
bānasutta* (VI. 1): 'Now the Exalted one addressed the venerable Ānanda and
said: It may be Ānanda that in some of you the thought may arise "The word of
the Master is ended, we have no Teacher more!..... The Truths and the Rules
of the Order, which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I
am gone, be the Teacher of you".' We may also recall the story of the last Sikh
Guru Govind Singh declaring that after his demise the Sikhs will have to obey the
Granth Sāhib as their Guru.

³ In support of it the following may be quoted from the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*
(I. 1. 9): *Yasya jñānamayaṁ tapah*. See Śaṅkara on the *Praśnopaniṣad*, I. 4.
Cf. the sense of *aikṣata* in the *Chāndogya Up.* VI. 2. 3.

standpoint. This includes the findings of Comparative Philology, Anthropology, Archaeology, Sociology and other human sciences.

The study and research proposed by the six *Vedāngas*, for instance, have been worked out in greater detail and with the help of modern appliances by Western scholars; and for this we ought to show our cordial appreciation as fellow-workers in a common field.

We have seen how great was the divergency among the teachers with regard to the Vedic interpretations. But this is a fact not exclusively peculiar to the Veda. The case is the same in all times and in all lands, in all the various branches of science. This diversity of explanations makes the original meaning extremely obscure, no doubt, but does it not also imply the growth and development of the science through the centuries? Growth and development are a sign of Life, and the ever-growing variety of expositions proposed by the different scholars and traditions indicates that the mind of the Brahman who took upon himself to protect the *Vidya* has remained alert and active,—although it may be argued that the *Vidya* has not been preserved in her original form everywhere, and that her proper form has been overlaid by later additions and possibly decorations. This sort of change is unavoidable, for change is the law of Life. But although the outward body changes, the inner being remains the same; only we shall have to strive to find it out in its proper form. Moreover, we must remember that great or noteworthy discrepancies occur with regard to a comparatively small number of hymns, while it can safely be asserted that there is complete agreement in most of the other cases. However, the net fact remains that there has been an unbroken series of commentators and exegesis from *Yāska* downwards. I may quote here the conclusion which Dr. Lakshman Sarup has arrived at (*Indices and Appendices to Nirukta*, Intro: pp. 75-76): 'It will also show that there have been numerous Pre-*Sāyaṇa* commentators of the *Rg* and other *Vedas* and an unbroken, uniform and continuous tradition of Vedic interpretation has been a common inheritance of the orthodox scholars. The current belief that *Sāyaṇa* is the only or the most important commentator after *Yāska* or that the tradition of Vedic interpretation was lost before the former's time is erroneous.' Other scholars like Professor Bhagavad Datta have come to the same conclusion from a study of both available commentaries and incomplete fragments.

With regard to the tradition I should like to put before you the following fact also. According to the Vedantists there are three courses

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(*prasthāna-traya*) for ascertaining the meaning of Vedānta, viz., the *śruti-prasthāna* or the Course of the Vedic Texts, the *smṛti-prasthāna* or the Course of Tradition, and the *sūtra-prasthāna* or the Course of the Aphorisms (of Bādarāyaṇa). It follows from it that sometimes when the true meaning of a certain Vedantic text cannot be ascertained with the help of either *śruti* or *sūtra* it can be done with the help of the *smṛti*. And as such the *smṛti* cannot be neglected. And, I may suggest, this *smṛti-prasthāna* may be applied in the case of some of the Vedic texts, too, with conspicuous results. For instance, we read in the *Vājasaneyisamhitā*, IX.2 (*Iśopaniṣad* 2):

कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः ।
एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्ति न कर्म लिप्यते नरे ॥

'It is only performing karmas that one should desire to live here a hundred years. Thus it is in thee, and not otherwise than this. Karma does not affect (*lipyate*, \checkmark *lip*) a man.'

Where is the explanation of this verse? Does it not remind one of the following couplet of the *smṛti*, the *Bhagavad-gītā* (IV. 14) together with the whole philosophy of karma expounded there?

न मां कर्माणि लिप्यन्ति न मे कर्मफले स्पृहा ।
इति मां योऽभिजानाति कर्मभिर्न स बध्यते ॥

'Karmas do not affect (*limpanti*, \checkmark *lip*) me, nor have I any desire for the consequence of a karma. He who thus knoweth me is not bound by karmas.'

Let me take another example. The following stanza occurs in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, IV.4.7, as well as in the *Kaṭha Up.*, VI.14:

यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि स्थिताः ।
अथ मत्येऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते ॥

'When all the desires cease which were cherished in his heart, then the mortal becomes immortal, then here he attains to Brahman.'

Where do we get the fullest interpretation of it? Is it not the same *smṛti*, the *Bhagavad-gītā*, which having thoroughly discussed the topic repeats the same truth only in different words (II.71)?

विहाय कामान् यः सर्वान् पुमांश्चरति निःस्पृहः ।
निर्ममो निरहङ्कारः स शान्तिमधिगच्छति ॥

'Whoso forsakes all desires and moves about free from yearnings and from the notion of 'I am' and 'It is mine,' he attains to peace.'

Or let us consider again. Is it not that the same truth 'there is only one without the second' which has found expression in Vedic texts,¹ has again appeared through the Upaniṣad in a much later work, the *Durgasaptaśatī* (included in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*) in the following couplet?

एकैवाहं जगत्यत्र द्वितीया का ममापरा ।
पश्यैता दुष्ट मथ्येव विशन्ति मद्विभूतयः ॥

'I am only one in the universe. Who is other than me that can be regarded as second? See, O villain, my manifestations are entering into me.'

Here in the *smṛti* we have either a later development or expansion of an idea already expressed in the Veda; or it may be that the *smṛti* passages only enshrine a traditional interpretation of the Vedic passages.

This traditional relation between the Vedic and post-Vedic literatures is only too apparent to require any further discussion. The point is that the Purāṇas, Dharmasāstras, and other *smṛtis* frequently help us in elucidating the Veda, and as such they are always deserving of respectful attention as repository of tradition,—they should much less be ignored, as is unfortunately the case in certain quarters among Vedic scholars both in India and in Europe. This is just like the later classical Sanskrit itself, with all its non-Vedic and so-called artificial character (which has earned for it the contumely of Veda-enthusiasts in Europe), helping a great deal in understanding at least to some extent the general sense of a Vedic text. Just as we acknowledge the common basis of both Vedic and classical Sanskrit, we should be equally alive to the common back-ground of both the Veda and the later literature. We may illustrate the point by a few instances. Even such popular works like the *Amarakośa* which are read in our Sanskrit Pāthāśālās by tender boys in their first year of Sanskrit give the meanings of a great number of Vedic words, though at times the original senses of some of them are found to have been modified. A

¹ For example, 'There is only one Rudra and no second'—TS. I. 8.6.1; 'The wise say one in various ways.'—RV. I. 164,46.

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young Sanskrit scholar of even seven or eight (wherever the traditional method is followed), if asked, will at once reply that the Vedic words *Marutvat* 'accompanied by Maruts,' *Sakra* 'mighty,' *Sacīpati* 'lord of might,' *Satakratu* 'having a hundred powers,' *Vṛtrahan* 'Vṛtra-slayer,' *Purandara* for the actual word *Pūrbhid* 'fort-shatterer,' and *Vajrabhṛt* 'bearing the bolt,' mean Indra. He will at once tell you that *Vaiśvānara*, *Jātavedas*, *Tanūnapāt*, and *Āśuśukṣaṇi*, all used in the Rig-Veda, are nothing but Agni 'fire'; and *Mātariśvān* is Vāyu. Multiplication of instances is not needed. Here we have but a partial preservation of the Vedic tradition through school lexicons.

En passant I may mention here the views of the Mīmāṃsakas who may be included among the Yājñikas already referred to in connection with Vedic interpretation. I shall quote here only two passages from the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* illustrating the methods of the Mīmāṃsakas in interpreting the Veda. They certainly represent an old tradition and as such are entitled to the respect which Sāyanācārya and others are given. The first of them runs (TS.II.1.1.4.):

प्रजापतिर्वा इदमेक आसीत् । सोऽकामयत प्रजाः पशून् सृजेयेति । स आत्मनो वपामुद्दिखदत् । तामग्नौ प्रागृद्धात् । ततोऽजस्तूपरः समभवत् । तं स्यायै देवताया आलभत । ततो वै सः प्रजाः पशूनसृजत् ॥

'Verily here was Prajāpati alone. He desired: "May I create offspring and cattle." He took out (from his body) his omentum (*vapū*), and placed it in the fire. From that the hornless goat came into being. He offered it to its own deity. Then did he create offspring and cattle.'

This is explained as myth (possibly in his anxiety to establish an eternal connection between a word and its meaning) by Śabaravāmin in his commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā-darśana*, I.1.10. He says that Prajāpati may refer here to an eternal object: (i) air, (ii) the sky, or (iii) the sun; the omentum may mean (i) rain, (ii) wind, or (iii) the rays of the sun; the fire implies (i) the fire of lightning (*vaidyuta*), or (ii) of the rays (*ārciṣa*), or (iii) of the terrestrial fire (*pārthiva*); and the word *aja* taken to mean 'a goat' signifies here (i) food (*anna*), or seed (*bija*), or plant (*virudh*).

And here is the second passage (TS.VII.1.10. 2-3):

बवरः प्रावाहणिरकामयत वाचः प्रवदिता स्यामिति ।

The plain meaning is that Babara, a descendant of Pravāhaṇa desired that he might be a speaker of speech. But Śabaravāmin (I.1.31.) would explain it saying that there is no man known as Pravāhaṇa. Therefore there cannot be his descendant Prāvāhaṇi. The word is derived from *pra+वाह+i*, the suffix *i* is used to mean both a descendant as well as an agent ; thus any eternal object that makes one carry on a work is *Pravāhaṇi*. And *Babara* is an onomatopoetic word.

I am speaking of the interpretations, and in this connection it seems to me that if we follow some of the remarks of Yāska, many an unexplained myth or allusion, and many a mystic or obscure, or doubtful passage will become perfectly clear. The following occurs in the Rig-Veda (X.51.9) :

तव प्रयाजा अनुयाजाश्च केवल
ऊर्जस्वन्तो हविषः सन्तु भागाः ।
तवान्मे यज्ञोऽयमस्तु सव-
स्तुभ्यं नमन्तां प्रदिशश्चतस्मः ॥

"The introductory and the concluding oblations are entirely thine; let the juicy portions of the offerings be thine. Let this whole sacrifice be thine, O Agni, and let the four quarters bow before thee.'

Here it is quite clear that the introductory and concluding oblations belong to the deity, Agni. There can in no way be any doubt of it. Yet there are not less than six passages in different Brāhmaṇas referring to the above verse, of which only one says that the deity here is Agni, while according to the rest the deity concerned is *chandas* (metre), or *r̥tu* (season), or *paśu* (cattle), or *prāṇa* (breath), or *ātman* (soul). But why is here such wide difference? Is it due to the ignorance of the authors of the Brāhmaṇas? Yāska finds here a solution. And this solution proposed by him involves a fundamental principle in approaching Vedic passages of a similar character. He is quite right when he observes (VII.24) :

बहुभक्तिवादीनि ब्राह्मणानि भवन्ति ।

It means that the Brāhmaṇas have a great deal of *bhakti-vāda*. But what is *bhakti-vāda*? Here *bhakti* is *bhāga* 'part' or 'portion' (cf. *bhakti* in *svara-bhakti*), and *vāda* 'statement' ; thus *bhakti-vāda* literally means 'a

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statement of a part,' i.e., 'a statement only of a part of a thing and not of the whole of it.' For instance, if it is said *śimho māṇavakah* 'the lad is a lion,' it is to be understood that the lad is, so to say, *partly* a lion ; in other words, the lad has a *bhakti* or *bhāga*, i.e., 'part' of a lion, e.g., the bravery of a lion. The later word for *bhakti-vāda* is *guṇa-vāda* 'statement of quality,' generally translated by 'statement meant figuratively.' In the same example, 'the lad is a lion,' the speaker wants to express that the lad has the quality (*guṇa*), i.e., bravery, of a lion. Here both the lad and the lion having the common quality, bravery, are identified. In explaining *bhakti-vāda*, Durgācārya observes :

भक्तिर्नाम गुणकहपना । येन केनचिद् गुणेन ब्राह्मणं सर्वं सर्वथा वर्णयति ।
तत्र तत्त्वमन्वेष्यम् ।

'*Bhakti* means imagination (or consideration) of quality by which a Brāhmaṇa describes all things in all kinds of ways. But the truth must be investigated there.'

Yāska gives here an example from a Brāhmaṇa : "The earth is Vaiśvānara, the year is Vaiśvānara, the Brahman is Vaiśvānara." Here the author must have found some common quality (*sāmanya guṇa*) of the earth, etc., and Vaiśvānara, owing to which there is this identification. But what is that *guṇa*, or common *guṇa*? It is for the reader to find it out, if he can.

Now, with regard to those introductory and concluding oblations, Yāska remarks that it is the fixed decision (*sthiti*) that they belong to Agni. But what about the different statements of the Brāhmaṇas? It is mere *bhakti*, i.e., with reference to some common quality participated in both by Agni on the one hand and by *chandas*, or *ṛtu*, or *paśu*, or *prāṇa*, or *ātman* on the other.

In this way such identification as that of sacrifice (*yajña*) with Viṣṇu, or with Prajāpati; or that of the year with Prajāpati, or Agni; or that of Agni with Prajāpati, and so on, becomes intelligible through *bhakti*. And this common quality may be more inherent or imaginary than apparent or real.

The following stanza of the previously discussed *Asyavāmiya sūkta* of the Rig-Veda (I.164.46) is well-known to you all :

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहु-
रथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा बदन्-
न्त्यश्चिं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ॥

'They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Agni; and he is divine Garutmat with beautiful wings. The sages speak of that which is one in various ways: they call it Agni, Yama, and Mātarīśvan.'

And similar statements in the same Veda are not wanting. For instance, we read (X.114.5) :

सुपर्णं विप्राः कवयो वचोभि-
रेकं सन्तं बहुधा कल्पयन्ति ।

'The wise poets describe by their words in various ways the bird (Suparṇa) who is one.'

Yāska taking his stand on such ideas of the Rishis observes (VII. 4) 'on account of the supereminence of the deity (*māhābhāgyād devatāyāḥ*) a single soul (*eka ātmā*) is praised in various ways (*bahudhā stūyate*).'

This view has been given expression in the Upaniṣads and other religious literature of the country. Thus there is no inconsistency with the Brāhmaṇa saying to the effect that Agni is all the deities (KB, XXV. I. 9; AB, V. 16), although, in fact, there is a great number of deities mentioned in the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas.

Passages like the above are clear indications of the fundamentally monistic character of the Vedic religion. Whenever we have the temptation of laying too much stress on the 'polytheism' of the Veda, we ought to think of the above and similar passage in the Brāhmaṇas and in Yāska and other old commentators.

I want to refer you to one more remark of Yāska. In the Rig-Veda (I. 89. 10) we have the following verse :

अदितिर्यौरदितिरन्तरिक्ष-
मदितिर्माता स पिता स पुत्रः ।
विश्वे देवा अदितिः पञ्च जना
अदितिर्जातमदितिर्जनित्वम् ॥

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'Aditi is heaven, Aditi is atmosphere, Aditi is the mother, she is the father, and she is the son. Aditi is all deities, Aditi five-classed men, Aditi all that hath been born, and Aditi all that shall be born.'

How is it that one is the heaven as well as the atmosphere? How is it that the same person is the father, the mother; and also the son? It would look very inconsistent. But let us hear what Yāska has to say in this connection. He says (I. 16) that such a statement is found also in ordinary speech (*laukikeśv apy etat*). For example, one having drunk water says 'I have got all kinds of flavour (*sarvarasā anuprāptāḥ pāniyam*). And he finally concludes (IV. 23), saying that the *vibhūti* (multifarious manifestation) of Aditi is mentioned here; Yāska has rightly caught the spirit of the verse quoted above which is to extol the greatness of the deity, Aditi.

If one takes such passages as the following (Atharva-Veda, X.10.26.34) which extol the cow (*vasā*), in that line, there will remain nothing to complain of :

वशामेवामृतमाहुर्वशां मृत्युमुपासते ।
वशोदं सर्वमभवद् देवा मनुष्या असुराः पितर ऋषयः ॥
वशां देवा उपजीवन्ति वशां मनुष्या उत ।
वशोदं सर्वमभवद् यावत् सूर्यो विपश्यति ॥

AV, X. 10. 26, 34.

'It is cow alone that they call immortality; they worship cow as death; the cow becomes this all—gods, men, Asuras, Fathers, and Seers.'

'On the cow the gods subsist; on the cow, men also; the cow becomes this all; so far as the sun looks around.'¹

Such is, then, the rôle which *bhakti-vāda* plays, not only in the Brāhmaṇas, but also in the Mantras.

In interpreting the Veda, the findings of Indo-European Linguistics should in no way be neglected or under-estimated. But sometimes the philologist's zeal carries him away a little too far, and leads him into a morass of a series of possibilities which one should always guard against. I think Comparative Philology and Tradition should be taken as mutual correctives. Unfortunately, however, the tradition, though supported by strong reason, is sacrificed at the altar of an insecure linguistic speculation. Let me give an example, and in so doing I should like to raise before you an

¹ Whitney.

old question which has already been discussed by eminent scholars. I mean the question of phallus worship in the Vedas. The only argument advanced in support of it lies in the word *śiśná-deva* used twice in the Rig-Veda (VII. 21. 5 ; X. 10.99). The traditional meaning of it is 'lustful': both Yāska and Sāyaṇa explaining it by *abrahmacarya*. There is no ground whatsoever to reject it. The word *deva* is used here in the figurative sense, it signifying 'like a deva.' And it is supported by a number of words compounded with *deva* as the last member. The following four words are well-known : *māṭr-deva*, *pitr-deva*, *ācārya-deva*, and *atithi-deva*. Will it be reasonable to hold that a father-worshipper, a mother-worshipper, a teacher-worshipper, and a guest-worshipper are meant here respectively? The word *pitr-deva* simply means 'a person to whom the father is just like a *deva*'. Accordingly, the sentence in the Taittirīya Up. I. II. *pitr-devo bhava* implies that the father is to be revered just like a god. The remaining words, too, are to be explained in the same way. And this view is taken by the great Śāṅkarācārya saying with regard to them: *devatāvad upāsyā eta ity arthah*: 'the meaning is, that they should be revered as gods'. Let us take another word of the same class, *śraddhā-deva* found in the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* and in different Brāhmaṇas. What does it mean? The authors of the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* tell us, *Gottvertrauend* 'trusting in god.' It can hardly be accepted, for the compound cannot be made after the manner of *bharad-vāja*, as in such cases the first member is a present participle. Nor can I understand how Egeling takes it (SB, I. 1. 4. 5.) to mean 'god-fearing'. The commentators generally explain it by *śraddhāvat* 'believing,' or *śraddhālu* 'disposed to believe'. The actual meaning is, however, shown by Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the TS, 7. 1. 8. 2, when he says: *śraddhā devo yasyāśu śraddhādevah*: 'one whose *deva* (god) is *śraddhā* (trustfulness) is *śraddhā-deva*.' And then he adds: *yathā devatāyām ādaras tathā śraddhāyām ity arthah*: 'as towards god, so is the respect towards trustfulness.'

This interpretation then decides the case of *śiśná-deva* implying a person who reveres his *śiśna* just like a god, or a man of lustful character, *abrahmacarya*, as Yāska would explain it.

The word in this sense may sound strange to a non-Indian reader, but Indians themselves are quite familiar with such expressions from the later Sanskrit literature. For instance, *śiśnodara-parāyaṇa*, which is the same as *śiśnodara-tṛp*, or *śiśnodaram-bhara*, all meaning nothing but 'one

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addicted to lust and gluttony.' Mark here the use of *parāyana*, literally meaning 'last resort or refuge,' as the second member of the first word. And compare its use in such words as *Nārāyaṇa-parāyana* 'devoted to Nārāyaṇa', and *kāmakrodha-parāyana* 'given over to lust and anger.'

It seems to me that sometimes too much importance is attached to modern philological interpretation utterly ignoring the traditional one. For instance, I may refer you to the well-known hymn to the so-called 'Unknown God,' RV, X. 121, with the refrain '*kásmai deváya havīṣā vidhema*'. It has been discussed from different points of view by a number of scholars. Some of them want to take here *kásmai* in the sense of 'to whom', as a form of the interrogative pronoun *ka* (or *kim*). I do not say that it can in no way be maintained. But I want to ask: What is the ground for rejecting the traditional meaning of the word here, which is Prajāpati? Why, as Sāyaṇa has done, *kásmai* is not to be construed supplying *tásmai*, as is often the case in the Rig-Veda¹ itself, when the relative pronoun *ya* (or *yad*) is used in the subordinate clause? That *ka* is identified with Prajāpati is found in different Sainhitās and Brāhmaṇas. The main ground for this identification is, according to the Rishis of the Brāhmaṇas, that both the interrogative pronoun *ka* (or *kim*) and Prajāpati are *anirukta* 'not explained'; that is, as the interrogative pronoun means a thing or a person not known definitely, as 'this' and 'this-like' (*idam, idṛk*), so is Prajāpati,—he cannot be described definitely, for such is his greatness. Considering the manner in which they express certain thoughts, as we have already seen in connection with the *bhakti-vāda*, this identification of *ka* with Prajāpati who is expressly mentioned in the last verse of the hymn seems quite natural and appropriate.

Too much reliance or emphasis on the derivative sense is a pitfall, especially when in a great many derivations we are still in a speculative stage. Let me give one or two examples. The following line occurs in the Chāndogya Up., 4.17.10 :

ब्रह्मैक ऋत्विक् कुरुनश्वाभिरक्षति ।

Here the foremost scholars of the school of the philological interpretation, Böhtlingk and Roth, would not hesitate to explain *aśvā* saying *na-śvā*, *na* (or *a*) being taken in the sense of *sādrśya* 'likeness,' and thus the word meaning 'as a dog' ('wie ein Hund')! I suggest that *aśvā* here is only the instrumental singular of *aśva*.

¹ I. 85. 1, 4; VII. 36. 4, 6, 7; 39. 5; 88. 7; 91. 6; 104. 8.
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Following the obviously literal sense, ignoring tradition which indicates the special meaning a word or expression comes to have, is equally dangerous. For instance Rahder, who knows not only Sanskrit, but also Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian, would translate (in the Introduction to his edition of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, in the *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. IV, p. 218) the well-known Buddhist word *brahma-vihāra* (which means the 'sublime state of mind' arising from meditation on *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā*, and *upekṣā*), as the *Brahmā-hall* (!), taking the expression literally.

But we must not be blind to the purely philological method, for, the real meaning of an expression, it is quite possible, is lost and another one takes its place. Without accepting as final, I may in this connection refer to the very plausible explanation by Dr. L. D. Barnett in his translation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* of the two well-known words *hrṣīkeśa* and *gudākeśa* as respectively 'having upstanding hair,' and 'having knotted hair.' The word *hrṣīka* in the sense of *indriya* occurs in Sanskrit, but it is a rare word, and I have not found *gudākā* to mean *nidrā* anywhere excepting in lexicons. Dr. Barnett's suggestions are deserving of full consideration.

The conventional or accepted sense is more important than what the original root or composition would imply, when the word has been long in use (*rūḍhir yogād balīyasi*). While derivation gives us the original idea behind a word, the conventional sense is the one which has grown up, and is the sense in which it is employed. The word *nadī* or *dhunī* (from *dhvani*), when first applied to a river, indicated the idea of its being 'noisy' (*nadī nadanāt*). But it does not follow from this that while we employ the above words we must be necessarily thinking of the root-sense, "the 'noisy one.' To insist upon the root-sense when the word has been accepted in a general way would be improper. Whether originally it was *agra+ni*, or *agri*, or *aj (ag)+ni*, or whether it has any connection with Latin *ignis*, Lithuanian *ugnis*, Slav *Ognj*, it does not matter; for we all know that the word *agni* in Sanskrit means 'fire'. More than ninety per cent. of the students in our Colleges and Sanskrit Pāthāśālās, if asked, would answer that *paśyati* is from the root *drś*, though this derivation is not the fact (philologically, the form *paś* is only an abridged form of *spas*). Yet, they perfectly know what the word really means. In every language and literature writers employ a large number of words in their current senses, without any reference to the original ideas behind their roots. Under these circumstances, is it not that the interpreter should proceed

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with much caution in every step he takes with regard to the derivative meaning of a word he discusses or interprets?

The present condition of Vedic studies in our country is a most regrettable one, specially when it is compared with that in Europe. Vedic Sanskrit is taught to some extent in our Universities, but real interest in it among the students is rare, just as in Prakrit. It appears to me that in most cases it is due to the fact that the teachers themselves are not serious, or have no love for the subject. As such they can hardly rouse any enthusiasm or create any interest in the minds of their pupils. In regard to the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās, the condition is not better, most of the students taking no care for Vedic studies. And the result is that even a really profound Pandit is often unable to construe or understand a passage in Vedic Sanskrit. Nor does he possess the least information about Vedic literature. Though in some of the Pāṭhaśālās there are arrangements for the study of the Veda, they are mainly for chanting purposes, the interpretation being not properly made. This of course has its value, for it is helping to preserve the tradition with respect to *svādhyāya*; but the students who chant without understanding stultify themselves. We should remember what Yāska quotes (I.18) in this connection from the *Samhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, 3 :

स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभू-
दधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।

But even this situation is altering owing to our changing social ideals. Simple *svādhyāyins* also are getting rarer and rarer, as the bestowing of *dakṣinās* to maintain them is getting rarer and rarer. I do not impute any mercenary motives to our *Srotriyas*, who are still great in the midst of their poverty : but what I suggest is that our Society at large is becoming distracted by other things, and is forgetting its duty to maintain the *Srotriyas* as necessary to Hindu society. Vedic studies in the traditional way must languish under such circumstances.

We should nevertheless try to keep up the *Vidyā* and pay our debt to our Rishis. A reorganisation of Vedic studies should come in. It may be suggested that every student of our Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās should read Vedic Sanskrit to a certain standard—and this must be a high one—as a compulsory subject for his passing a Title Examination. The course should

comprise in addition to the texts a good account of Vedic literature, the Nirukta, a grammar written scientifically, and a book on Sanskrit philology. Besides, some acquaintance with the sister literature of the Avesta may be introduced.

Avesta is not a difficult language to one who knows Sanskrit, specially Vedic Sanskrit. The agreement between Sanskrit and Avesta may be compared with that between Sanskrit and Prakrit. As regards meanings, they help each other. In this connection with your permission I may mention an experience of mine. I was thinking that the names for year are the names for the seasons. For instance, *abda* literally 'one that gives water', i.e., 'rainy season'; *varṣa* (which is the same as *varṣā*) 'rain', 'rainy season'; *śarad* 'autumn' (*saradah śatam*); *hima* 'winter season' (*śatam himāḥ*);—all these are the names for the year. But what is the word that originally meant 'hot or summer season', and was employed to denote a year? There must be such a word, for the summer season is very acutely felt in this country. I was then turning over a page of an Avestic work, and came across a word *hama* which means 'summer.' Now *hama* of Avesta, according to phonology, is nothing but *sama* (feminine *samā*) in Sanskrit. And it at once struck me reminding that the word I was seeking after is *samā* (*jīvīṣec chatam samāḥ*). It is from the root *sam* 'to heat', as Bhānuji Dīkṣīta explains in his *tīkā* on *Amara-kōṣa*. Cf. English *summer*, German *Sommer*, etc.

I am, however, glad to tell you that our scholars are not remaining idle. Since last we met at Lahore, three important Vedic publications have come out. It was in the first session of our Oriental Conference held in Poona that as many as three MSS. of unpublished commentaries on the Rig-Veda, lent by the Government MSS. Library, Madras, were exhibited, one of them being that of Skanda-svāmin, and another of Veṅkata Mādhava. It is now gratifying to see that the first part of these two as edited by Pandit Sāmbāśiva Śāstrī has been placed in our hands by the authorities of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The second work has been given to us by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma Vidyabhushana. It is an important commentary on the *Taittiriya Prātiśākhya*. It forms the first volume of the recently started *Madras University Sanskrit Series*. The last work comes from the North, the Punjab, the old home of Vedic culture, the people of which have once more become alive to our great ancestral heritage, specially through the inspiration of the Ārya-samāja. We all know the Word-Indices of all the

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four Sainhitās of the Veda prepared by the late Svāmī Viśveśvarānanda and Svāmī Nityānanda, both of the Ārya-samāja. Then Pandit Hansraj of the D. A. V. College has given us his *Vaidika-koṣa* which helps one much in Vedic studies with special reference to Brāhmaṇas. And now Principal Visvabandhu Śāstrī of the Dayānanda Brāhma Mahāvidyālaya, Lahore, working in the same line, has been engaged in bringing out a complete Etymological Dictionary of the Vedic Language in Sanskrit, Hindi, and English, of which the first (specimen) fasciculus has already reached our hands. It prompts one to say that there is not the least doubt that this work, when completed, will take a unique place in the field of Vedic studies, and as such it is bound to be appreciated by all Vedic scholars. Here I should like to mention one more work which reached my hands after the paper was written. It comes from Bengal. It is *Chāndogyamantra-bhāṣya*—a bhāṣya on what is generally known as *Mantra-brāhmaṇa*. This bhāṣya is by Guṇaviṣṇu who is believed to have flourished before Sāyaṇa and is widely read in Bengal and Mithila. The present edition is a critical one under the able editorship of Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya and issued by the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta. We express our sincere thanks to all these workers.

SOME PROBLEMS IN THE ORIGIN OF ART AND CULTURE IN INDIA*

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

Thanks partly to our national temperament, by which we most easily can regard all existence as fleeting or illusory, and consequently can neglect to preserve anything which does not seem to us to have any value for the ultimate reality—by which we put no abiding importance on the appurtenances and the adornments of life—on the *Upakaranas*, as the Upanishad calls them; thanks also to other agencies, e.g. the havoc wrought by climate as well as by the hand of man converted into a blind force of destruction and barbarism by the pride of conquest and by the frenzy of religion,—and the criminal ignorance of the value of the heritage from antiquity that has come down to us; thanks to these reasons, the history of cultural and artistic development in our country remains, for lack of documents a tale half-told. The earlier chapters of this history are lost, and there are wide breaks, which we can fill up only by the exercise of our imagination. Indian tradition takes back our history to untold millenniums. But the lavish largesse of Tradition is restrained by the careful hand of sober History, which doles out meagre measures of antiquity and seeks to curtail our credulity. A variety of reasons based on recently discovered facts now induce us to believe that the advent into India of that virile, highly imaginative yet practical, and comparatively rather rude race—the Aryans—took place at a period which cannot be anterior to the middle of the second millennium B. C. The orthodox opinion now current among most scholars takes the period back to five hundred or a thousand years more, and some would even stretch it back to a further two thousand or even two thousand and five hundred years beyond. I shall not discuss that point now. But suffice it to say that our traditions, and the literary documents that we have, take the history of our culture back to times considerably before 1000 B.C., whereas the actual remains of the culture which these traditions refer to and of which this literature is an expression do not go beyond 300 B. C., barring a few articles of problematic date which may be pre-

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Mauryan, i.e., anterior to 300 B.C. The period before 300 B.C. is a blank for India, so far as the material remains of an Indo-Aryan culture—i.e. specimens of the handiwork of men speaking an Indo-Aryan tongue—are concerned. We have an unbroken record of temples, inscriptions, pyramids, and artifacts from tombs—of huge pieces of sculpture and of tiny trinkets—which open up for us a panorama of Egyptian life throughout the centuries, up to the pre-dynastic periods. With her cuneiform tablets, the ruin mounds of her temples and ziggurats, her sculpture, her portraits of kings and rulers, Assyria and Babylonia bear ample testimony to her achievements from the 4th millennium B.C. Greece has a clear story to tell of her cultural life through her remains, her temples, her sculpture, her vases, back to the centuries when a New Greece was arising out of the ashes of the old,—and this Old Greece of pre-Indo-European days itself has opened up her treasure-chests of art-objects and antiquities for us. China too has an old tale to tell, with her bronze vases and vessels, her stone drums, and her messages on bones. But in India, there is a profound silence—in the matter of plastic expression of her artistic thought or intuition. In the remains of the time of Asoka, Indian Art makes a sudden appearance, in full bloom: it is a sudden lifting of the cloud, to reveal to us the sun already high in the sky. The dawn and the early morning are lost to us in the mists of undocumented antiquity. A few rays here and there—that is all: in the gold-foil images of the so-called Earth-Goddess, and in the possibly pre-Mauryan terra-cotta figures.

The imagination displayed in painting word-pictures of the Gods and of Nature in Rigvedic poetry makes the gloom all the more mysterious and the silence all the more tantalising. The Rigveda mentions painting in connexion with the Gods—either painting their own divine forms, or their images. There seems to be a clear reference to a painted image of Rudra (cf., p. 454, Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. V: RV. II, 33,9—*sthirebhir aṅgaiḥ pururūpah ugraḥ babhrus śukrebhiḥ pipiṣe hiraṇyaiḥ* ‘with strong limbs, many-formed, awful, brown, he is painted with shining golden colours’). Did the people of the Veda—the Aryans among whom the hymns originated, attempt to translate into wood or stone the visions they had of Ushas and of Indra, of Rudra and of the Aśvins? What success did they attain, if that attempt was ever made? An image of Ushas—bright and handsome, like a maiden unveiled rising from her bath; or of a thunder-wielding Indra—the very language of the Vedas

recalls to us the deathless creations of the Hellenes—was it ever sought to be depicted in wood or clay, stone or metal, by Aryans of the Veda? Such images, if they were actually made, could then be regarded as the prototypes of the gold-leaf Earth-Goddess, or the Didarganj chowrie-bearer, or the Barhut and Sanchi Śrī, or of the Yakshis of the oldest art of India; and what could such prototypes be like, antedating the oldest extant specimens of Hindu art by eight or ten centuries? How far is the Śiva image on the Guḍimallam *liṅga*, our oldest Śiva figure, based on earlier prototypes,—and are these prototypes the figures of Rudra mentioned in the Veda, or something non-Aryan? We have nothing at all to tell us about the nature of the plastic arts of the Vedic period. Did that art reveal the mastery of human skill over the inert wood, the resisting stone, or the dull clay? Did it show a suppleness of the hand and the fingers that nobly served the imagination? Or did Vedic Art, for some art must have existed then, show only a struggle of the imagination with the soulless material, as in Primitive Art, such as we still find among some Negro peoples,—despite the magnificence of the word-pictures evoked? Was the Art of the Indian Aryans as crude as that of their Germanic kinsmen of Scandinavia, whose Edda is as beautiful poetry as the Rigveda, but whose wood-carving and rock-carving are quite primitive—especially the latter—possessing a certain vigour no doubt, but recalling nevertheless the efforts of the South Sea Islanders?

We have no reply to these questions. But we can attempt to find out the environment of an artistic expression in this oldest period of our history, and a knowledge of the *milieu* might be of some help in studying the Origins of Indian Art.

We read in our school histories that India was inhabited by dark-skinned Non-Aryans, who were barbarians without any culture, and that the fair-skinned, highly civilised Aryans came from Central Asia, made a matter-of-course conquest of the original people of the country, imposed their superior culture and their language on them, and laid the foundations of Hindu or Indian civilisation. In India, these Aryans were impressed by the panorama presented by Nature in field and wood and mountain and river, and in the rising and the setting of the Sun, in thunder and rain and sunshine; and in their newly-found ecstasy they composed wonderful hymns to these forces of Nature, which they deified. It is not necessary to repeat this sort of reconstruction of the Vedic *milieu*, which we all know. It is a simple story, and very ingenuous too.

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It was a hypothesis good enough for the time when it was made, and that is some eighty years ago. But now other facts are coming up, and these facts now make this hypothesis hardly tenable. And these facts tell us a new tale, which is now being built up slowly—this tale about the beginnings of culture in India ; of the mingling of races with their diverse mentalities and contributions ; of the conditions in India when we are at the threshold of her history ; of the background for the beginnings of Indian Art ; and of the main currents that contributed to the birth of this Art itself.

The condition of the civilised world of Europe, Asia and Africa about B.C. 2000, a convenient date to begin our survey of Indo-European or Aryan history, was (as we can learn from contemporary documents) the following. In Greece and in the Islands of the Aegean were the Aegean people, with their centres at Mycenae and Tiryns, at Troy, and in Crete ; these were the pre-Indo-European precursors of the Greeks, with their flourishing civilisation, their commerce with Egypt, their ceramic and other arts, their bull-fights. In Egypt, the Egyptians were already a well-organised people with a civilisation several thousand years old. In Asia Minor, the Hittites were dwelling in the highlands of the interior, possessed of a high degree of culture and organisation—they were an impetuous mountain people, giving continual trouble to their neighbours. In Babylonia, the Semites from Arabia and the original Sumerians had long ago commingled their blood, their cultures, and their faiths, and in this way a people with a high civilisation with temples and palaces, organised religion and science, had come into being ; and this new people, or their culture, had extended into the neighbouring land of Assyria. East of Babylonia were the Elamites, in what is now Western Iran,—they were a people of unknown affinity who had attained to a high level of civilisation. Syria was in possession of Semites, with a culture akin to the Babylonian, but susceptible to Egyptian and other neighbouring influences. At that time, we do not know what the situation was in the eastern lands, in Persia, in India. We did not possess until very recently any contemporary remains. Our traditions, and the reconstruction of our prehistoric past with which we are familiar, would have it that the Aryans were living in India and in Iran,—and in India they were fighting the Non-Aryan and expanding their conquests into the interior of the country, and tilling the soil and composing their hymns. But we cannot be sure of all that for this period. We do not know. About this

date, B. C. 2000, we find that the Aryan people is first manifesting themselves in the arena of history in Northern Mesopotamia. Compared with the civilized peoples of pre-Aryan Greece and the Aegean islands, of Asia Minor, of Egypt, and of Assyria and Babylonia, the Aryans were rude and uncivilised. They seem to have come to Northern Mesopotamia from lands further to the North—beyond the Caucasus Mountains,—in Southern or Eastern Russia, perhaps, or in more central or western tracts of Europe. Some of their relations made similar descents into Greece about that time. The culture of these Indo-Europeans in their original homeland was in the bronze-weapon stage. But they had tamed the horse, which became in those days a swift and a terrible weapon in migrations and in warfare.

The Indo-Europeans (or Aryans, as they called themselves in Iran) were already by 2000 B.C. in the mountain tracts of Armenia, of Northern Mesopotamia and of North-Western Iran. And they soon came in touch with their civilised neighbours, in peace as well as in war. The next few centuries saw Aryan expansion in the south and in the south-east. A group of them, the Kassites, made themselves masters of Babylon, and they ruled there for six hundred years, and were evidently finally absorbed among the Babylonians. Another band with a horde of Semitic confederates seems to have penetrated into Egypt, where they were the Hyksos, ruling over Egypt for some four centuries and a half. Other bands or tribes showed their activity in the north. Some of them, the Mada or Manda, who came originally as horse-dealers into Assyria and Western Asia Minor, settled finally in North-Western Persia and became the ancestors of the Medes. The Parśu, or Parsawa (Persians), were another tribe settling in South-Western Persia. One band, the Kanisian tribe, settled in the Hittite Kingdom of Asia Minor, and became one of the ruling peoples there. Another, the Harri or the Aryans, established themselves in the northern part of the *doab* between the Euphrates and the Tigris. A further band of these Aryans were the Mitanni, the ruling class in a state to the north-west of Assyria, who had political and matrimonial relations with the ruling houses of Egypt, Babylon and the Hittite Kingdom, and who, as the Boghaz Kōi documents tell us, worshipped the Gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and the Nāsatyas, whose cults were evidently carried into India by the kinsmen of the Mitannians—the Vedic Aryans. Excepting the Aryans who were settled in Persia, and those who ventured further east, these various tribes of Aryans, who

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stayed on in Northern Mesopotamia and Eastern Asia Minor and fought and lived and carved out kingdoms for themselves there, were subsequently absorbed among the surrounding peoples.

Between 2000 B.C. and 1300 B.C., then, we have these oldest contemporary references to Aryan activities in the Asia Minor and Mesopotamia region. It seems that during these centuries the Aryans had developed their culture and their religion which we find in later and sharply differentiated forms in the Vedas and in the Avesta, in India and in Iran. Their language during this period was in the pre-Vedic and pre-Avestan stage—in the *Indo-Iranian stage* as it is called. The slight evidence of their language which we obtain from the cuneiform inscriptions from Assyria-Babylonia and Asia Minor indicates that it was, at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C., still in this pre-Sanskrit stage. The Mitanni among whom we find evidence of the worship of the Vedic Gods Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and the Nāsatyas were just some of the Aryans who stayed on, while others pushed further to the east.

The religion and culture that we call Vedic might very well have developed, in its incipient stage of course, among these fighting and trekking Aryans while they were still outside India: the first phase of this culture and religion certainly goes back to the time when they had not yet entered India. The Aryans, it would seem, were in Iran for some time before they entered India; and in Iran, it is quite natural to think they came in conflict with the original people of the land before they could find the way to India open. When they came to the Panjab, they were not conscious of entering a new country: the Vedas do not at all give us any such impression. The situation as regards the people whom they met in Eastern Iran and in the Panjab would seem to have been similar. Those Aryans who remained in Iran, the Mada, the Parsawa and some others, developed their common culture and religion as well as speech along their own lines during the following centuries; and some of them later went up north into the plains of Central Asia, and developed the nomadic life, and became the Sakas or Scythians. The Aryans who came into India were a song-making people. We may be sure that they made songs even before they came into India. Some of their song or verse forms were already evolved outside India, e.g., the *Gāyatrī* form, which was also inherited from their common ancestors by the Aryans of Persia.

In these Aryans we have thus one element in the Old Indian cultural texture. Linguistic Palaeontology by examining the linguistic records of the different Indo-European speaking peoples has sought to appraise the culture of the Primitive Indo-Europeans, of whom the Asiatic Aryans were only a branch. The findings of this science has been mainly on the negative side. What little positive testimony we have been enabled to obtain is not very flattering to the material culture of these Indo-Europeans. The Primitive Indo-Europeans of 3000—2000 B.C., in their yet undiscovered home, seem only to have emerged from the Neo-lithic to the Bronze Age. They were partly nomadic shepherds and partly agriculturists, and kept domestic animals, and had tamed the horse—and this was their greatest contribution to material civilisation; otherwise in this direction they did not possess any remarkable characteristic of their own which could hold them up before the civilised peoples, e.g. of Assyria and Babylonia and Egypt. But as a living people, in their fresh and unsophisticated youth, they were willing to learn from the cultured nations they met, and after they came out from their isolation in the north, they everywhere imbibed foreign cultures, foreign ideas, foreign religions, foreign social systems, along with the masses of foreigners who affiliated themselves to them and acknowledged their suzerainty by adopting their language, and were thus absorbed by them. But the Aryans, inspite of this intermixture, retained a great many features of their own religion and ideals. They adopted whatever came in their way, but their robust *rudeesse* and their own social organisation as well as their magnificent speech gave the tone to all that they assimilated; and even when they themselves were absorbed by other peoples, if they came in appreciable numbers, their presence has left its mark indelibly.

What Art did the Indo-Europeans possess, when as Aryans they poured into Mesopotamia and Iran, and then came into India? What advance had they made, coming into contact with the civilised peoples of Asia Minor and of Assyria and Babylon, and Elam, and possibly of pre-Aryan Iran?

We have no records of the art of the Primitive Indo-Europeans. The few crafts they possessed were in a rudimentary stage, as would be natural to expect in a primitive people. There is no evidence to show from their language that they had any sculpture or painting. There is a common Indo-European root,* *pik*, *peik*, *poik* (=Skt. *piś*, *peś*), 'to paint,' which is found in Sanskrit, in Greek, in Latin, in Germanic: it may mean

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as much applying woad on the person, as daubing a plank or adorning a picture. From the study of the words used in connexion with religion in the various Indo-European languages, Prof. A. Meillet has come to some conclusions about the character of Primitive Indo-European religion, one of which is that the Indo-European people did not know the use of idols, and that their deities were not personal or anthropomorphic to start with (Meillet, *Linguistique historique et Linguistique générale*, p. 332). The deified forces of Nature were as yet too much in their original natural form, as Sun, Moon, Wind, Thunder, Dawn, Rain, to be regarded as human or personal deities. How much of humanising was achieved is an unsolved problem. This is in strong contrast with the cult ideas of the civilised Non-Aryan peoples of the South—the Ægeans, the Asia Minor peoples, the Egyptians, the Northern Semites,—with their Snake-Goddesses and Mother-Goddesses, their Osiris and Isises, their Ishtars and their Baals and Marduks—each with his or her well-defined anthropomorphic character, and very human attributes and symbols. This presence of the personal idea of the Godhead, and a consequent attempt to visualise it in art, acts as a strong stimulus to the artistic impulses of a people ; and the Primitive Indo-European people seemed to lack this stimulus, from the nature of their religion. We have to be content with this negative statement of the conditions for art in the Primitive Indo-European period. The Aryans met the Hittites and the Assyrio-Babylonians, the Elamites and other peoples, and then they peoples, especially the highly artistic Assyrio-Babylonians, were the first masters of the Aryans in the domain of Art. A pastoral and agricultural people may do with vague nature Gods ; but when we have a fighting people, whose enemies invoked their Marduk or Shamash, their Ma or their Thunder-wielding God, to help them and fight for their, we can only expect them to develop personal Gods in their turn. That is what seems to have happened. Indra, leading the Aryan fighters to victory ; Varuna, watching their deeds and keeping a moral control ; Mitra, seeing that friendship and oaths are honoured ; the Nāsatyas, the divine healers wandering about on horseback, healing wounds and deformities ; Ushas, inspirer of new life after the night's refreshing sleep ; and even a supreme deity *Asura Mazdha, later the Ahura Mazda of the Persian Aryans—the 'Potent Highly Intelligent One'—was evolved among some Aryans. And with these personal Gods, the example of the Assyrians and the rest could naturally act as stimulus to the artistic or icon-making tendency of

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the Aryans ; more so when some of the deities of these peoples, and the characteristics of others, were unconsciously accepted by the Aryans in their own pantheon. The quickening of the Aryan artistic impulses was undoubtedly effected through the contact with the Asuras—the Assyrians. The art of the ancient Aryans of Persia some centuries later is mainly a copy of that of Assyria. The Indian Aryans also carried with them rudiments of what they had picked up from the hated Asuras whom they always had to fight while they were sojourning in the West,—and with the memories of these fights and the cruelties of the Asuras they also remembered the fact, in their distant homes in India, that the Asuras were superior to the Aryans in the art of building and in making beautiful things, as much as in warfare. Traditions of the sons of wise men among the Aryans going to learn the mysterious arts and crafts from the wise men among the hated Asuras have survived in Indian legends.

One important element in the composition of art in Ancient India is thus the kind of art the Aryans learned from the Assyrio-Babylonians and brought into India : and the Earth-Goddess images or designs, and the lotus rosette (so characteristic of Barhut and Sanchi) seem to be the result of this early contact between Ārya and Asura outside India.

In Eastern Iran, the Aryans seem to have met with a great people who probably extended from Northern and Western Persia to the Panjab and Sindh—the *Dāsa* or *Dasyu* people. In Iran, they came later on to be called *Daha* and *Dahyu*, and the land was so much the land of the *Dahyu* that in Avestan the word (*dahyu*) came to mean ‘the country-side’. In Greek times the Aryans were spread almost all over Iran, and the *Daha* were confined to North-Eastern Iran—to the east of the Caspian. And we learn from the Rigveda that the toughest foes of the Aryans were the *Dāsa* or *Dasyu* people ;—foes whom they had to fight within India, certainly ; and probably also outside India ; since there is the great likelihood that many of the hymns compiled in the Rigveda were actually composed in Iran, where also the *Dāsa-Daha* and *Dasyu-Dahyu* tribes lived. These *Dāsa-Dasyus* apparently presented a teeming population ; the Rigveda is full of them. The Aryans fought them, and invoked their Gods against them, and killed and enslaved them—and did the last thing to such an extent that the word *Dāsa* came to mean ‘slave’ in the Aryan’s language. And these original dwellers in the land, when they had to give way before the Aryan invaders in pitched battles, would retaliate by sudden raids against their Aryan foe-men, so that in

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the Aryan's language the name *Dasyu* came to signify 'marauder'. The importance of the *Dāsa-Dasyu* people in Vedic life cannot be gainsaid. And in the development of ancient Indian culture, the *Dāsa-Dasyu* can reasonably be regarded as having contributed some elements. From the descriptions in the Rigveda, we can see that these *Dāsas* and *Dasyus* were not mere savages—they were a well-organised people with a high culture of their own. They seem to have in later times been confused with the Asuras, as both were equally foes of the Aryans, and consequently of their Gods. Now, who were these *Dāsas*, and what do we know of their culture?

We have seen that the oldest objects of material culture in India that we can associate with a people of Aryan language and culture are the Maurya artifacts, which take us only to a few centuries B.C. We know that in India apart from the Aryan speech and Aryan culture, there were other families of speech and culture—the Austric, the Dravidian, and the Tibeto-Chinese. The last of these we can dismiss from a study of the origins of Indian culture and art, as it came very late in the field, after the characteristically Hindu or Indian culture had evolved, and touched only the fringes of the Indian world. The connexion or contribution of Dravidian culture to Hindu religion and culture has been generally admitted. Dravidian speakers are believed to have been absorbed in the North Indian masses. The Austric tribes at one time were spread all over Northern India, and they too have contributed very largely in the formation of the Indian people in Northern as well as Southern India. Their culture probably found an expression in agriculture in the river-valleys, and in maritime enterprise—it was rather a primitive, village type of culture, not a centralised or city culture, as it seems to have been in the case of the Dravidians. Remains of a high type of pre-historic culture have been found in Southern India, at places like Adittanallur, with bronze vessels, images, gold and bronze ornaments and pottery, burial chests of terra-cotta and other objects, in the midst of burial mounds; and these have been ascribed to the ancestors of the modern Dravidians.

Now we do not know to what linguistic and ethnic group the *Dāsa-Dasyu* people—as well as other non-Aryan peoples like the *Panis*, the Asuras of India, and the *Niśādas*, mentioned in the oldest texts, belonged—Austric or Dravidian. The presence of the Dravidian Brahuis in Baluchistan would point at the occupation by Dravidian speakers of tracts

in N. W. India. The affinities of the Austric people are well known: they belong to the East, and they were spread all over Burma, and part of Indo-China, and Malaya and the Islands of Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. The affinities of the Dravidians we do not know for certain, but it seems to have been in the North-West, beyond the Baluch frontier—with peoples of the Mediterranean area, as it has been suggested by some. We would be tempted to connect them with the *Dāsa-Dasyu* people, and the *Panis*, who were spread at one time from the Panjab to Western Iran. But we cannot be definite—the question still remains open—the connexion between the *Dāsa-Dasyu* and the Austrics or Dravidians continues to baffle us, for want of facts.

Recent discoveries at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro have definitely turned the orientation of our researches into the origins of Hindu culture. They show a civilization, with a complicated town life, going back to 3000 B.C. and more, long before the advent of the Aryans: and there we have a well-developed art, in stucco images, in pottery, in clay votive figures, in steattite seals with figures of animals and undecipherable inscriptions, in copper images, in faience and shell bracelets and in some other interesting objects. Similar art objects, pottery mainly, have been found at Nal in Baluchistan and at Anau to the North-East of Persia, and also in Elam in Western Iran; and the connexion of this culture with that of ancient Sumer, too, is clear. It was thus a culture which was spread from Western India to Western Persia. Now, the *Dāsa-Dasyu* would seem to be the people who were spread both in Iran and India in pre-Aryan and Early Aryan times. This culture, especially in the Indus Valley, we can tentatively associate with the people called *Dāsa* in the Vedas—without suggesting what these *Dāsas* were in language, whether Austric or Dravidian.

Mr. R. P. Chanda in his most suggestive monograph on the *Survival of the Prehistoric Culture of the Indus Valley* (No. 41 of the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1929) has discussed the question of the pre-Aryan culture of India and its contributions in the formation of Hindu religion and Hindu civilization. He thinks that the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas (or *Rājanyas*) represent two entirely different groups of people with conflicting cultures and mentalities—the Brahmins belonging to the Aryans and the Kshatriyas to the Non-Aryans. The Kshatriyas were the native Non-Aryan ruling groups of India, and the Aryan Brahmins came over to India and were received favourably by the Kshatriyas. (In this

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view he would seem in a way to support an idea of Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, published as early as 1909 in his *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, that the Aryan language came into India as a 'culture drift', in the wake of the Brahmanical fire cult, without any appreciable number of Aryans coming into India). The rites of human sacrifice and widow-burning were Rājanya or Kshatriya (non-Aryan) rites, abhorred by the Aryan Brahmins; and Yoga practice, with which the Yatis and the Vrātyas were associated (as distinguished from the fire-worshipping Brahmins), was in its origin also non-Aryan. Two most remarkable stucco statuettes discovered at Mohen-jo-Daro—bust statuettes of bearded men with half-closed eyes—Mr. Chanda regards as busts of Yogis of the pre-Aryan period. Elsewhere, in his *Beginnings of Art in Eastern India with special reference to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum, Calcutta* (Memoir No. 30 of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1927), Mr. Chanda suggests that tree and *caitya* worship formed the characteristic religion of pre-Aryan India in the East. This would accord well with the view, which receives the support of Linguistics, that the ritual of the *pūjā*, together with the name or term *pūjā*, as opposed to the *homa* or fire-cult or fire-ritual of the Aryan, is non-Aryan—in fact, Dravidian. The thesis of Mr. Chanda is further developed by Coomaraswamy, who has shown how tree and *caitya* worship really meant the worship of tree-spirits or godlings known as Yakshas, and these Yakshas were the divinities of the non-Aryan peoples of India, and the ritual observed in worshipping them was opposed to the Vedic ritual: and the idea of *Bhakti* is connected with Yaksha-worship. The worship of *Siva* and *Śakti*, of the *Liṅga* and *Yoni*, is believed (from actual objects said to represent these symbols) to have also obtained among the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa people.

All these above-mentioned cults and customs which we have to associate with the non-Aryan peoples of India—the *Dāsa-Dasyu*, or Dravidian and Austric, Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa peoples—were more conducive to quicken artistic treatment than the original animistic or borrowed heroic cults of the Aryans. In fact, long after Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa in 3000 B.C., we find art making a sudden reappearance in India,—to glorify the Buddha, no doubt, but it is intimately connected with Yaksha worship in trees and *caityas* as its most potent incentive or inspiration; and later on, this art becomes connected with the worship of the great Hindu Gods, who are hardly described in their later character in the Vedic literature, and who are often Gods and Yogis combined in one.

The anthropomorphic or monstrous Yakshas and Vṛkshakās, and later on the great gods Śiva and Umā, Lakshmī and Viṣṇu, and Gaṇapati and the rest, as well as the spirit of Yoga which suffuses them, thus appear to be the most important and most profound survivals of the non-Aryan culture of the period when the Vedic Aryans entered India.

We have seen that what the Aryans themselves brought was an uncertain quantity, and judging from their past history as Indo-European barbarians, this uncertain quantity was very meagre. Probably all their achievement was in some crude copies or adaptations of Assyrio-Babylonian deities, in wood or clay, or rarely in metal,—for stone they do not seem to have essayed at all, and they built in wood mostly. The gold foil images of the Earth-Goddess, so-called, if it is really the handiwork of Aryan craftsman, is inspired by the Assyrio-Babylonian images of the Mother Goddess. Some floral decoration like the rose or lotus pattern which we find in the Barhut and Sanchi railings, and possibly attempts to depict some animals like the lion and the horse (such as we find, to perfection, with fresh impetus from Persia, later on in the time of Asoka)—these might have been brought in by the Aryans in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C.

Compared with them, the Non-Aryans of India had a great art. Before those Non-Aryans, dwelling in houses of brick and in flourishing cities, the wandering or hut-dwelling Aryan invaders, with no art worth mentioning, were barbarians, albeit splendid and powerfully organised barbarians. It might be that art in Northern India suffered a check at first when the Aryan and the Non-Aryan came in hostile contact, and the Non-Aryan had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Aryan. But their art could never die, just as their religion and ritual and their gods seemingly yielded before the gods and the fire-ritual of the Aryans but did not in reality pass away. Both of these refused to be submerged for ever, and came up once more, and became the national religion and art of India during the closing centuries of the first millennium B.C.

In the meanwhile, the Aryans who stayed on in Iran had prospered. They had learnt a great deal from them Assyrio-Babylonian and Elamitic neighbours, and possibly also from the other Non-Aryans comparable to the Dāsas of India. They had developed, mainly under Assyrio-Babylonian inspiration, with some influences from Asia Minor and from Greece, a great art of their own, which achieved its highest success during the Achaemenian emperors. Coming in contact with the most gifted peoples of Western

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Asia, the culture of the Persians became more urban and more advanced—at least on the material side—than that of the Indians. When the Persians conquered the North-Western parts of India, c. 500 B.C., the country became exposed to the influences of the art of Persia, *i.e.* to the ancient art of Assyrio-Babylonia in a new form. The use of stone seems to have been adopted in India through Persian influence. Persian architecture, too, exerted a tremendous influence on that of India, so much so that pillared halls with animal capitals in the Persian style came to be naturalised in India. Columned halls, and proclamation or commemoration pillars with figures of lions or bulls or other animals on the capital, became a characteristic expression of the power of the great Maurya emperors, and Persia supplied the models. But in plastic treatment of themes from Indian life, legend and ritual, the Persian style could not be or would not be imitated ; here the Indian artists evolved a style of their own, which we find in Maurya and Suṅga art, at Bodh Gaya and Sanchi and Barhut in its earliest extant phase, already characterised by a remarkable suppleness and grace, combined with a rare sincerity and strength, especially in some of the animal studies and in decoration ; and by a noteworthy intensity of expression in some of its admirably rendered human figures.

The Greek came, and his influence has been more profound in the national Indian schools than in the hybrid or Eurasian Gandhara School. The latter was like the mediæval or modern Indian writer's Persian or English composition, while the assimilated Greek influence in the native Indian schools can be compared to the European or Persian influence in the best productions in the Indian languages. A number of *motifs* were obtained from the Greeks, and were Indianised : and the effect of Greek art in this way seems to have made itself felt in post-Christian times. Witness, for instance, the coinage of the Guptas.

All these diverse elements were indissolubly blended together during the first few centuries after Christ, and beginning from Bodh Gaya and Barhut and Sanchi and from Mathura and Amaravati, we have the final shape given under the Imperial Guptas, when Indian Art as a National Art became definitely established, to soar into its highest flights at Mahabalipuram, Ellora and Elephanta in sculpture, and at Ajanta and Bagh in painting ; to develop into a number of provincial schools in the course of the mid-mediæval period, within India and outside India, in Indo-China and Indonesia ; and to inspire the Buddhistic Art of Serindia and of China and Japan. And in this way, Indian Art, which existed at the time of the

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advent of the Aryans in its primitive form among the non-Aryan peoples of the country, as at Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa, possibly received one or two elements from the Aryans bringing in certain things picked up from the West, attained its first completed state in the Maurya period with the abrupt use of stone for both building and sculpture in place of wood and brick; and with the example and influence of Persia, it entered into the domain of great Art ; it was reinforced later by forms levied from Greek Art; and, above all, was suffused by the creative genius of a composite Indian people nurtured in the mystic and contemplative philosophy that was older than the advent of the Aryans and was evoked by thinkers for over three millenniums ; and finally became in the centuries before and after the Guptas, one of the most precious and most potent heritages of man in the history of human artistic endeavour.

If we were to trace the various strata of Indian Art, we could pose the following :

(1) The Pre-Aryan Art of India, connected with Pre-Aryan religion ; earliest relics found at Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa : suppressed or submerged during the centuries of Aryan supremacy in religion and culture, or perhaps existing in a flourishing state with the old religion side by side with Aryan religion and culture, and coming to its own probably in the middle (or first half) of the first millennium B.C. with the re-establishment of non-Aryan cults and ritual and religious and philosophical notions in later Hinduism (Yaksha cults, Tree-deities, *Caityas*, Siva and other Hindu Gods, Yoga practices, *pūjā* ritual : seals with animal figures, terra-cotta figures, copper figures, stucco portrait statues. This Art at its base seems to be connected with Sumerian Art.

We do not know what art the Austric people possessed : but it is quite likely that some elements of architecture and decorative art in India, South-Eastern Asia and Indonesia originated with the Austrics.

(2) Some rudimentary art, mostly borrowed from Assyria and Babylonia, as brought in by the Aryans : probably images in wood and clay and metal, and a little wood-carving, with some Assyrian motifs. (This is rather problematical).

(3) The Art of Aryan Persia—itself an eclectic formation, with elements from Assyrio-Babylonian Art, and Egyptian, Asia Minor and Ionian Greek Art. This exerted a profound influence on a blend of (1) and (2) which was probably taking place during the middle of the first millennium B.C., and the result was—

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(4) The first crystallised expression of an Ancient Indian National Art, in which the mixed Aryan and Non-Aryan people shared, in Maurya and Suṅga times. Beginnings of Indian iconography.

(5) Advent of Greek influence: (i) Gandhara—remaining outside the Indian pale, a thing apart—unassimilated with the Indian tradition; (ii) absorbed Greek influence, leading to the strengthening of (4), which became more refined and more urban in

(6) Mathura (Kuṣhāṇa) and Amaravati (Andhra) Art of the early centuries of the Christian era.

(7) Development of (6) through free working of the native Indian spirit, and permeation of Indian philosophical and religious conceptions, into Classical Gupta Art, on which the subsequent art history of Hindu India was broad-based.

(8) Development of Gupta Art into mid-mediæval and late mediæval local schools: Pallava (with elements from the earlier Andhra Art of the South), Rāshṭrakūṭa, Pāla, Orissan, Western and Central Indian, etc., etc.

(9): (7) and varieties of (8) pass into Indo-China and Java, where modified by the local native character and contribution, this is transformed to Hindu Colonial Art of South-Eastern Asia: to wit:—

(i) Mon and Burmese; (ii) Khmer; (iii) Siamese, based on Khmer, but with modifications and refinement by contact with the Siamese race; (iv) Cham, with important modification; (v) Javanese: (a) Early or Hindu-Javanese, (b) Middle Javanese, with an increase of the Indonesian character, and (c) Late Javanese, with still greater Indonesian influence; (v) Balinese Early, Middle and Late, agreeing with Javanese.

(10) The Buddhist Art of Serindia, China, Korea and Japan in which (5 [i]) and (6) meet with fresh influences from Persia (Sasanian Art), and later on is further modified by (7) and varieties of (8). There is also profound modification by the native art and spirit of China.

VISVA-BHARATI BULLETIN.

I. DEMONSTRATION OF JIU-JITSU IN CALCUTTA.

Mr. Takagaki came to Santiniketan from Japan in November, 1929, at the request of Rabindranath Tagore, to impart instruction to the Santiniketan boys and girls, and anybody else who cared to take advantage of it, in the art of Jiu-Jitsu, the Japanese system of physical culture. Under the expert guidance of Mr. Takagaki, his pupils at Santiniketan, both boys and girls, have attained a high degree of proficiency in Judo and the demonstration they gave in December, 1930, at the Exhibition held in connexion with the All Asia Teachers' Congress at Benares, greatly impressed everybody who saw it. Another demonstration was given on the 16th of March, 1931, at the New Empire Theatre, Calcutta, by Mr. Takagaki and his pupils. There was a crowded house and a large part of the audience consisted of school and college students. The Poet was present on the occasion, and before the performance began, spoke at some length on the need of making physical culture an integral part of our educational system. Mr. Takagaki, who was introduced by the Japanese Consul in Calcutta, also briefly explained to the audience the main principles of Judo and its value both as an art of offence and defence and a system of physical culture generally*. The performance began with a choral song specially composed by the Poet for the purpose.

The programme of the actual demonstration consisted of the following features: (1) Attack and defence drill by Santiniketan boys and girls. (2) Art of overcoming a stronger opponent (demonstrations drill) by Santiniketan boys and girls. (3) Throwing exercises (kata) demonstrated by Mr. Takagaki. (4) Counter throwing exercises (kata) by Mr. Takagaki. (5) Catching, choking and breaking tactics by Mr. Takagaki. (6) Attack and defence demonstrations (kata) by Mr. Takagaki. (7) The "drill of five" (Itsutsumo kata) by Santiniketan girls. (8) Methods of receiving attack demonstrated by Mr. Takagaki. (9) Open contest (Randori) by Judo experts and Santiniketan boys.

Every part of the programme was carried out most skillfully and thoroughly enjoyed by the audience, and the performance created a strong

*A fuller exposition of Judo is given in the next article.

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impression regarding the possibilities of Judo as a form of physical culture and as a practical art of self-defence. The "drill of five" and certain other portions of the programme were greatly appreciated also on account of their exquisite aesthetic value.

II. JIUDO.

(THE JAPANESE NATIONAL SYSTEM OF PHYSICAL CULTURE).

I.

In our feudal times, Jiudo, known then more commonly as Jiu-jitsu, was practised by our Samurai, together with other kinds of martial exercises, such as fencing, archery, the use of spears, etc. Jiudo was the art of fighting generally without weapons, although sometimes different kinds of weapons were made use of. The kinds of attack were principally throwing, hitting, kicking, choking, holding the opponent down, and bending or twisting the opponent's arms or legs in such a way as to cause pain or fracture. There were multitudinous ways of defence against such attacks.

THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-RESISTANCE.

One main feature of the art is the application of the principle of non-resistance and the taking advantage of the opponent's loss of equilibrium ; hence the name Jiu-jitsu (literally the soft and gentle art). Now let me explain this principle by a few examples.

Suppose it is possible to estimate the strength of my assistant in units of 1. Let us say that his strength is represented by 10 units, whereas my strength is less than his, and is represented by 7 units. Then if he pushes me with all his force, I shall certainly be pushed back, or thrown down; even if I use all my strength against him. This would happen because I used all my strength against him, opposing strength against strength. But if, instead of opposing him, I were to withdraw my body, just as much as he pushed, remembering at the same time to keep my balance, then he would naturally lean forward and thus lose his balance. In this new position he may have become so weak (not in actual physical strength but because of his awkward position) as to have his strength represented for

the moment by, say, only 3 units, instead of his normal 10 units. But meanwhile, I by keeping my balance, retain my full strength, as originally represented by 7 units. Here then, I am momentarily in an advantageous position and I can defeat my opponent by using only half of my strength, that is half of my 7 units or $3\frac{1}{2}$ against his 3. This leaves one half unit of strength still available for any emergency. Had I possessed greater strength than my opponent, I could of course have pushed him back. But even in this case, it would have been better if I had first placed him in an awkward position, for by doing so I should have greatly economised my energy.

This is a simple illustration of how an opponent may be defeated by his being left unresisted. Other instances may be given.

Suppose my opponent tries to twist my body in a particular way (demonstration) intending to throw me down on the ground. If I were to resist him, I should surely be thrown down, because my strength to resist him would not be sufficient to overcome him. But, if on the other hand, I were to leave him unresisted and while so doing, I were to pull my opponent in the direction in which he was pulling me, and if I were to fall down on the ground voluntarily, I could throw my opponent very easily.

But there are circumstances in which this principle does not apply. Suppose, for example, my opponent had taken hold of my right wrist. If I do not resist him there would be no means of releasing it from his hold. The best way to release would, however, be to move my arm in such a way that my whole strength is used to counteract my opponent's hand grip. Thus in order to release my wrist I am obliged to use my strength against his, contrary to the principle of non-resistance.

Again my opponent grips me from behind. In this case, I cannot release myself by non-resistance. I must either throw my opponent, using the strength of my whole body to counteract his grip (demonstration), or slide down obliquely and release myself.

This will serve to show you that the principle of non-resistance is not sufficient in all cases.

MAXIMUM EFFICIENT USE OF MIND AND BODY.

Then, is there any principle which never fails of application? Yes, there is one such principle, and that is called the principle of the Maximum

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Efficient Use of Mind and Body, and the idea of non-resistance is only one particular instance of the application of this fundamental principle.

A little consideration will show that we often make an unnecessary expenditure of energy in ordinary bodily contests and also in our daily lives. I shall show you by some examples how a small exertion of energy is often sufficient to perform some of the most marvellous feats in physical contests.

Here stands a man. He must either be standing still or moving his leg or legs. Whenever he moves, he is giving me an opportunity of throwing him down by a very slight exertion on my part. Suppose he steps forward on his right leg, in this case I shall not be able to throw him even if I push that leg from behind, so long as it is still off the ground and his body is being supported on his left leg. But if I push it (from the back near the tendon of Achilles) just as his right foot is touching the ground and at a moment when the weight of his body is in progress of being transferred to this leg, then a slight tap is enough to throw him down. And in case he steps backward, a slight kick applied to his front leg at the proper moment would also enable me to throw him very easily. Next, suppose he is standing still and neither of his legs is moving. In that case a man may be compared to a log of wood standing on end. He may be very easily pushed or pulled down unless he resists me with his bodily strength. If he resists me he can be thrown even more easily, simply by pulling or pushing him in the direction in which he himself is exerting his strength. This shows how strength properly applied can control the opponent's strength even when several times greater.

There are many opportunities of putting an opponent out of balance in the course of a contest, one such opportunity occurs when an opponent tries to hit me. Suppose he shoots out his right arm attempting to strike me in the face ; I avoid the blow by simply side-stepping, and then take hold of his sleeve or his arm near the elbow joint with my left hand, pull it forward and just at the moment he is a little out of balance, place my right arm in front of his neck and push him from the back, placing my left hand near the base of his spinal column, so that he will get entirely out of balance. I can then easily choke him with my left hand.

All these are illustrations of the Principle of the Maximum Efficient Use of Mind and Body, on which the whole of the Art and Science of Jiudo is based.

RANDORI AND KATA.

Jiudo is taught under two methods. One is called Randori, and the other is called Kata. Randori or free exercise, is practised under conditions of actual contest. It includes throwing, choking, holding the opponent down, and bending or twisting the opponent's arms or legs. The two combatants may use whatever tricks they like, provided they do not hurt each other, and obey the general rules of Jiudo concerning etiquette.

Kata, which literally means "form," is a formal system of pre-arranged exercises, including (besides the things mentioned above) hitting, kicking and the use of weapons, practised according to rules under which each combatant knows beforehand exactly what his opponent is going to do. The use of weapons, hitting and kicking are allowed only in Kata and not in Randori, because if these practices were resorted to in Randori, cases of fatal injury could easily occur.

One great advantage of Jiudo as a system of physical culture consists in the large number of movements it contains for physical development. Another advantage is that every movement has some definite object and must be used intelligently, while in ordinary gymnastics, movements are often liable to become semi-automatic and monotonous.

Randori may be practised in various ways. If the object is simply the training in methods of attack and defence then the learners' attention should be specially directed to the most efficient ways of throwing, striking, bending or twisting, without special reference to developing the body or to mental or moral culture.

Although the exercises in Jiudo, both in Kata and in Randori, are generally conducted between two persons, and in a room specially prepared for this purpose, yet this is not always necessary. Jiudo can be practised by a large number of persons or by a single individual, in the play-ground or in the ordinary sitting room.

JIUDO FOR MENTAL TRAINING.

But the object of a systematic physical training in Jiudo is not only to develop the body, but to enable a man or a woman to have a perfect control over mind and body, and to make him or her fit to meet any emergency.

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I will next explain to you how one can be mentally trained in Jiudo. This can be done by Kata as well as by Randori, but more successfully by the latter. In the contest between two persons, both must have all the resources at their command and at the same time obey the prescribed rules of Jiudo. Such an attitude of mind and its exercise in devising means of attack and defence tend to make the learner earnest and sincere, cautious and deliberative, in all his dealings. At the same time one is trained for quick and prompt action, because in Randori unless one decides quickly and acts promptly he will always lose his opportunity either in attacking or in defence.

Again, in Randori contests, none of the contestants know what his opponent is going to do, so each must be prepared to meet any sudden attack by the other. This preparedness for emergencies develops a great equanimity and composure of mind.

Powers of observation and concentration are systematically developed during training. Imagination is required in devising means of attack and defence, as well as sound reasoning and judgment.

In Randori, we teach the learner always to act on the fundamental principle of Jiudo, no matter how physically inferior his opponent may seem to him, and even if he can by sheer strength easily overcome the other, because if he acts against this principle, the opponent will never be convinced of his defeat whatever brutal strength he may use over him.

It is hardly necessary to remind you that the best way of convincing your opponent in an argument is not to push this or that advantage over him, be it from superior knowledge, superior wealth or superior power, but to persuade him in accordance with the inviolable rules of logic. Persuasion is always better than coercion, this is what we learn from Randori. Again we teach the learner, that when he uses any movement to overcome his opponent he should employ only just as much of his force as is absolutely necessary for his purpose. They are warned never to employ more force than is required by the situation. There are not a few cases in which people fail in what they undertake, simply because they go too far, not knowing where to stop.

THE MORAL SIGNIFICANCE OF JIUDO.

Besides the cultural discipline acquired by the pupils through the observance of the regular rules of etiquette, and the cultivation of courage,

perseverance, kindness, respect for others, impartiality and fair play so much emphasized in Western athletics, the training in Jiudo has a special moral significance in Japan. I have already mentioned that Jiudo, together with other martial exercises, was practised by our old Samurai who had a high code of honour, the spirit of which has been handed down to us through the teaching of this art.

In this connexion I may explain how the principle of the maximum efficient use of mind and body is helpful in promoting moral conduct. There is often a tendency for human beings to get excited and angry. Jiudo teaches us that to be excited is an unnecessary expenditure of energy, giving benefit to nobody but often doing harm to ourselves and others, and this enables us to retain our composure.

Again we sometimes feel despondent from disappointment. We are gloomy and have no initiative for work. Jiudo shows us that there is but one road to follow—to adopt what appears to be the best course for the time being. Training in Jiudo enables us to look upon the future with hope even when we are at the bottom of the trough of disappointment.

This same reasoning applies to persons who are discontented. Discontented persons are often in a sulky state of mind and blame other people without properly attending to their own business. The teaching of Jiudo will make such persons understand that such conduct is against the principle of the maximum efficient use of mind and body. Finally they may come to realize by the faithful pursuance of the principle that it would be better to work cheerfully, for that is the best way.*

III. Spring Festival in Calcutta.

It is almost exactly ten years now that Rabindranath Tagore started a new movement in art by the production of "Varsha-mangal" (Rain Festival) in Calcutta in August, 1921. An altogether new version of the Rain Festival was given in July, 1922, the "Sarodotsav" (Festival of Autumn) in September, 1922, the "Vasanta Utsav" (Festival of Spring in February, 1923). These compositions were entirely different from the ordinary 'jalsa' (musical concerts), and they could not be called dramatic plays in the accepted sense although the Poet had introduced a few

[*The above article is a translation from a lecture on the Japanese art of self-defence, Jiudo, which was delivered before the Pan-Pacific Club of Tokyo. It was first published in the *Japan Times*, and is reproduced here by the courtesy of the publisher of the above journal.]

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characters here and there, and in each case there was a gradual unfolding of a central theme. Songs and dances with colour harmonies in dress and decorations formed the chief ingredients which found their unity in the development of an inner idea. They constituted in fact a new form of artistic creation. The introduction of songs, dances, and decorations of the new type in the production of the dramatic pieces like the "Visarjan" in 1924, the "Natir Puja" in 1927, and the "Tapati" in 1929, marked further stages of the same movement. The "Sesh-varshan" (the Festival of the Passing Rains) was given in 1925, and "Ritu-ranga" (the Dance of the Seasons) in 1927.

This year "Nabin", a new composition with the coming and passing of Spring as its theme, was presented in Calcutta on the 17th, 18th, 19th and 21st of March, 1931, by Santiniketan boys and girls led by the Poet himself. The following account is taken from reports in the Calcutta press.

The Poet, in this musical play, opens before us the panorama of nature, heralding the pageant of Spring with its riotous glory of flowers, its exuberance of beauty in form and colour, its reckless abundance of new life. The song of invocation is a chant to this spirit of new-born joy and it introduces the first part of the play which through a magic of tunes, dances, and a sort of Greek chorus, uttered in prose by the Poet himself, brings the message of the positive manifestation of life which surrenders its wealth of youth on the altar of self-expression.

Thus it is that the day of life begins, the freshness and the intoxication of living, the joy of emergence borne in by the spring-tide of primal youth. The cycle of life however completes itself in a deeper harmony of acceptance and self-surrender, and the second part of "Nabin" reveals that other aspect of life which carries within itself the burden of 'eternal passion, eternal pain', which in the sunset glow of ripe fulfilment attains the supreme splendour of bare amplitude, rich in its dedication of the day's garnerings to the silent peace of the starry night waiting to restore the new-born day once more to the universe. This cyclic aspect of our existence, where there is no abrupt termination of our youthful activities but their gracious fulfilment in an inner realization of unity with the all through the perfection of self-surrender, is made luminously vivid in this new composition.

The songs are instinct with the pathos of parting and death, but they sing the joy of triumphant victory over death and decay through the vision of our eternal spiritual reality which far transcends the bounds

of time and place and lives serene in the peace of an eternal presence, of a harmony where life and death join together in the unending dance of Being.

The singing at the Calcutta performance, was mostly in chorus, but there were about half a dozen exquisite solo-songs. Most of the songs were accompanied by dancing by Santiniketan boy and girls. The dance-poses were based on old Indian traditions with startling innovations here and there. One thing which greatly contributed to the picturesqueness of the dances was the wonderful effect produced by the dresses worn by the dancers which were chosen with an unfailing sense of colour.

But perhaps the most striking feature of the whole performance was the contribution of the Poet himself. His part consisted in speaking a few words in prose, as a sort of a prologue, to every song. But he had a surprise for the audience. From time to time he would break off in the midst of his words and sing snatches of songs, some his own, some those of old composers, in his wonderfully rich and mellow voice, casting a spell on the whole audience.

The entire proceeds of the performances will be credited to the funds of the Visva-bharati.

IV. The Poet's Seventieth Birthday Anniversary.

Rabindranath Tagore completed his seventieth year on the 8th of May last (25th Vaisakh, 1338, B.E.). There had been a talk of taking opportunity of this event for a public expression of the love and esteem in which the Poet is held by his countrymen by a befitting celebration. But as it was found inconvenient owing to various reasons to hold the celebration on the date of the Poet's birth-day, it was decided to postpone it to some later date convenient to the Poet—a decision which was endorsed by a large body of the citizen of Calcutta at a public meeting held on the 16th May last. Celebrations on a small scale were however held in many places in Bengal including Santiniketan where the Poet's presence lent to a quiet ceremony a picturesqueness and an emotional significance, which celebrations elsewhere necessarily lacked.

The Poet delivered the following message on this occasion, through the Associated Press.

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Birth-day Message from the Poet.

"The modern age, with its interlinked social and economic basis of civilisation, has brought about new values of unity in the relationship of the human races. Those races which persist in cultivating primitive habits of tribal isolation and hostile individualism must suffer and cause suffering by shunting the fundamental truth of our present civilization. Humanity must adjust itself to the spirit of the age and develop a harmonious co-operation of efforts in order that our present sufferings, born of unnatural competition and exploitation, may be alleviated."

"The immediate results of the proximity of races, made possible by the modern age, lie in increased chances for the stronger races to exploit the weaker ones by organized machinery of power and scientific utilitarianism. The weaker races, who have become a menace to the safety of the whole human civilization by attracting the greed of the powerful, have consequently to cultivate as a measure of self-defence an unwholesome attitude of national self-assertion which, in its turn, intensifies the cultural misunderstanding of the peoples of different countries."

"All these phases of maladjustment and mutual suspicion are, however, transitory, and signs are evident everywhere that a new order of co-operation will be established in the world. India must not fail to recognize this in her present effort to re-shape her destiny, and her freedom must vitally connect itself with the freedom of all humanity which comprehends the welfare of the different racial and national units that form it and give them their fulness of truth."

The following account of the celebrations at different places is taken from newspaper reports.

Santiniketan.

The seventieth birth-day of Rabindranath Tagore was celebrated by the inmates of Santiniketan and a large number of his friends belonging to the East and the West. Amidst picturesque surroundings and under the cool shade of a mango grove, Vedic prayers were chanted and songs were sung in chorus by the boys and girls of the institution. The Poet was offered 'chandan' and 'kumkum' and a Chinese artist presented him with a picture by himself. Messages wishing long life were received from friends all over the world.

The Poet in a moving speech thanked the audience for their touching demonstration of affection, and explained the central ideal of his life,

which, he said, was that of a poet who tries to reveal through self-expression the eternally youthful play of the Creator as manifested in the beauty and harmony of Nature.

The Poet then read out a few of the poems recently composed by him which gave a glimpse into his present outlook on life.

Calcutta.

A public meeting was held in Calcutta on the 16th of May, 1931, to consider what steps should be taken to celebrate the completion by the Poet of his seventieth year in a befitting manner.

The following report of the meeting is taken from the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* of the 23rd May, 1931.

Very rarely it falls to the lot of a man to have the extreme good fortune to be the member of a vast audience as the one witnessed last Saturday (16th May, 1931). It was a cosmopolitan gathering consisting of representative people of India and outside. Men from every walk of life came to offer their greetings and respectful homage to the world-poet and world-teacher, who has made the name of India respected in every corner of the civilized world. Echoes of the voice of Will Durant who wrote to Rabindranath—"You are the reason why India should be free"—seemed to reverberate through the Hall filled with the vast representative assembly of Indians and Europeans, Hindus and Mahomedans, Sikhs, Parsis, Jews and Christians.

Every available bit of space in the spacious Hall of the Institute was fully occupied and late-comers had to go away disappointed. Men like Sir C. V. Raman, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadikary, Sir J. C. Coyajee and Mr. Arthur Moore squatted on the *dais* like humble students learning at the feet of and paying homage to a great teacher and leader of thought in one that they assembled to honour.

Among those present at the meeting were Mrs. Kamini Ray, Sir C. V. Raman, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, Mr. Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya, Mr. P. Chaudhuri, the Maharaja of Cossimbazar, Sir J. C. Coyajee and Lady Coyajee, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadikary, Mr. A. P. Sen, Mr. Percy Brown, Mr. Arthur Moore, Col. Gidney, Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Mr. O. C. Ganguly, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, Dr. Radha Kamal Mookerjee, Rev. W. S. Urquhart, Rai Jaladhar Sen Bahadur, Sir David Ezra, Dr. D. N. Maitra, Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu, the Hon. Mr. B. K. Basu, Moulvi Mujibar Rahaman, Maulana

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Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., D.Litt., C.I.E., presided.

On the motion of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal seconded by Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri took the Chair.

In proposing Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri to the Chair, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal said that his heart leaped up with joy and pride when he thought that the Poet whom they met to offer homage was an international poet, thinker and missionary for peace. Rabindranath was one of the signatories to a peace manifesto issued by distinguished Europeans some time after the beginning of the Great War. Rabindranath gave expression to the life and spirit of Bengal. He unfolded them as much to his own people as to the wide world and also enriched the life and literature of Bengal. The Vaishnava poets were great sign posts in the march of Bengal's cultural progress and built up a tradition peculiar to the land. But Rabindranath made the tradition more complete and presented it to the world.

Messages were read wishing success to the movement from Dr. B. C. Roy, Mayor of Calcutta, Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, Mr. Hirentranath Datta and Alderman Subhas Chandra Bose who were unable to attend the meeting owing to absence from town.

Among others who sent messages of regret were Mr. G. D. Birla, Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhusan, Mr. E. C. Bentall, Raja Reshee Case Law, Prof. Radhakrishnan, Mr. M. A. Razzak (Deputy Mayor), the Hon. Sir Raja Manmatha Nath Roy Chowdhury of

Santosh, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Pandit Nagendra Nath Basu, Prachyavidya-maharnava, Prof. Nripendra Chandra Banerjee, Rai Rama Prasad Chanda Bahadur.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri in his presidential address said :—

I wonder why, of all men, the organisers of the Tagore Birth Anniversary have chosen me to be the President of the inaugural meeting to set the ball rolling. It is a puzzle to me, as I am a cloisterman and the Poet a man of world-wide fame. Perhaps the organisers thought that I am senior to him by several years, that he and I entered the field of Bengali Literature at one and the same time, that we both fell early under the irresistible spell of the genius of Bankim Chandra, and that he blessed both of us as rising spirits of the age.

Bankim Chandra's blessings have, however, borne abundant fruit in the case of Rabindranath whose rise has been phenomenal. And he is still rising. His fame has spread within thirty years not only from China to Peru, but also from Terra del Fuego to Alaska, and from Kamtschatka to the Cape of Good Hope. He has risen higher and higher till he has soared to a height, whence the whole world unfolds its mystery.

He has tried all phases of Literature—couplets, stanza, short poems, longer pieces, short stories, longer stories, fables, novels and prose romances, dramas, farces, comedies and tragedies, songs, operas, *kirtans*, *palas*, and last but not least lyric poems. He has succeeded in every phase of Literature he has touched, but he has succeeded in the last phase of poetry beyond measures. His essays are illuminating, his sarcasms biting, his satires piercing. His estimate of old poets is deeply appreciative, and his grammatical and lexicographical speculations go farther inward than those of most of us. Blessed with noble parentage, blessed with leisure, blessed with competence, blessed with intellectual equipments of a high order and a charming presence, Nature seems to have designed him for the career he has chosen and the mission he has undertaken. He has made the best use of the gifts he has received from Nature, from society, from education and from his early associations. He has acquired fame not only for himself but for his country and his race as well. He has lived as an ideal poet as described by Raja-Sekhara a thousand years ago.

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He has received his reward. The best reward of a poet is his own appreciation, his own satisfaction and his own complaisance. The world has honoured him ; the crowned heads of Europe have given him warm reception ; crowds of people have come wherever he has gone, to hear him, to appreciate him, and to admire him. Distant Scandinavia has given him a prize. But what have his countrymen done for him ? They have greedily read his books and received all the benefits of such study ; but how have they repaid the benefit ?

In ancient India, poets used to be rewarded in a variety of ways. The stories of Kalidas's ambassadorship, and even of his viceroyalty, are current to the present day. When India was parcelled out into small states, Bhavabhuti was an all-India power. But that was another India. India then had political power, and that makes the case of modern India quite different. Even in the near past, poets are known to have gained as much as six crores of rupees for a single stanza ; but these are exceptional instances. The great warrior, organiser and statesman, Sivaji, gave 52 elephants for 52 verses of Bhusana Kavi. Haranath, a wild poet, having squandered away the wealth given to his father by Akbar, gained 10 lakhs from the Raja of Baghelkhand for a single long verse ; but outside the gates of the palace, a blind poet presented him with a single short verse, and he got from Haranath a lakh of rupees out of his ten. In modern Rajputana, 'lakh-pasao' is an institution ; any poet writing smart verses gets from his Raja a lakh. I know Kaviraja Murardan received two such gifts ; his grand-father received three. The 'lakh-pasao' was a good means of rewarding poets. But we have no Rajas here in Bengal to give us lakhs. What are we to do to reward great poets or our great poet Rabindranath ?

These are democratic times. We should all read his poems. That would be his best reward, economically and intellectually, and, above all, let us show our appreciation by demonstrations like those that are going to be proposed. Let us celebrate his seventieth birth anniversary—a pretty long life in these days of famine and degeneration—with all heartiness.

BIRTH-DAY GREETINGS TO THE POET.

Mrs. Kamini Ray moved and Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mayurbhanj seconded the following resolution :—

"That this meeting offers its respectful greetings to Rabindranath Tagore and conveys to him its warm felicitations on his completing the seventieth year of his life."

Mrs. Kamini Ray in proposing the first resolution said that Rabindranath was not only a great poet but a great national worker and leader who has been an ideal to youths and a symbol of unity of the East and the West.

Maharani Sucharu Devi in seconding the resolution said that she would pay her tribute to the Poet in silence which was more eloquent than speech.

Mr. Arthur Moore, Editor of the *Statesman*, in supporting the resolution said Rabindranath Tagore was not only one of the greatest sons of Bengal, but through his writings that he had given to the world, he was one of the great citizens of the world. This magnificent meeting, added Mr. Moore, was the greatest tribute to the Poet.

Mr. A. P. Sen of Lucknow, the Hon'ble Mr. B. K. Basu, Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Mr. Anandji Haridas, Mr. O. C. Ganguly and Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen-Gupta supported the resolution which was passed with acclamation.

BIRTH-DAY CELEBRATIONS IN CALCUTTA.

Sir C. V. Raman received a rousing ovation in moving the following resolution :—

"That this meeting is of opinion that the occasion of the Poet completing his seventieth year should be celebrated by his countrymen and all sections of the community in a fitting manner in Calcutta at a convenient time."

Sir Chandrasekhar Raman in the course of his speech said that the award of Nobel Prize for Literature caused dissatisfaction every year; for many questioned the justice of the award. It was a difficult task to make satisfactory award every year for poets; for poets were rarer than scientists and good poets were rarer still. If awards for literature were made every twenty years, preferably once in a century, Rabindranath was certain to be chosen. Referring to celebration he said it should be held in Maidan and the ceremony should consist of having *darsan* of the Poet; for they would be satisfied with nothing less than personal participation by the Poet in the celebration.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya, who was cheered for several minutes, said it was an impossible task to give a catalogue of Rabindranath's achievements. He suggested that the celebration should take the form of offering of heart's homage in a restrained manner. On this occasion they should remember that the two institutions with which Rabindranath was closely associated were *Visva-Bharati* and *Sri-Niketan*. Many would

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say that they were mere dreams. It might be so, but they were not dreams of ordinary people but dreams of the world-poet. A fitting celebration of the seventieth birth-day anniversary of the poet should be by due recognition by his countrymen of the two institutions with which he had been so closely associated throughout the latter days of his life. It was not impossible that the poet might be nursing a grievance against his countrymen for their comparative failure so far to properly appreciate the utility of those institutions and on his birthday celebration they should do their best to make good their default.

Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Col. Gidney, Principal J. R. Banerjee, and Mr. C. C. Biswas supported the resolution which was also carried with acclamation.

Dr. Urquhart speaking as a man from Scotland said that there was no part of the civilized world in which the works of Dr. Tagore were more appreciated as in Scotland. It was peculiarly fitting that at this time when India was awakening to a sense of nationhood we should all celebrate the birthday of one who has taught us not only the value of his own nation but has taught us also the value of internationalism,—taught us to look beyond the boundaries which separate the countries and find realities and values of our common humanity.

Col. Gidney quoting a prayer of Rabindranath in verse, "Into that freedom let, my father, my country awake" said that no one could read his poems without being impressed by a sense of patriotism, a sense of duty to oneself or a sense of duty to the country.

On the motion of Mr. S. N. Mallick a representative committee with Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose as President was formed to give effect to the previous resolution.

Sir J. C. Coyajee, Maharaja Srish Chandra Nundy, Dr. Radhakumud Mookherjee, Mr. Padamraj Jain, Mr. O. C. Ganguly also spoke on the occasion.

Tribute by Newspapers.

Newspapers, both English and Bengali, gave wide publicity to the event in their news columns and paid eloquent tributes to the Poet, through editorial comments and contributed articles, featuring his portraits, and, in some cases, reproductions of some of his recent drawings. A selection of these is given below.

In the course of an article in the editorial columns, the *Statesman*, the leading European daily paper of Calcutta, observed :—

"Tagore is a great name, not only in this part of the world. An Indian who wins the Nobel Prize does not go unmarked in other countries, and Tagore has done more than win that. He has made a definite and peculiar contribution to the totality of modern English literature. He has given it something that has no exact counterpart, and English literature, as catholic in its welcome of what is valuable as Indian thought is, regards him as partly its own."

The *Statesman* also published four portraits of the Poet representing him at four different periods of his life. In the latest of these, he is seen in the company of Einstein.

The *Advance*, which featured a magnificent portrait of the Poet covering in the whole of its front page and a full-page article about him, said, in the course of its leader :—

"The poet's vision had gone beyond the range of sounds and colours and foreseen the future of man murdering in cold blood his brother man, ashamed of it indeed, but helpless before a relentless fate which urged them on. It is too early to judge how far the poet's mission as an evangel of peace and friendship among nations has been successful, or whether it will ever attain measurable success. But should the present movement towards inter-nationalism bear any tangible result, Rabindranath Tagore would be counted as one of its pioneers in days when inter-nationalism was anathema to the nations of the world."

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, writing in the *Englishman* of May, 11, observed :—

"Tagore, though justly counted among the greatest intellectual and spiritual forces of the present world, is, however, in a special sense, a Bengalee; and this message of his" (his birth day message) "is, therefore, also the message of the age-long culture and genius of his people."

And again : "Tagore has been one of the prophets of our new nationalism if, indeed, he has not been the prophet of it. In the early years of the present century he entered a most powerful protest against the exploitation of his people by their present British masters. But though "as a measure of self-defence" he led a movement of self-assertion by his people, the clarity of his world-vision was never blurred by it, and he never consciously contributed to the 'cultural misunderstanding' of India and Europe."

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The literary supplement of the *Englishman* published a full-page portrait of the Poet, with a short biographical note.

Glowing tributes were also paid by the Bengali Press acknowledging the nation's debt to him and emphasising his contribution to world-thought.

The Corporation of Calcutta.

On the 22nd of May, 1931, the Corporation of Calcutta passed a congratulatory resolution. A short account of the proceedings is given below from the Calcutta Municipal Gazette of the 6th June, 1931.

At a meeting of the Corporation held on Friday, the 22nd May, 1931, Mr. Sachindra Nath Mukherjee moved a resolution congratulating the Poet Rabindranath on his completing the seventieth year. The following resolutions were passed unanimously :—

(i) That the Corporation of Calcutta expresses its cordial and respectful congratulations to India's national poet, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, on the happy event of his seventieth birthday.

(ii) That as one of the most eminent citizens of this great city who is acclaimed to-day as an outstanding world figure, the seventieth birthday of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore is a matter of special rejoicing to this Corporation.

(iii) That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Poet signed by the Mayor, wishing him many happy returns yet of the anniversary of his birthday, so that he may bring further glory to his country and nation.

The resolution was carried unanimously having been supported by Rev. B. A. Nag, and Mr. Saadatullah. The Deputy Mayor, who presided, also associated himself with the idea.

Calcutta, Dhurrumtala.—The 70th anniversary of Dr. Tagore's birth-day was celebrated in Collins High School. The function began with a prayer by Rev. H. M. Swan, the Principal of the School, and consisted of a varied and interesting programme. Mr. D. N. Mukherjee, a senior teacher of the school, moved a resolution on behalf of the teachers and the boys of the school wishing the poet still longer life.

Calcutta, Central Collegiate School.—The teachers and students of the Central Collegiate School, assembled at a meeting held in the school premises on Saturday, the 9th May, under the presidency of Mr. K. C. Basu, Barrister-at-Law, adopted a resolution congratulating Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on his completing his 70th birthday, and praying to the Almighty to spare him for many more years to come to continue his noble works in the cause of literature, nationalism and humanity.

North Calcutta Students' Association.—The North Calcutta District Students' Association celebrated the 70th birth-day ceremony of the

Poet at 79, Shambazar Street on the 8th May. Various papers and poems on Rabindranath and his works were read.

The Sangha, a literary society, celebrated 'Rabindra Jayanti' at the Shyambazar A. V. School on Friday, the 8th May. Sj. J. N. Basu presided. The programme that was gone through included music, vocal and instrumental and recitation of a number of the poet's verses. Two sweet songs sung by two tiny girls added special charm to the function. Interesting papers on the life and teachings of Rabindranath were read and the poet's drama "Shesh Biksha" staged by members of "Amrita Chakra."

Celebrations in other places.

Celebrations were also held in many other places. The following notes have been compiled from the daily press.

Brahmanbaria.—In an atmosphere of deep solemnity and calm serenity Rabindra Jayanti Utsav was celebrated by the Friends' Union Club at Brahmanbaria. The newly opened club room was gaily decorated and a portrait of the poet was mounted on a raised platform. A prayer for the good health and peace of the "Rishi" was offered by the members.

Mymensingh.—The 70th birthday of Rabindranath was duly celebrated at Mymensingh under the auspices of the Rabindra Samsad. Sj. Mohit Lal Majumdar presided over the function. The programme included some songs of the poet, recitations of some poems of Rabindranath and some articles and poems composed for the occasion. The elite of the town joined to make the function successful in spite of extremely inclement weather.

Rajshahi.—Under the auspices of the Deshbandhu Kalyan Samity, Rajshahi, the birth anniversary of Rabindra Nath Tagore was performed with Sj. Provash Chandra Lahiri in the chair. Sjs. Manash Govinda Sen and Suprakash Chakravarty spoke on Sj. Tagore's life and writings and several papers were also read.

Hooghly.—Under the auspices of the Hooghly Chandrama Sammilan the 70th birth anniversary of poet Rabindranath was celebrated on Friday the 8th May, at the Hooghly Arya Library Hall, Sj. Subodh Chandra Roy, ex-editor of the "Naba Sakti" presiding. There was a very large gathering of either sex representing the culture of the town. Speakers including Sj. Promatha Nath Sarkar, Professor of the Calcutta University College, and Pundit Gispathi Bhattacharji addressed the meeting.

Hooghly-Serampur.—Serampur Bani Mandir celebrated Rabindra Jayanti on Sunday the 10th May in their own premises.

Bansberiah.—Rabindra Jayanti was celebrated with great éclat by the people of Bansberiah, Hooghly, at the Bansberiah Public Library Hall

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under the presidency of Kumar Manindra Deb Roy Mahashaya of Bansberia Raj. The president in a neat little speech dwelt on the outstanding features of the illustrious poet's life.

Dhubri.—The 70th birth-day anniversary celebration of poet Rabindra Nath Tagore was observed in a meeting at the local High School Hall, Dhubri, on the 8th May, Sj. Chakravarty presiding. There was a good attendance of ladies and gentleman of the town with a number of school boys and the proceeding began with an opening song sung by the ladies, after which there were recitations from the poet's well-known poems by boys and girls. Essays dealing with the life and literature of the poet and his contributions to the world's culture were read.

Netrokona.—The 70th birth-day of the Poet was celebrated on the 9th May by a musical entertainment performed by young boys and girls under the guidance of Sj. Sailajaranjan Majumdar. Mr. B. N. Chakravarty, I.C.S., the popular S.D.O. with many officials were present and gave some donations to the fund.

Barisal.—Rabindra Joyanti was celebrated in Chandrahari H. E. School, Barisal, with due solemnity where people from neighbouring villages gathered. Songs were sung, poems recited, essays read and prizes given to successful competitors in recitations and lectures given by Hari Prasad Guha Roy, Suresh Chandra Gupta and Durga Mohan Sen.

Cuttack.—Under the auspices of the Cuttack Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the 70th birth-day of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was observed on the 8th May. Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E., presided and the programme included songs, recitations and dramatic performances selected from the poet's works. Songs by Mrs. Malati Choudhury, an ex-student of Santiniketan, and by Miss Parul Sen were much appreciated. A congratulatory address has been sent to the Poet.

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Founder-President—RABINDRANATH TAGORE.



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THE PRESIDENT.

Early in January the President visited Gujurat and delivered a course of lectures at Baroda.

The President's Visit to the West.—In the Autumn of 1928 the Hibbert Trustees had invited him to deliver the Hibbert lectures in England but owing to continued ill health he could not proceed to England that year and it was decided to postpone his departure for England until a later date. This year he accepted the invitation, and accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Rathindra Nath Tagore, Mr. E. W. Arian and Mr. A. C. Chakravarty, left Calcutta for England in February, 1930. After a short stay in France he proceeded to England, and delivered the Hibbert Lectures in Oxford, which attracted a good deal of notice and were highly appreciated. He then went to Berlin where he stayed for some time with Dr. and Mrs. Mendel at Wannsee.

After an extensive lecture tour in Germany he went to Geneva for a short time where he discussed problems of international co-operation with notable men of many nationalities.

Visit to Moscow.—For a long time the Poet had been anxious to visit Russia but continued ill health prevented him from doing so. This year he accepted the invitation of the Soviet Government, and arrived in Moscow on the 11th of September. He was warmly received by the representatives of various scientific and literary societies of Moscow, and had opportunities of coming into close personal contact with the leaders of thought and action in Russia. He visited many educational and cultural institutions of the Soviet Republic, and personally observed the cultural, social and educational work undertaken by the Soviet Republic.

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for the betterment of the condition of the peasant masses. A detailed account of the President's visit to Russia has been published in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* Vol. 8, 1930-31, Parts I and II, and has been reprinted as Bulletin No. 15, "Rabindranath Tagore in Russia" issued in November, 1930.

Visit to America.—On the 25th of September the Poet left Moscow, and started for the United States of America on the 3rd of October. There he fell ill and was compelled to cancel all engagements for some time. After a few week's rest his health improved slightly, and he again started a strenuous lecturing tour. At the end of November a big reception attended by more than 2,000 persons was arranged in his honour in New York.

He left the United States on the 18th of December, and reached England on the 23rd of December.

Exhibition of Drawings.—A notable feature of the present tour has been the Exhibitions of the Poet's Drawings which were held in Paris, London, Berlin, Munich, Moscow, New York, Philadelphia and other important art centres in Europe and America.

The Drawings aroused great interest among artists and art critics, and competent judges are of opinion that they are likely to have a permanent influence on future movement of art in Europe. A fuller account will be found in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* Vol. 8, 1930-31, Part III.

The Future Programme. In spite of his indifferent health and physical weakness the President made strenuous efforts to raise funds for the Visva-bharati. We earnestly hope that he will succeed in placing his institution on a secure financial basis, so that there will be no need of his going out on arduous tours for collection of funds in future.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Office-bearers.—Narendranath Law worked as the Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer), upto the 16th September, 1930. On his departure for England, Indubhusan Sen was elected temporary Artha-Sachiva in his place from the 17th September, 1930. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis was the Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) throughout the year. Kishori Mohan Santra worked as Assistant General Secretary and was in charge of the General Office in Calcutta.

The Samsad (Governing Body) and Karma-Samiti (Working Committee).—There were 5 meetings of the Samsad (Governing Body) and 13 meetings of the Karma-Samiti (Working Committee) during the year.

In addition to the usual work of administration several items of importance were considered and committees were appointed to carry them out.

(i) *Land Settlement.*—We are glad to report that the Government of Bengal have finally accepted the proposed modification in the terms of the Land Acquisition Agreement which will allow us to lease out, on suitable conditions, plots of land at Santiniketan to members of the Visva-Bharati. After a careful consideration of various alternative schemes, a draft form of agreement was prepared in September. It has been approved by the Karma-Samiti and the Samsad, and on being confirmed by the Varshika Parishat will furnish a basis for the development of a Land Settlement Scheme. Our best thanks are due to Mr. Saroj Kumar Mukherji, Solicitor, and Mr. Sudhi Ranjan Das, Barrister-at-Law, for the ungrudging help accorded us in this connexion.

(ii) *Rules and Bye-laws.*—Departmental rules and bye-laws were framed by local Samitis in 1929. Other rules and bye-laws were added, and a consolidated body of rules was prepared and arranged in two parts, one of which would apply generally to all departments, and the other to particular institutions. They were considered at a meeting of the Karma-Samiti on the 16th September, approved by the Samsad on the 23rd December, and finally confirmed by the Varshika Parishat on the 24th December, 1930.

(iii) *Birthday Celebration Committee.*—A Committee consisting of Kalidas Nag, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, Charu Chandra Bhattacharya, Indubhusan Sen, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Amiya Chandra Chakravarty, Nanda Lal Bose, Kshiti Mohan Sen and Amal Home (Convenor) with powers to add to its number was appointed to take necessary steps for organizing the celebration, in a suitable manner, of the 70th birthday of the President in May, 1931. The Committee met several times during the year and drew up a programme for the purpose.

Re-organization Scheme.—Early in January, 1930, the President drew the attention of the Karma-Samiti to the unsatisfactory financial condition of the Visva-Bharati. Accordingly the Karma-Samiti at its meeting of the 29th January, 1930, appointed a sub-committee consisting

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of Rathindranath Tagore, Promoda Ranjan Ghose, Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Debendra Mohan Bose, Jitendra Mohan Sen and Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis (Secretary) to draw up a scheme of re-organization. The Committee met several times and submitted a report which was considered by the Karma-Samiti on the 26th March and by the Samsad along with a note by P. C. Mahalanobis (Karma-Sachiva) on the 30th March, 1930.

On the financial side the Samsad issued definite instructions that in future the Visva-Bharati will not be liable for any expenditure incurred in excess of the amount sanctioned by the Samsad, and any officer incurring any such excess expenditure will be held personally liable for the same. It was decided that all donations, not otherwise disposed of in the Budget Estimates would be applied in future towards the liquidation of the liabilities of the General Fund.

The system of a Block Grant for current expenditure at Santiniketan was also definitely brought into effect from April, 1930 and the Budget for 1930-31 was framed on the same basis.

Removal of the General Office from Calcutta to Santiniketan.

In 1922 when the Visva-Bharati was formally organized the central office was situated at Santiniketan with a small branch office in Calcutta. With the rapid development of the work of the Visva-Bharati Sammilani and of the Publishing Department, the Calcutta Office also had to be enlarged considerably. Owing to the increasing association of members resident in Calcutta with the work of the Samsad and the original Finance Committee (which was later transformed into the present Karma-Samiti) it was found convenient to deal with all committee and constitutional work and general correspondence from Calcutta, while the finance and accounts section continued to be located in Santiniketan. This arrangement continued till the end of 1924. Early in 1925 it was decided to remove the accounts section also to Calcutta and in May, 1925 the change was effected. Since then for nearly 6 years the whole of the work of the General Office has been conducted from Calcutta.

There has always been a feeling among many members of the Visva-Bharati, especially among those resident at Santiniketan, that it would be more in keeping with the history of the institution to locate the General Office at Santiniketan. Up till now it has been thought advisable, however, to secure the active co-operation of the Calcutta group workers by retaining the General Office in Calcutta. The period of building up the administrative machinery may now be considered to have been definitely concluded. The Statutes and Regulations have been supplemented, this year, by a comprehensive set of Rules and Bye-laws. The

separation of all Capital and Trust Funds has also been completed, and detailed procedures have been drawn up for financial administration and audit.

The removal of the General Office to Santiniketan at this stage is likely to lead to a more unified administrative control. It is also likely to make it possible for the Karma-sachiva, who will be resident at Santiniketan, in future, to take a larger initiative in the management of the different institutions at Santiniketan and Sriniketan. The termination of the triennial term of office of the present incumbent makes it extremely convenient to effect this change this year, and the Samsad kept this purpose in view in nominating Rathindranath Tagore for the office of the Karma-sachiva.

Islamic Studies.—Dr. Julius Germanus continued to hold the Nizam Chair for Islamic Studies during the year under review. He delivered courses of lectures on Islamic culture, and wrote a series of four articles on Modern Movements in Islam for the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*. He is engaged in a detailed study of recent movements of Islam in India.

Mr. Bogdanov worked as a Lecturer in Persian up to June, 1930.

Zoroastrian Studies.—Dr. Michael Collins and Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala held the two Zoroastrian Professorships under the Zoroastrian Fund up to the end of September, 1930. Dr. Collins, who was the resident Professor at Santiniketan, participated in the works of the Vidya-bhavana (Research Institute) and of the Santiniketan College. Dr. Taraporewala delivered no lectures at Santiniketan during the year under review.

The appointments under Zoroastrian Fund having terminated in September, 1930, the provisional trustees in Bombay were requested to communicate their views regarding future arrangements, and also to take necessary steps for placing the future administration of the fund on a permanent basis.

BARODA GRANT.

Quinquennial Report.—During the year under review we received, for the sixth time, Rs. 6,000/- from H. H. the Gaekwad of Baroda. A short account of the work done with this grant during the last five years is given below.

Two Research Professorships in the Vidya-bhavana (Research Institute) at Santiniketan, held respectively by Pandit Vidhushekha Bhattacharya,

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Sastri, and Pandit Kshitimohan Sen, M.A., Sastri, were maintained from this grant. A whole-time Tibetan Research Assistant, Mr. Sonam-Ngo Drub, has also been employed for helping the Professors in their work.

The work done by the Research Professors can be most conveniently described under the following heads:—(1) Teaching work, (2) Research, (3) Supervision and direction of research work by advanced students.

Teaching Work.—Pandit Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya delivered advanced lectures on the following subjects in the years noted within brackets.

Vedic Sanskrit: (1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929).

Tibetan: (1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929).

Buddhist Philosophy: (1926, 1927, 1928, 1929).

Buddhist Logic: (1928, 1929).

Jainism: (1927).

Prakrit: (1924, 1927, 1928).

Pali: (1926, 1927).

Vedanta: (1924).

Pandit Kshitimohan Sen delivered lectures on:—

Mediaeval Indian Religions: (1926, 1927, 1928).

Indian Mysticism: (1928).

Nāthism and Yogi Cult: (1926).

Sanskrit Literature: (1925, 1929).

Research Work.—Pandit Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya completed the following pieces of original researches:—

(1) A Critical Edition of the *Āgamasāstra of Gaudapāda*.

(2) A Comparative Tibeto-Sanskrit Edition of *Dīnāga's Nyāyapravesa* (published in Gaekwad's Oriental Series).

(3) *Mahāyānavinīśaka* by Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese sources (*Visva-Bharati Quarterly* Vol. 8, Parts I & II, 1930-31).

(4) *Dīnāga's Akṣara-Śataka* from Tibetan sources.

(5) *Arya-deva's Catuhśataka* from Tibetan sources, (*Visva-Bharati Studies No. 1*).

(6) Buddhist *Tāntrik Sādhana* in the Tibetan version.

(7) A paper on "the Doctrine of Ātman and Anātman," (Proceedings, Indian Oriental Congress, 1929).

(8) A paper on "*Sandhā-bhāṣā*."

- (9) Jointly with Prof. G. Tucci :—A critical edition of *Madhyāntavibhāga-vṛtti-tīkā* by Sthiramati.

- (10) Several papers on Avesta and other subjects.

Since 1923 Pandit Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya has also been engaged in the systematic collation of the Mahabharata MSS., in collaboration with the Bhandarkar Research Institute of Poona.

Pandit Kshitimohan Sen has completed the following works :—

- (1) A comprehensive account of the Life and Works of *Dādū* (to be published in the *Visva-Bharati Studies*).
- (2) An account of the the *Bāuls*.

He has started writing a History of the Religious Movements in Mediaeval India (an outline of which was given in a course of lectures delivered by him in 1929 as the Adharachandra Mukherjee Lecturer of the Calcutta University), and also a book on *Rajjabji's Vāṇīs*. He made extensive tours in Western India and collected the songs and works of Indian Mystics.

Supervision of Research.—Pandit Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya has worked as the *Adhyaksa* of the *Vidya-bhavana* (Director of the Research Institute) since the foundation of the institution, and has directed and supervised the advanced studies and researches carried on in the institution.

The following researches were completed under his direct supervision and guidance.

- (1) H. R. Rangaswami Iyenger, M.A. (now working in the Mysore University) : *Diīnāga's Pramāṇa-samuccaya* from Tibetan sources.
- (2) N. Ayyaswami (now working in Madras) : *Buddhacarita* from Tibetan sources.
- (3) Durga Charan Chatterji, M.A. (Bengal Government Research Scholar, now Professor of Sanskrit at Krishnagar College) : *Yogāvatāra* from Tibetan sources.
- (4) Durga Charan Chatterji, M.A. : *Hetutattvopadeśa* of *Jetāñjali* from Tibetan sources.
- (5) Durga Charan Chatterji, M.A. : A short paper on *Pustaka-paṭhpāya* (existing only in Tibetan translation).
- (6) Sujitkumar Mukherjee : *Nairātma-paribṛcchā*, restored from Tibetan with notes and introduction. (*Visva-bharati Quarterly*, Vol. 8, 1930-31, Parts I & II).

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- (7) Sujitkumar Mukherjee: Introductory part of *Mūlamādhyamikavṛtti* of Buddha-pālita from Tibetan.
- (8) Sujitkumar Mukherjee: *Tri-svabhāva-nirdeśa*, an edition comparing Sanskrit and Tibetan version.
- (9) Prabhubhai Patel: Āryadeva's *Citta-Viśuddhi-prakaraṇa* with comparison of Tibetan translations.
- (10) Prabhubhai Patel: Nāgārjuna's commentary on *Mūla-madhyamaka Kārikā* from Tibetan versions.
- (11) Prabhubhai Patel: *Subhāsita-saṅgraha*, a new edition.
- (12) Kapileswar Miśra: A critical edition of the *Brahma-sūtras*.
- (13) Manubhai Patel: The Kāṇva and Mādhyandina recensions of the *Bṛhdāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.
- ((14) Manomohan Ghosh: An Index of each pada of the *ślokas* in *Lañkāvatāra-sūtra*.
- (15) Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A.: Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature (*Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Vol. 7, April and Vol. 8, Parts I & II).
- (16) Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A.: Translation of Nyāya-dipika.
- (17) Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A.: A short treatise on Indian Logic.
- (18) Rakesh Chandra Sarma, M.A.: The Yogācāra system of Buddhist Philosophy.
- (19) Dulare Sahai: A Hindi translation of the Pali work *Dīghanikāya*.
- (20) Anathnath Basu, B.A.: *Tattva-svabhāva-dṛṣṭi-gītikā-doā* of Luipāda, with comparison of Tibetan and Old Bengali Texts.
- (21) Anathnath Basu, B.A.: *Vimalaratnalekhā*, with Sanskrit and English translations, from Tibetan sources.
- (22) Anathnath Basu, B.A.: *Silaparikathā* of Vasubandhu, reconstructed from Tibetan with notes and introduction.
- (23) Anathnath Basu, B.A.: Some Old Bengali songs in Tibetan.
- (24) Nitaibinod Goswami: *Vibhāvanī Tīkā* on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*.
- (25) Nagendranarayan Chaudhuri: A critical edition of the Dārṇava with the help of its Tibetan version.
- (26) Haridas Mitra, M.A.: A monograph on Gaṇapati.
- (27) Premśundar Bose, M.A.: A critical edition of *Sarvasiddhāntasārasaṅgraha*.

Pandit Kshitimohan Sen supervised the following researches:—

- (1) Anathnath Basu : A paper on Mīrābāī (*V.-B. Quarterly*, Vol. 7).
 (2) Sudhir Chandra Sen, M.A. : *Nāthism*.
 (3) Srimati Ibhā Devi : A critical edition of the *Dharma-mangala*.

Conclusion.—The outstanding feature of the work done with the help of the Baroda grant has been the initiation for the first time in India of the systematic study of Tibetan source of the History of Indian Philosophy and Culture. Tibetan studies are now being carried on outside Bengal by H. R. Rangaswami Iyengar, M.A., in Mysore, N. Ayyaswami in Madras, V. Gokhale in Bombay, and Prabhubhai Patel in Gujarat, all of whom received their training at Santiniketan.

An account of the work done during the year 1930 found on pages 12—15.

Society of Friends.—We gratefully acknowledge receiving an earmarked donation of Rs. 2,132-7-10 during the year under review from the Friends Service Council of England for maintaining a Fellowship at Santiniketan held by Mr. Nalin Chandra Ganguly, M.A. (Birm.), a member of the Society of Friends. Mr. Ganguly worked as the Principal of the Santiniketan College and reorganized it in a very efficient manner.

Our best thanks are also due to members of the Society of Friends who accorded an enthusiastic welcome to the Poet in England, and to Mr. Harry G. Timbres, M.D., another member of the Society of Friends, who accompanied the Poet to Russia and the United States of America.

Publications.—The following research memoirs of the Vidya-bhavana (Research Institute) are nearly ready for publication :—

- (i) *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*. By Amulya Chandra Sen.
- (ii) *Mahāyānavimśaka of Nāgārjuna*. By Vidhushekha Bhattacharya.
- (iii) *Nairatmyāpariprcchā*. By Sujitakumar Mukhopadhyaya.
- (iv) *Aryadeva's Catuhśataka*. By Vidhushekha Bhattacharya.
- (v) *Modern Movements in the World of Islam*. By Dr. Julius Germanus.

Some of these memoirs were published in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* and arrangements have also been made to publish regularly the research studies of the Vidya-bhavana in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* in future.

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- (i) Issued in book form in April, 1931.
 - (ii) Issued in book form in April, 1931.
 - (iii) Issued in book form in April, 1931.
 - (iv) Issued in book form in April, 1931.

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The following Bulletin was published during the year.

No. 15. Rabindranath Tagore in Russia. An account of the Poet's visit to Moscow. Edited by P. C. Mahalanobis. The members of the Visva-bharati get these Bulletins free or at a nominal price.

Membership.—The total number of members on the roll was 767 at the end of the year 1930, of whom 226 were Life Members. The following persons were elected ordinary members during the year: *Suchindranath Bose, Asha Adhikari, Nagendra Narayan Chaudhury, Kumudbihari Ray, Profulla Chandra Mitter, Asoke Banerji, Kiriti Kumar Mukherji, V. A. Subramanian, R. A. Harman.*

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

Donors.—A complete list of donations received during the year is given at the end of the report in Appendix A.

Budget Estimates for 1930-31.—The financial question was very carefully considered by the Karma-Samiti and the Samsad during the year under review. The Re-organisation Sub-Committee appointed by the Karma-Samiti was instructed to make a thorough survey of the financial situation of the Visva-Bharati and make suggestions for adopting a balanced budget. The Sub-Committee recommended a system of block-grants to Santiniketan for the period April to September, 1930. The same principle was adopted for framing the Budget Estimates for 1930-31 and a budget framed on this basis was passed by the Samsad at its meeting held on the 16th September, 1930.

Audited Accounts.—The Balance Sheet and the Audited Accounts for the financial year ended 30th September, 1930 were prepared in proper time, and were considered at a meeting of the Samsad held on the 23rd December, and were adopted by the Varshika Parisat, (Annual General Meeting) on the 24th December, 1930. They are attached hereto as Appendix M.

Permanent and Earmarked Funds.—Capital and Revenue accounts were maintained separately for all permanent and earmarked funds. Full details are given on pages 388—396 of the Audited Accounts.

New Funds.—Three new funds were created during the year under review.

No. C-3/28. *Friends Service Council Fund.*—The donations received from the Society of Friends were constituted into a fund and were earmarked in accordance with the wishes of the donors for meeting

the expenses for maintaining a fellowship at Santiniketan to be held for the present by Mr. Nalin Chandra Ganguly.

No. B-13/30. *Cheap's Kuthi Fund*.—The sum of Rs. 5,000/- received from Mr. L. K. Elmhirst was constituted into a fund and was earmarked for a well and a shed at Cheap's Kuthi in accordance with the wishes of the donor.

No. C-4/29. *President's Fund*.—The donations received by the President have been constituted into a fund to be administered by the President.

Old Funds.—In accordance with a resolution of the Samsad dated the 30th March, 1930, all outstanding loans to the General Fund were fully repaid.

B-2/22. *Sriniketan Fund*. The Government of Bengal sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. 3,000/- for 3 years, and the sum of Rs. 3,000/- was received during the year under review for agricultural development.

Miscellaneous.—Pandits Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya, and Kshitimohan Sen, Dr. Julius Germanus, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, and Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis attended the Oriental Conference held at Patna in December, 1930, as delegates from the Visva-Bharati, and Pandit Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya presided over the Vedic section of the conference.

SANTINIKETAN

SANTINIKETAN.

Pramada Ranjan Ghosh remained in charge as Santiniketan-Sachiva throughout the year under review.

General Progress.—In 1929 the President had formulated a detailed programme of work for the different institutions at Santiniketan. The workers, although lacking the inspiration of his personal guidance, made every effort to carry out the President's directions. The financial administration of the different departments were on the whole stabilized, and the internal organization was improved in many respects.

Santiniketan Samiti.—The Santiniketan Samiti met 12 times during the year and directed the ordinary work of administration through the usual Standing Committees for the Vidya-bhavana, Siksha-bhavana, Patha-bhavana, the Library, Sanitation, Sports, Up-keep, Hospital etc.

Festivals.—The “Varsh-Mangal and Briksha-ropana” (Rains and Tree planting Festival) was celebrated in August, and a performance of “Dak-ghar” was arranged in September.

VIDYA-BHAVANA (RESEARCH INSTITUTE).

Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya worked as Adhyaksha of the Vidya-bhavana (Director of the Research Institute) throughout the year.

Staff.—In the year under review the staff consisted of Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya (Director); Kshiti Mohan Sen, M.A.; M. Collins, Ph.D.; L. Bogdanov; Ten Yen Shen; Sonam Ngo Drub; Julius Germanus, Ph.D. (Nizam Professor of Islamic Studies).

Students.—Besides 10 regular students, 2 teachers and 28 students of other departments attended the advanced courses of lectures. Among them 4 came from China, and one, a girl from Japan.

Stipends.—Two students enjoyed stipends, and the work done by them was satisfactory. Both of them were studying Tibetan and Chinese.

Courses of Lectures.—The following courses of lectures were given during the year. The number within brackets shows the number of students attending the course.

Vidhushekha Bhattacharya : *Tibetan* (2), *Buddhism* (2) *Buddhist Logic* (2), *Vedic Sanskrit* (1), *Prakrit* (4).

Kshitimohan Sen : *Sanskrit* (3).

M. Collins : *Indo-Iranian Philology* (2).

Julius Germanus : *Turkish* (1), *Arabic* (2), *German* (8). He also delivered a series of general lectures on the history of Turkey.

L. Bogdanov : *Persian* (1), *French* (16).

Ten Yan Shen : *Chinese* (2).

Sonam Ngo Drub : *Tibetan*. He was specially engaged in copying and collating Tibetan Xylographs.

Research Work by Students.—Seed Ansari made a special study of the Anthropo-geographical Conception of History of Ibn-i-khaldun.

Prabhubhai Patel continued the work begun last year: (1) a critical edition of *Cittavisuddhiprakarana* with the Tibetan text, and (2) a critical and new edition of the *Subhasitasamgraha*.

Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyayya finished (1) a new edition of the *Trisvabhāvanirdesa* of Vasubandhu with the Tibetan version, and (2) a restoration in Sanskrit of *Tarkamudgarika* of Jayananda of Kashmir from its Tibetan version. He was also engaged in (3) restoring in Sanskrit from the Tibetan text, the *Pāninivyākaranasutra*, arranged in a different order.

Research Work by the Members of the Staff.—Vidhushekha Bhattacharya : (1) continued the work begun last year jointly with Prof. Dr. G. Tucci, *viz.*, editing the *Tika* of Sthiramati on Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Madhyanta-vibhaga* of Maitreyanatha. The first chapter has been sent to the press. (2) He has started preparing an edition of the *Yuktisastikārikā* by Nāgārjuna, an important work of the Madhyamika school, in its Tibetan version together with the restored Sanskrit text. (3) He also wrote a number of papers on various subjects, one of them being the Presidential Address for the Vedic Section of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna.

J. Germanus wrote the following papers: (1) New Movements in the World of Islam, (2) Glossary to *Majani-Adat ti hadark ul-Arab*, (3) Eighty years of Turkish culture, (4) The Dervishes of the Janissaries, (5) Arabic and Latin script in Turkey.

M. Collins continued his work on the Indus Seals.

Kshitimohan Sen was engaged in preparing: (1) The Life and Sayings of Kabir in which he is incorporating a good deal of rare and hitherto

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unpublished material; (2) The Life and Sayings of Anandaghana, a Jaina mystic of the 17th century; (3) The work of Rajjab, a disciple of Dadu, which was begun last year, did not progress much owing to lack of material, a good deal of which is lying scattered in different parts of Rajputana.

Work by the Members of the Santiniketan Staff.—Nagendra Narayan Chaudhuri continued the work of preparing an edition of the *Apabhramsa* portion of the *Dākarnava* with the Tibetan text.

Publications.—During the year under review a new series of research memoirs was started under the name of Visva-Bharati Studies. The following numbers are nearly ready for publication.

No. 2. *Mahāyānaviṁsaka* by Nāgārjuna. Tibetan, Chinese, and Restored Sanskrit Text with Notes by Vidhushekha Bhattacharya.

No. 3. *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature* by Amulya Chandra Sen.

No. 4. *Nairātmapariprcchā* with Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts by Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya.

The two following studies will be published almost immediately :

No. 1. The *Brahma-Sutras* with different commentaries by Kapileswar Bhattacharya.

No. 5. *Catuh-Sataka*. Sanskrit and Tibetan text with copious extracts from *Chandrakirtti's* Commentary with restorations of lost texts by Vidhushekha Bhattacharya.

Collation of the Mahabharata MSS.—The work was continued throughout the year in collaboration with the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.

Vidhushekha Bhattacharya writes in his sectional report : "We have been greatly handicapped for the lack of scholarships without which it is not possible to attract advanced students. In fact, there was only one student in the Islamic branch, and no student at all for the special subject, mediaeval Indian Mysticism. It is absolutely essential to provide a certain sum of money for the award of a few scholarships to serious students."

"While Tibetan Studies are progressing steadily, Chinese studies have declined to some extent. This is mainly owing to the fact that Mr. Ten Yan Shen, the Chinese teacher, to whom we must remain ever grateful for his kind and faithful services, went back to his country after the first half of the year. A Chinese student of this Col-

lege department helped us, however, to some extent. But this arrangement was not satisfactory at all. In this connexion I should like to suggest that something should be done to secure the services of a permanent Professor who knows not only Chinese but also Sanskrit very well. The want of books was keenly felt throughout the year."

SIKSHA-BHAVANA (SANTINIKETAN COLLEGE).

Nalin Chandra Ganguly was in charge throughout the year as Principal.

The College worked this year under the general unfavourable conditions prevailing all over the country. Strenuous efforts were made to raise the standard of teaching and appreciable progress may be recorded in the activities of this department.

Staff.—In Economics Thakur Bhalchandra Banerji joined in the place vacated by Dhiren Chandra Roy Choudhury. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty was called away to Europe by the Society of Friends ; his absence for about a full year has been felt very keenly. Miss Asha Adhikary and Mrs. Sudhamoyee Mukherjee have rendered valuable services to the College in teaching Sanskrit and Bengali. Sri Chandra Sen resigned his post in the course of the first term.

The present Staff consists of :—Nepal Chandra Roy, B.A., B.L.; Probhat Kumar Mukherjee ; Promada Ranjan Ghosh, M.A., B.T. ; Boyd W. Tucker, M.A. (Chicago) ; Aimya Chandra Chakravorty, M.A. ; Nalin Bihari Mitter, M.A. ; Sailes Chandra Chakravarty, M.Sc. ; Thakur Bhalchandra Banerji ; Nitai Binode Goswami, Kavyatirtha, Sutravisharad ; Nagendranarayan Choudhury, M.A. ; Kshitimohan Sen, Shastri, M.A. ; Asha Adhikary, M.A. ; Sudhamoyee Mukherjee, B.A. ; Rai Saheb Jagadananda Roy ; Sachindranath Mukerjee, M.Sc. ; Santosh Bihary Bose, L.A.G. ; Gour Gopal Ghosh, B.Sc. ; Trigunanananda Roy, B.Sc. ; Monomohan De ; Nalin Chandra Ganguly, M.A. (Birm.).

Chemistry Classes.—Early in the year the Chemistry Laboratory at Sriniketan was equipped for teaching work up to the Intermediate Science standard, and a first year Intermediate class was opened in July, 1930. As there is already provision for teaching Mathematics and Botany it will be now possible for our students to appear in the I.Sc. examination of the Calcutta University.

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Arrangements for Science teaching cannot, however, be considered satisfactory until we are in a position to open classes in Physics. We are hoping to be able to do so in 1931.

Students.—In December, 1929, the number on the roll was 50 (37 boys and 13 girls) as against 15 in 1928. In December, 1930, the total number rose to 76 (60 boys and 16 girls). Class by class the total is distributed as follows:—1st year Arts 20, 1st year Science 9, 2nd year 21, 3rd year 13, 4th year 13.

The various student societies, the Economic, the Historical, the Philosophical, the Literary, and the Debating, were liberally helped with guidance and encouragement by the members of the staff. The Economic Society has done excellent work regarding village survey and village reconstruction, both boys and girls having taken prominent part in their own spheres. An educational tour and classes in camps were other interesting features of student activities.

Three students have nearly finished the Visva-Bharati course, and they expect to receive the College Final Certificates at the end of the academic year. There are 12 students for the Visva-Bharati Mid-collegiate course.

The result of the last I.A. examination of the Calcutta University was satisfactory. All the candidates passed; one girl was placed in the 1st, three in the 2nd and a boy in the 3rd division respectively.

PATHA-BHAVANA.

E. W. Ariam was in charge of the Santiniketan School up to February, 1930. After his departure from India Jagadananda Roy has been in charge.

General Progress.—In the year under review the members of the staff have been trying to work out the educational programme laid down by the Founder-President. The relation between the teacher and the pupil has been one of great cordiality, and the spirit of mutual help and understanding has pervaded the atmosphere of the institution. Attempts have been made to make education a matter of joy through such activities as excursions, picnics, and festivals, and to foster a sense of responsibility by entrusting the students with various duties of communal life.

Self-government has been made the key-note of discipline among the pupils. The girl students have also started their own committees for

participating in the privileges of self-government. It is hoped that both boys and girls, before they go out of the institution, will have their sense of responsibility sufficiently developed to enable them to face the realities of life with confidence.

Staff.—There have been a number of changes in the personnel of the teaching staff. Satyajiban Pal, Visvanath Mukerjee, Anath Nath Bose, Jagannath Prosad Millind and Narendra Nath Nandi left us during the year. We acknowledge with gratitude the devoted service they rendered to the institution. Manindra Nath Das Gupta, Mohit Chandra Banerjee, Hazari Prosad Dwivedi and Anukana Das Gupta joined the institution at different times of the year under review.

The present staff consists of :—

Jagadananda Roy, Nagendra Nath Aich, Tejes Chandra Sen, Hari Charan Banerjee, Tanayendra Nath Ghose, Manindra Nath Das Gupta, Nitai Binode Goswami, Profulla Das Gupta, Mohit Chandra Banerjee, Probhat Kumar Mukerjee, Nepal Chandra Roy, Promoda Ranjan Ghose, Dhirendra Mohon Sen, Nripendra Nath Dutt, Hem Bala Sen, Asha Adhikari, Anukana Das Gupta, Rama Devi, Sukumari Devi, Bhakti Devi, V. Masoji, Dinendra Nth Tagore, J. N. Sen, Binode Bihari Mukherjee, Ranjit Singh, Santimoy Ghose, Baidyanath Ghose, and Hazari Prosad Dwivedi.

Sreejukta Asha Adhikari, M.A., joined the institution in March, 1930 at great personal sacrifice and took charge of the junior section. The enthusiasm and single-minded devotion which she brought to her work has gathered a group of earnest workers round her, and the Sisu-Vibhaga has become a real home for the younger children.

Students.—The session began on the 3rd January, 1930, with 126 students on the roll against 140 in 1929. The number of students on the 30th November, 1930, came up to 142 of which 99 were boys and 43 girls. The number of admissions was 82 against 66 withdrawals. 13 candidates were sent up for the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University (1930). Among them 3 passed in the First, 3 in the Second and 1 in the Third Division. One of the girl students, Amita Sen, stood first in Bengali, and won two medals awarded by the Calcutta University.

Health.—The health of the students was on the whole good. A resident physician kept them under constant observation, and gave them suitable advice whenever necessary. The management of the kitchen

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was transferred to the Lady Superintendent assisted by a matron. This led to a considerable improvement in the quality of the food.

As usual the boys took great interest in football, cricket, volley ball, badminton, etc. Provision was also made for certain indigenous games. Several visiting teams came to Santiniketan in the football season and the inmates had the opportunities of witnessing a number of interesting games.

Through the beneficence of the Founder-President Mr. S. Takagaki, a great exponent of Judo (the Japanese system of physical culture), was brought out to India last year. He continued to train both boys and girls in the "gentle art of Judo" with all possible care and attention.

Cultural Activities.—The students actively participated in the different seasonal festivals and in a successful performance of the Poet's "Dak-ghar" (Post Office). Cultural subjects like painting, music, and dancing were very popular. Special efforts were made to arouse the interest of the school children in Carpentry and Weaving. Jujitsu has been a new attraction and many students have enthusiastically availed themselves of this privilege.

Jagadananda Ray writes: "We acknowledge with gratitude the services rendered by Sj. Dinendranath Tagore in connexion with the teaching of music and the successful celebration of the different festivals and musical performances which formed a distinctive feature of the institution. Our thanks are also due to the other members of the Music School for their ungrudging help. Finally we offer our sincere thanks to other departments at Santiniketan and Sriniketan for their willing co-operation."

KALA-BHAVANA (SCHOOL OF ART).

Nanda Lal Bose was in charge of the department for the year under review.

Staff.—The present staff consists of Nandalal Bose, Surendranath Kar, V. Masoji, Binode Bihari Mukherjee and Sukumari Devi.

Students.—The total number of whole-time art students was 22 out of which 8 were girl students. A few casual girl students from the College also attended the art classes besides the school students, both boys and girls from the 2nd class downward, who came for Drawing and Embroidery.

Exhibitions.—Works from our school were sent as usual to different annual exhibitions in various places in India and Ceylon. In Santi-

niketan, several small exhibitions were organized from time to time in which exhibits of embroidery, batik work, wood block printing, painting and sketches of various artists were shown. A special exhibition of toys of various countries was also arranged.

New Crafts.—Batik work was introduced in the Crafts Section and was enthusiastically taken up by some of the students who attained a high standard of production.

Other Activities.—The members of the staff and the students of the Kala-bhavana helped in organizing the different festivals in the Asrama such as the New Year Festival, *Dol Purnima*, (Spring Festival), *Varsha Utsav*, (the Festival of the Rains), *Briksha-Ropan*, (the Arbour Day), *Sita-Yajna* (the Ploughing Day) and also in decorating exhibitions and pandals, and in staging dramatic performances.

Old Students.—Among the old students, Birbhadra Chitra has been appointed Superintendent of the Madras School of Art; P. Hariharan has proceeded to Japan for learning pottery; Anukana Das Gupta is serving in the school department and Indusudha Ghose at Sriniketan. Manindrabhusan Gupta and Ramkinkar Baje have been living in Santiniketan for some time and have assisted in the work of the art school. Some of the older students have organized a guild called "Karu-Sangha" with the object of supplying to the general public various artistic works such as Designing, Fresco-painting, Terra-cotta work, Embroidery, Batik etc., and also for publishing art works. It is hoped that the "Karu-Sangha" will enable us to keep some of the old students actively connected with the Kala-bhavana.

Visitors.—A large number of people visited the Museum and the Art School during the year, and their keen interest and sympathy were deeply appreciated by the workers. Two Hungarian lady artists stayed in the Asram for seven months.

Gifts.—The Founder-President wrote a New Bengali Primer in two parts, *Sahaj Path* Parts I and II, and arranged that the entire sale-proceeds should be credited to the Kalabhabava Fund so as to enable the Kala-bhavana to provide training in Art-crafts. We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of various publications on art from some of our friends.

Urgent Needs.—The Endowment Fund is not adequate to meet the growing needs of the institution. Rs. 12,000/- is urgently required for building a hostel to accommodate at least 20 students, and Rs. 2,500/- for constructing a shed for housing the craft section. It is also necessary to provide a few scholarships to enable deserving students to continue

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their work at Santiniketan a little longer, and also to make it possible for them to visit important art centres in India. We earnestly appeal to all lovers of art for donations.

KALA-BHAVANA: MUSIC SECTION.

Dinendranath Tagore was in charge of the Music School, and was assisted by Rama Devi, Ranjit Sinha, and Santimaya Ghosh.

The average number of students in this section was about 70 during the year. The Music School is very seriously hampered for want of funds. The teacher of instrumental music works 6 hours a day and yet cannot give individual attention to all the students. Formerly all the younger children used to be thoroughly trained in singing. We cannot do so any longer ; and this is the reason why it has become so difficult to find good singing voices among the younger pupils. Inspite of difficulties a number of successful music festivals were held in 1930, and the members of the staff and students actively co-operated in arranging Asram festivals on many occasions.

LIBRARY.

General.—The Visva-Bharati Library comprises the following sections :—

(1) General Library at Santiniketan, (2) Manuscript Library, (3) Art Library, (4) Sriniketan Library, (5) Tibetan Library, and (6) Children's Section.

Probhāt Kumar Mukherjee was in charge as Librarian throughout the year.

Number of Books.—The total number of books in the library was about 38,000 at the end of October, 1930.

The general accession was particularly poor in 1930.

Issues.—There was a big increase in the number of issues during the year owing to the expansion of the college classes. The total number of books issued during the year was over 15,000, out of which nearly 10,000 were issued to the students.

SREE-BHAVANA.

Miss Hembala Sen worked as the Lady Superintendent throughout the year.

The average number of girl boarders was 48. Three girls passed the I.A. and four girls the Matriculation examination of the Calcutta

University. One of the Matriculates, Amita Sen, stood first in Bengali. Besides the ordinary school subjects, the girls learn embroidery, needle-work, alpana etc.; two girls attended the weaving school at Sriniketan. Special stress is laid on music, and every girl is required to learn singing and playing at least one instrument. In the Kala-bhavana a number of girl students are working whole-time on drawing and painting; some of them have also taken up batik-work.

The unique feature of the Sree-bhavana is, however, its community life. The girl students, under the supervision of the members of the staff, are entrusted with the entire responsibility of managing the Sisu-vibhaga (Children's Section). In this way they obtain training in cooking, domestic economy, household management, and the care of children in intimate contact with life.

The health of the students continued to be satisfactory throughout the year. They play outdoor games regularly, and go out for long walks. Many of them are learning dagger and lathi play, and Jujitsu.

Healthy outdoor activities, cultural studies and community life offer opportunities of education not available in other institutions, and it is gratifying to note that there has been a rapid but steady growth of this branch of the Visva-Bharati.

SRINIKETAN.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Rathindranath Tagore was in charge of the Institution during the first four months of the year under review. He left for Europe in March, and Gour Gopal Ghose was appointed to act as Sriniketan-Sachiva during his absence.

Sriniketan-Samiti.—The Sriniketan-Samiti met 11 times during the year and the attendance of local members was satisfactory.

Kalimohan Ghose, Santosh Bihari Bose and Gour Gopal Ghose were elected respectively Superintendents of Village Welfare, Agriculture, and Industry Departments. Premchand Lal having left for England last year on study leave, Kalimohan Ghose remained in charge of Education Department during the year.

Appointments, Resignations and Leave.—The appointment of Dharendramohan Sen M. A., Ph. D. (Lond.) by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst after consulting the Samiti, as a Research Psychologist for one year from March, 1930, was a great help to the Institution. He took special charge of the Siksha-Satra boys and carried on certain experiments in Rural Education.

P. Hariharan of the 'Crafts' section resigned for going to Japan for further study in Wood Block Printing and Commercial Art, and Srimati Indusudha Ghose of Kalabhavana (Santiniketan) was appointed in his place.

The following new appointments were also made during the year:—Mrs. K. Kasahara (Education), Trigunananda Roy (Laboratory), T. Kono (Carpentry), Santosh K. Roy (Dispensary).

The services of Santosh Bihari Bose of the Agricultural Department of the Government of Bengal were retained for a further period of one year on the same terms.

Kalimohan Ghose of the Village Welfare Section was granted leave with full pay for four months from November, 1930, for going to England on Visva-Bharati work. He intends to visit various centres of Rural Reconstruction work in foreign countries.

General Progress.—Owing to the absence abroad of the Founder-President and of Rathindranath Tagore, Sriniketan-Sachiva, the activities of the Institution suffered to a very great extent. On the whole, how-

ever, appreciable progress was made in all the departments as will be evident from the departmental reports. It is gratifying to note that the number of students and apprentices increased beyond expectations; in fact we are finding it difficult to provide them with proper accommodation.

Land Development.—The Demonstration Farm has been extended on the northern side by about 12 acres, and has been properly laid out and fenced. Its present area will be about 100 Bighas. On the north of the Diary Buildings one big embankment over 600 ft. in length has been erected to regulate the water course of the Fodder Farm and to store the surplus water in the farm tank. The waste lands on the east of Cheap's Kuthi and on the south of Surul Danga Santhal villages have now been brought under cultivation and properly laid out in acre plots. A further area of about 80 Bighas of waste land on the east and south of Balimajhi-para has been similarly laid out. It is estimated that about 60 or 70 acres of new paddy land have thus been added to the Farm. These fields are expected to yield a fairly good return within the next few years. Erection of Boundary Pillars on the borders of the newly acquired land have been completed.

Roads.—The road which was started last year has been completed. Various other minor roads were also constructed in different parts of the Institution.

Orchard and Gardens.—Successful attempts were made to grow certain fruit trees on the southern and western banks of the tank within the compound, and over 200 lemon grafts were planted in the plot on the south of the office building. Crafts of flowering trees and plants have been planted along the roads and at suitable places within the compound.

Buildings.—A new house was erected for which a donation of £200 was received from Mr. L. K. Elmhirst. It has been named after Kasahara who served the Institution with devotion and loyalty till his death in 1927. The well at Cheap's Kuthi was also completed at a cost of Rs. 1,372-4-0 which was met from an earmarked fund of Rs. 5,000/- created by a donation from Mr. L. K. Elmhirst.

Sriniketan Library.—Sudhindra Kumar Sen was in charge of the Sectional Library at Sriniketan which contains about 1,000 books and reports on agriculture and allied subjects. A number of Indian and foreign newspaper and journals are also kept in the reading rooms.

Sriniketan Laboratory.—The Sriniketan Laboratory which was started last year has now been fairly equipped for holding both Practical and Theoretical classes in Chemistry and Botany. Besides the Inter-

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mediate Science students of the Santiniketan College, the Farm and Workshop apprentices are receiving instructions in Chemistry, Botany and Elementary Physics. Popular lectures on Elementary Sciences for Siksha-Satra and other village boys of the weaving section were also given. Sachindranath Mukherji, M. Sc., was in charge of the Laboratory and he was assisted by Trigunanda Roy, B.Sc. Mr. Mukherji has been carrying on certain researches on the "Variation of the Electric Charge on Colloid Particles" for which he brought the necessary apparatus at his own risk from the Science College, Calcutta.

Sriniketan Observatory.—Manindra Chandra Roy, who has been recognized by the Meteorological Department as an Auxiliary Observer, was in charge of this section ; he was assisted in his work by another member of the staff. A number of valuable instruments was lent to us from the Alipore Observatory, and "The Daily Weather Report" of the Calcutta Meteorological office was supplied free of charge. On the advice of the Inspector of Observatories minor changes were made in the enclosure where the Rain Gauge and other instruments are kept and also in placing of the new Barometer. Our station is now equipped with all the necessary instruments and charts, and we hope it will soon be made permanent and recognized as a second class Observatory. Our best thanks are due to Dr. S. N. Sen, Meteorologist, Calcutta for his kind help and co-operation.

Foundation Day.—The Foundation Day Ceremony on the 6th of February last was a very successful function. The presence of both Mr. and Mrs. Elmhirst was a source of inspiration to the workers. Eight years ago on the same day Mr. Elmhirst with a batch of six students from Santiniketan had come over to Surul and settled down in an inhospitable surrounding to give a start to this Institution against great difficulties. In spite of indifferent health he did not spare himself in any way, and living and toiling with his fellow-workers built up the foundation of the institution. Although he left for Europe after some time, both he and Mrs. Elmhirst continued to take an active interest in the welfare of the institution. All the workers and friends of the institution therefore felt very happy to see them in Sriniketan this year.

An Exhibition illustrating the activities of the different sections of the institution was arranged at the same time, and was opened by Mrs. L. K. Elmhirst.

Co-operative Conference.—On the 10th and 11th of February, a Conference of the representatives of Co-operative Societies was held to

discuss the possibilities of introducing Rural Reconstruction Work in villages. The Conference was opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, and was presided over by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst. The delegates number over 270, and took great interest in the proceedings of the Conference.

Ploughing Day.—The "Hala-Karshana Utsava" was held on the 12th of September near the Surul Danga Santhal villages. Sj. Ramananda Chattopadhyaya and Pandit Vidhushekha Bhattacharya conducted the ceremony. All the inmates of Sriniketan and Santiniketan and most of the village people in the surrounding villages joined in the Utsav. About 100 pairs of bullocks with ploughs formed a beautiful procession which was a prominent feature of the festival. Prizes were distributed to the three best pairs to encourage the improvement of draught cattle in the villages. The Santhals and the Koras of our five labour colonies numbering over two hundred danced and arranged a picnic for themselves after the ceremony was over.

Visitors.—Among the many visitors to the Institution the following names arranged according to the date of their visit may be specially mentioned :

Officials : Mr. R. Kato, Japan; Rev. Kobayashi, Japan; Mr. S. N. Goode, Commissioner, Burdwan Division, Chinsurah; Mr. C. G. B. Stevens, District Magistrate and Collector, Birbhum; Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, Vice-President, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, Delhi; Lt.-Col. Chopra, School of Tropical Research, Calcutta; Mr. Vishnu T. Korke, Central Research Institute, Kasauli; Dr. N. Gangulee, Professor of Agriculture, Calcutta University; Mr. T. Viraraghavan, Cocanada; Florence Forrester, Washington D. C.; His Excellency Sir F. Stanley Jackson, Governor of Bengal, Lady Jackson and Party; Mr. S. K. Halder, I.C.S. and Mrs. Halder, Rampurhat; Mr. J. A. Hyde, Civil Surgeon, Birbhum, and Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., District Magistrate and Collector, Birbhum.

Non-officials : Mr. H. G. Timbres, Baltimore, U.S.A.; Mr. Arthur E. Holt, Chicago, U.S.A.; Mr. John B. Holt, Chicago, U.S.A.; M. Azizul Haque, Krishnanagar; Mr. J. M. Robert, Mission Hospital, Madura; Mr. H. M. Smith, Mission Medical School, Vellore; Mr. Promodenath Roy; Dr. Birendranath Dey, Chief Engineer, Calcutta Corporation; Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, New York, U.S.A.; Mr. and Mrs. Robert E. Bruce, Boston Mass, U.S.A.; Mr. J. S. Edstream and party, Vesteras,

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Sweden; Mary H. V. Remfry, Calcutta; Baba Mithuji, Bombay; Mr. David Howard, Moradabad, U.P.; Dorothy E. Johnston, London; Mr. N. Sankara Aiyar, Calcutta; Mr. N. Seshadinathan, M.B., Mylapore, Madras; Mr. Mehta Uddhodas, Retired Chief Judge, Bahimalpur State; Mr. Jamshed Cowasji Patel, Bombay; Mr. Kaiku Sorabji Buchia, Calcutta; Mr. H. Majumdar, Advocate, Sylhet; Martha L. Root (International Bahai Speaker), New York, U.S.A.; Mr. A. K. B. Bakhtiar, Karachi; Mr. J. C. Gadiwala, Calcutta; Mr. M. P. Mehta, Calcutta; Mr. Manek Jamshedji Deshai; J. R. Darumela, M.B.B.S., Calcutta; Mr. K. Kapadia, Calcutta; Mr. Rama Deva, Principal, Gurukul Kangri, Hardwar.

VILLAGE WELFARE DEPARTMENT.

Kalimohan Ghosh was in charge of this department up to November when he left for Europe to visit important centres of welfare work. He met other workers of this department almost once in every week and discussed the village problems with them. Reviewing the work of the year he writes: "We, who are in constant and close touch with all the workers, can without any reservation say that most of our workers in this department have sincerely striven to serve the people in the right spirit."

The ten villages in which intensive work has been started have been organized into two groups: 6 villages round Ballavpore under Hemanta Kumar Sarkar assisted by 3 part-time workers, and 4 villages under Usharanjan Dutta assisted by 3 other part-time workers.

Conferences.—At the time of the Sriniketan Anniversary two Conferences, one of the representative of Co-operative Credit Societies and the other of the Depressed Classes people, were held. These two conferences were presided over respectively by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst and Mr. C. G. B. Stevens, I. C. S., Collector of Birbhum. Two meetings with Purdah ladies and three mass meetings were also organized during the year.

Gardening.—Special attention was given this year for the development of vegetable gardening in the villages. Villagers were induced to plant fruit trees and grow vegetables in their homes. A common plot was kept apart for cotton growing near Santhal villages. The Santhals contributed their labour on co-operative basis, and the result achieved was satisfactory.

Brati-Balaka.—Last year the total number of Brati-Balaka troops in the surrounding villages was 10. Two new troops, one in a Santhal village near Ballavpore and another in Adityapore, were organized this year. The total number of Brati-Balakas in the 12 troops is 250. These twelve troops are divided into four main groups namely—(i) Bolepore, (ii) Laldaha, (iii) Ballavpore and (iv) Sriniketan.

Annual Rally: The Annual Rally was held along with the Anniversary on the 6th of February last, and was attended by 300 Brati-Balakas from Suri, Sultanpore, Labpore and also from all local troops. In the annual sports the "Brati-Balaka Pataka" (The Championship Flag) was won this year by the Bolpore Troop. A large number of spectators from all classes were present during the annual sports and took keen interest in the proceedings. The prizes were very kindly given away by Mrs. Elmhirst.

General Activities: An exhibition of Brati-Balaka Handi-work and collections was also arranged at the same time along with the departmental exhibition.

During the last anti-malarial season Brati-Balakas of the village troops helped their parents in kerosinizing tanks anddobas, distributing quinine and in some cases in clearing jungles. One night school in each of the four local centres is efficiently run by the respective leader in charge with the help of local troops. The students of these schools come from the so-called depressed classes.

Weaving training centres, one in Ballavpore and another in Laldaha, have been organized by the respective workers of the villages, where a number of Brati-Balakas are regularly receiving training.

The store which was organized on co-operative basis by the Bolpore Brati-Balakas is progressing steadily. A branch has been recently started in Laldaha, which is run and supervised by the local Brati-Balakas.

Special attention was given to the Physical Culture of the boys. Lathi and dagger play have been introduced along with drill, games and sports. The Brati-Balakas did useful work in sanitation and policing during Kankali and Mulluk Melas.

Excursions: Seven excursions were organized during the year under report. The boys were taken to distant villages and were given facilities to study the different problems of the villages, mix with the local boys, play with them and thus establish personal contact with one

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another. During excursions the boys cooked their own food, washed their utensils, and kept detail accounts of expenditure. These excursions were very popular and were helpful for the development of a healthy spirit of comradeship amongst the village boys.

Night School.—The village boys of the Poor and depressed classes scarcely get any time to read in the village day schools, because most of them have to help their parents in their work. The primary aim of the night schools is to give opportunity to these boys to learn reading and writing to a certain extent. At present the number of these schools under our supervision is 9, and the total number of students in them is 198. One school had to be closed for want of funds.

Along with elementary reading, writing, and arithmetic, the boys are taught nature-study, weaving, gardening, games and sports. Most of these schools have their own plots of flower and vegetable gardens. Both the agricultural and the educational departments of Sriniketan co-operated with the teachers in this work.

Circulating Library.—The total number of books in our Circulating Library is at present 385 distributed under the following heads:—Poetry 47; Drama 43; History and Biography 39; Fiction 25; Science 31; Religion and Social 45; Children's literature 37; and Miscellaneous 66.

Besides the above, 52 volumes of books of different popular writers have been secured. 5 monthly magazines, dealing with health, social and economic problems are also kept in this section.

The total number of books issued during the year to individuals and to village societies was 709.

Training Camp.—As usual a training camp was arranged during the Puja holidays and was availed of by the apprentices of our Institution and some people from outside who were desirous of starting village welfare work in their villages. The subjects taught were: (i) Brati-Balaka Organisation, (ii) Village Sanitation and First Aid, (iii) Rural Reconstruction and Rural Education, (iv) Cottage Crafts and (v) Elementary Agriculture. The total number of workers trained so far is 140.

Mahila Samity.—Two Mahila Samities of Surul and Ballavpore villages are progressing satisfactorily under the able guidance of Mrs. Nanibala Roy, who visited both the centres regularly and gave instructions in Sewing, Cutting, Child Welfare and Maternity Work. The

number of members in the Surul Samity is 20 and in Ballavpore 23 as against 12 and 6 respectively of the last year. Attempts are now being made to organize a new Samity in Bandgora village.

Rural Survey.—After completing the Rural Survey of Raipore village which was published recently, Kalimohan Ghose undertook the survey work of Bandgora. A start was made, but unfortunately due to his departure for England, the work could not be completed. A Rural Survey of Bhubandanga, Benuri and Islampore has also been started.

Sriniketan Dispensary.—Jitendra Chandra Chakravarty, M.B., was in charge of the Dispensary and the Health Work in villages. The number of patients this year has much increased in comparison with that of the last year.

Patients from 150 villages came for medical relief and were satisfied with the care and help they received here. The Dispensary is becoming very popular and it is difficult with our resources to meet the requirements of most of the neighbouring villagers. At present we have no arrangement for in-door patients and therefore many medical, surgical and midwifery cases which require constant and careful attention, had to be refused.

We were fortunate to have Dr. H. G. Timbres, M.D., of the American Friends Society amongst us last year in November. He undertook a general survey from the medical point of view of the surrounding villages and submitted it to his society for consideration. Some portions of that report was published in the Visva-Bharati Quarterly last year.

The inadequate or rather want of any proper medical relief in our countryside so much moved Dr. Timbres, that he himself decided to undertake to build up a centre of Health Work at Cheap's Kuthi with arrangements for in-door and out-door patients. He is now travelling with our Founder-President to raise funds for the purpose.

Malaria this year took an epidemic form throughout the district. The prevalence of Malaria began from August last and it increased in October. In October, 1929, the total number of patients was 870, and Malaria Cases were 541; this year October, (1930) the total number of patients was about 1,500, of which about 1,000 were malaria cases.

Inspite of Anti-Malarial measures, the suffering from Malaria cannot be properly solved if the economic condition of the people are not improved to a great extent.

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Aruna & Amita Nursing work.—Mr. Sisir Kumar Basu of Sabour, Economic Botanist to the Government of Bihar and Orrisa, gave a donation of Rs. 10,000/- in 1927 to form an endowment in memory of his two daughters to be called after them the "Aruna and Amita Endowment." The donor desired that the income out of this fund should be utilized for providing medical relief in the villages by free distribution of medicine and diet, and if possible, by free nursing of the sick, and also such relief as may be given at the homes of those sufferers whose sense of self-respect prevents them from attending Charitable Dispensaries and hospitals. During the year our worker attended 713 patients in their own homes in 25 different villages. Most of the Patients suffered from pneumonia, bronchitis, typhoid, gangrene, phthisis etc. Besides nursing he looked after the feeding of the patients. 74 demonstrations in nursing were also arranged in different villages.

Owing to serious illness of our worker, Abani Kinkar Mukherji, the nursing work suffered to a great extent during the months of October and November last.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION WORK AT BALLAVPORE.

The Ballavpore Co-operative Health and Rural Reconstruction Society was formed in July, 1925 and it was registered on the 10th of November of that year.

Last year we published a detailed report of the work of the Society from 1925 to 1929. Below is given a record of the work in 1930.

Public Health and Anti-Malarial Works. Over 500 feet of new roads were constructed, and 1,800 feet of old roads were repaired during the year ; 2,000 feet of roads were made *pucca* with Kankars. Nearly 7,000 feet of drains have been cleaned twice, and 800 feet of new drains have been opened. One big manure pit has been removed from the side of the road to a distant place. Up till now nearly 3,000 feet of roads have been constructed and 7,600 feet of drains opened. Every year the roads are repaired and the drains are cleaned.

One big *doba* was partly filled up ; one little tank and one big *doba* were cleaned ; about half a *bigha* of jungles by the side of 5 big *dobas* were cleared.

Throughout the malaria season i.e. from July to November all the

dobas numbering about 40 were kerosinized once a week. The amount of Quinine distributed was 5,381 grs.

Up till now 12 *bighas* of jungles have been cleared and 48 *dobas* have been filled up.

Malaria. Malaria broke out in this and the neighbouring villages in an epidemic form. The total population of the village was 99 of whom 2 members were absent from the village throughout the whole malaria season. Of the remaining 97, 67 persons suffered from Malaria this year, giving a Malaria percentage of over 69 per cent.

Maternity Work. Four *dhais* of the village (who were trained up in maternity work by the doctor at Sriniketan in 1927) are successfully attending calls from 8 villages within 5 miles.

Primary Schools. A night school was started in 1926 with 10 students. This year the number of students was 18 against 12 in 1929.

Morning School. The morning school was started in 1929 with 17 students. This year the number rose to 43, of whom 11 were girls, 28 boys, and 4 adults. The students come from four other neighbouring villages, *viz.*, Dangapara, Sadipur, Khejurdanga and Santalpara, and belong to Brahmin, Sadgop, Weaver, Saha, Muchi, Dom, Kora, and Santal families. All the students, irrespective of caste, sit and read together.

The object of this little school is to train up the boys in a way that, when grown up, they can live well, earn well, and can improve the village life to make it as it was in olden times, the centre of life of the country at large.

The method of teaching in this school is a little different from other schools. We never try to whip out the intelligence of the little boys nor do we set for them a heavy burden of task to be done in their holidays. Besides reading and writing, the students are taught to sing. They have learnt some of the songs of Rabindranath.

Almost every month, the teacher and the boys sing simple songs in tune with *khol*, *karatal*, *kanshi* and *bell*, all moving in a circle round the *Nim* tree in the Asram.

The boys have a vegetable garden. This year they have made another garden of plantain. The products of the garden are distributed among them.

On two evenings the night school boys had their garden festival. They plucked vegetables from their garden, prepared their food in the Asram and dined together.

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Adult Education. 16 meetings of the reconstruction society were held this year. A good portion of the Ramayana was read out to the members.

Evening and mid-day talks were given on the following subjects : Ancient and present economic condition of the district; Educational problems of the country; The cattle and the milk problem of villages; Medical properties of herbs and plants; Utility of having a holiday in every week and how it should be spent; Value of music and festivals in a village community ; Duties of the people of Ballavpore and how they can co-operate with and serve other villages ; Cottage Industry in its economic aspect ; Readings from selected books of standard authors.

Hari Sava. A *Hari Sava* was started at the end of June. It was settled that after one hour of the setting of the sun, the bell would be rung in the house of the society, when every member would come and join the Sava. At first Ramayana, Mahabharata, Gita or some other such sacred book would be read and explained, and afterwards Sankirtan be held.

Ever since that date the work of the Sava is going on regularly. All the people, irrespective of caste and creed, sit together and join in the *kirtans* in the spacious verandah of the Samiti's house." Weather permitting, the party goes round the village streets touching the quarters of the people.

This *Hari Sava* has created a new life in the village producing other festivals in its turn.

Janmastami. The *Janmastami* or the festival of the birthday of Srikrishna was observed by the Samiti. The house of the Samiti and its precincts were decorated with leaves, flowers and *alpanas*. Every member cleaned his own house and the street nearby, and made decorations with *alpanas*.

The people of Sriniketan, Santiniketan, Dangapara, Khejurdanga and Santalpara, the teachers and students of the night schools under Sriniketan, the Brati-Balakas of Bolpur, Santalpara and the Siksha-Satra with their troops were invited to attend the festival.

The Ballavpore men held Nagar Sankirtan round the village before sunrise. The guests assembled by 8 o'clock in the morning, and a meeting was held presided over by Kali Mohan Ghosh, who briefly narrated the life and works of the Lord Krishna. The lecture was highly apprecia-

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ted by the people. After the lecture he read and explained 5 verses of the Gita in simple Bengali.

Afterwards there was a Takli competition of yarn spinning in which 30 Brati-Balakas representing the Bolpur, Surul, Santalpara, Siksha-Satra and Ballavpore troops took part.

This was followed by a display of Lathi and Dagger play. The Brati-Balakas of Bolpur, Siksha-Satra and Ballavpore played very well, and attracted much notice.

Next there was a grand *kirtan* with *khol* and *kartals*. All the village people, the students and the teachers sang together, and the party came half round the village. Light refreshments were served after the *kirtan* was over.

In the evening there was again *nagar sankirtan* round the village; then the *puja* was held in proper form. The priest, the Assistant Secretary of the Society, narrated the life history of Sri Krishna, and explained two important verses of the Gita. This was recited by all present, Brahmin, Sadgop, Weaver, Potter, Hari, Muchi, Dom joining in the chorus with the priest. After this the *prasad* was distributed amongst all, and was sent to all the members who were absent.

Nandotsava. Next day there was the *Nandotsava* i.e., the Utsava that Nanda held after the birth of Sri Krishna.

All the people, young and old, joined together and held *kirtan* in the house of the Samiti. It had been settled the previous night that the *kirtan* party would go into the house of all the people irrespective of caste. The idea came from the people themselves without any outside prompting. The party first entered into the house of a Brahmin; the owner of the house offered a coin. In this way the party moved on from house to house. Then it entered the house of a Muchi, and tears came to the eyes of the inmates. Everyone was moved and the *kirtan* became sweeter. In this way the party visited the house of every Muchi, every Dom and every Hari.

In the evening there was a '*narikel karakari*' in which people from four villages took part. After the function was over, there was a meeting of all the people in which the object and methods of work of the Samiti was explained; and they were asked to do the same in their own villages. This was followed by a *kirtan* in which even the Santals joined. After the *kirtan*, all people recited in a chorus two verses of the Gita.

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Radhastami. On the *Radhastami* day, there was another festival. People of three other villages were invited. This day it was *Hari-Basar*. Throughout the whole day and night, the *kirtan* and the *puja* went on.

The women suggested that next day there should be a *Mahotsav* and they took the initiative. They collected rice, dal, and vegetables, and started cooking from early morning. All the village people including those that were invited from outside joined in the feast.

In the evening there was '*narikel kara-kari*' which was won by Santals of Ballavpore.

The month of Kartik is regarded as holy. In this month every evening the people gathered in the Sevasram. Five slokas of the Gita were read and explained every day, and then there were verses recited in a chorus by all assembled. Afterwards a portion of the Ramayana was read and explained, followed by *kirtan*.

One member performed *hom* and *Satyanarayana puja* continually for three days. Every day after the *hom* and the *puja* were finished, portions of the Gita and the Ramayana were read and explained and then *kirtan* was held.

Brati-Balaka. The students of the two schools formed the Brati-Balaka troop last year. This year another troop has been formed at Santalpara. The girls of Ballavpore, Santalpara and Dangapara are also combining to form a troop of Barti-Balaka.

That there is a necessity and possibility of introducing the industry into the neighbouring villages, we have explained in our last year's report. We also gave an idea therein of the requirements of the section for the purpose.

Khadi Work. The Ballavpore people are extremely poor. They are almost entirely dependent on agriculture, and more than 95% of the fields yield only one crop, paddy. Most of the irrigation tanks are silted and monsoon rainfall is extremely uncertain in its character. The people are under a heavy burden of debt, so that famine conditions are practically chronic. They have, however, a good deal of leisure at their disposal; practically more than half the year they sit idle without any occupation. Charka which requires but little capital can therefore give them some relief, however small it may be.

In our survey of 1926, it was seen that the villagers require more than Rs. 800 every year for clothing. A good portion of this amount may be saved by the substitution of home-spun clothes.

We are trying to make the village self-supporting in clothes in the near future. 4 village boys have learned to weave,—and we also have an expert in Khadi-work. Work was begun from the middle of September. The villagers took it up in earnest, but progress was hampered by the outburst of malaria. With the exception of 5 or 6 boys who had received some training before, all the workers were novices. At first the work was concentrated at Ballavpore, but as usual it gradually spread to other villages. The record of 3 months work (September to November, 1930) is given below:—

	Ballav-pore.	Danga-para.	Ken-danga.	Santal para.	Total
No. of people trained.	27	12	2	7	48
No. of Charkas working.	13	5	1	0	18
Yarn spun.	3 Srs. 1 Ch.	2 Srs. 11 Ch.	12 Ch.	0	6 Srs. 8 Ch.
Khadi woven.	14	0	0	0	14 yds.

A donation of Rs. 100 was received from Sj. Prabhat Mohan Bandopadhyaya, an old pupil of Sj. Nandalal Bose, and a small donation from the President's Fund.

Mahila Samiti (Women's Association). Members of the association have learnt tailoring and needle work. They are making their household articles themselves.

The visit of Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., the District Magistrate and Collector of Birbhum, on the 4th of November gave a great impetus to the work of the Samiti. Mr. Dutt gave a donation of Rs. 40 and several books to the association which has been affiliated with the Sarojnalinii Narimangal Samiti.

Irrigation & fishery. All the four tanks were filled with rain water, which was used for irrigation in October. Fish spawn to the value of Rs. 40, Rs. 15, and Rs. 15 were put in the tanks in 1928, 1929 and 1930 respectively.

Co-operation with Neighbouring Villages. We reported last year that three villages had combined together in the matter of Co-operative

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Bank, Brati-Balaka activities and schools. In 1930, the people of Ballavpore, Dangapara, Sadipur, Khejurdanga and Santalpara performed the Janmastami festival with their united efforts. They were 2 joint meetings of Ballavpore, Dangapara, Khejurdanga and Santalpara to draw up a plan of combined welfare work; 3 meetings of Dangapara and Ballavpore to discuss plans for the development of the work of Dangapara Society; joint meetings of Khejurdanga and Ballavpore to consider ways and means for the education of boys and girls; and a joint meeting at Santalpara with the headmen of Dangapara, Ballavpore and Santalpara. In 1930, Dangapara, Khejurdanga and Santalpara co-operated with Ballavpore in making and repairing roads, in opening and cleaning drains and in clearing jungles.

Extension Centre. Sj. Fanibhusan Ghosh, one of the teachers of the weaving school, is a resident of the village Bogdoura, 8 miles away from Ballavpore. He lived in the Sevasram for nearly 3 years and learnt rural reconstruction work in all its aspects. In May, 1930 he went back to his village to start welfare work.

He is earning his livelihood by working a loom. He takes yarn from the Sevasram, weaves clothes which are sold from the Sevasram and the sale proceeds are given to him without charging any commission. He has introduced 2 Charkas and 5 Taklis and is teaching one student to weave. He is also forming a local Brati-Balaka Troop. Fanibhusan is keeping himself in intimate touch with Ballavpore, and Bogdoura may be called the first Extension Centre of the Ballavpore Rabindra Sevasram.

The Ploughing Day. 5 cultivators of Ballavpore and Khejurdanga, and more than 60 pairs of bullocks from the Ballavpore centre participated in the "Hala-Karshan Utsav" (the Ploughing Day Ceremony) at Sriniketan. All the prizes were won from the Ballavpore centre; Khejurdanga winning the first prize and Ballavpore the other two prizes.

Other activities. In 1929, an arbitration Panchait was formed and 5 litigation cases were settled. In 1930, 4 cases came up before the committee and were all settled.

It has been arranged that whenever there is any emergency a bell will be rung in the Sevasram, when all the villagers should gather together for concerted action. In 1930 the alarm bell was rung 4 times, and the system proved to be highly beneficial to the people.

Co-operative Credit Society. The working capital of the co-operative credit society which was registered on the 10th January, 1928, was Rs. 1,964-4-6 on 6-11-1928, Rs. 5,617-5-4½ on 31-12-1929, and Rs. 5,955-12-4½ on 30-11-1930.

Gardening. One member is drawing a decent income from bananas cultivation. Banana, Brinjals, Tomato and Chillies are being grown in 7 new plots in 7 families.

Visitors. Their Excellencies Sir and Lady Stanley Jackson visited the Sevasram on the 10th February, 1930. An exhibition of the products of the Mahila Samiti, of the weaving and spinning sections, and of the collections of the Brati-Balakas was arranged for the occasion, and the Brati-Balaka troop gave an impressive demonstration of fire-drill.

We give below a few extracts from the Visitor's Book. Mr. L. K. Elmhirst wrote on the 8th February, 1930:—“Dorothy, Michael and I visited the village and were delighted to find so many signs of happiness, health and self-help apparent. Compared with the darkness and poverty that I remember eight years ago when I was first entertained by the headman, it is not difficult to see that a real new birth has taken place, that new light has come in, and behind the very significant movement in roads, in health, in surroundings and in general well-being, somehow a new force is apparent which seems to inspire the hearts and minds of villagers of all classes. The new force once released cannot be held in and during the next few years I hope to hear of it spreading through the whole neighbourhood. The spirit of the workers and their scientific attack upon rural conditions, these are the weapons which the whole rural world is waiting for. Only in this way can we approach a balance between the life of town and village.”

Mrs. L. K. Elmhirst wrote on the same day:—“This has been a joyous visit. Everyone has been most wonderfully kind and hospitable and we take away with us a happy memory of all the good work that is being done and of the warm generous spirit that is apparent in everyone.”

H. E. Sir Stanley Jackson wrote:—

“I was much impressed with what I saw during my visit to Ballavpore. There appears to be a good system of organization and the spirit of Co-operation is in evidence. I was particularly pleased with the Boys Scouts—who seemed keen and enthusiastic and I appreciate the value of

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the lesson to be learnt from the movement. I wish the co-operative Societies success."

Mr. Guru Saday Dutt, who visited the Sevasram on the 4th November, made the following remarks:—

"It was a very great pleasure to me to see the excellent rural reconstruction work which is being shown in this village and the wonderful transformation which has taken place in the mentality of the people."

Bandgora. Sj. Usharanjan Dutta was in charge.

The total population of the village is 181 in 43 families (males 49, females 65, boys 40, girls 27) out of which only 31 are literate.

The Samiti was organized in 1926; 14 meetings were held in 1930 to discuss various problems of the village.

General Activities. A night school was established last year, but had to be discontinued for want of funds. Evening talks for adults on different subjects were regularly given for three evenings every week, and 5 lantern lectures were organized on Health and Sanitation; Ramayana and other sacred books were also read occasionally. A purdah meeting was arranged to explain the usefulness of a 'Mahila Samiti.'

Health and Sanitation. A Homeopathic Dispensary was established and was conducted efficiently by the worker Usharanjan Dutta. There were 50 patients in the dispensary during the year under report. The Malaria percentage was higher than the last year, but in comparison with surrounding villages, Bandgora suffered less. The total number of malarial patients in the Samiti area was only 25.

Agriculture. There was more extensive cultivation of sugarcane, potato and onion; cotton also was grown in a small plot. Vegetable gardening was taken up by 5 families, and different kinds of fruit trees worth about Rs. 25 were purchased by the villagers.

Industry. 6 members of the village were spinning Charka this year. The preparation of 'Sathi' had been introduced in the village. The villagers were interested in this and they have decided to grow 'Sathi' plant in the uncultivated land next year.

Miscellaneous. One litigation case was settled by arbitration.

The main festival of the village is Kali Puja. All the villagers without any distinction of caste and creed joined this festival in 1930.

Visitors. Mr. and Mrs. Elmhirst, Dr. H. G. Timbres and Miss Alice Mary Clarke visited the Samiti and expressed their great satisfaction with its work.

Accounts. The Samiti's account was audited by the Auditor of the Co-operative Department. He was thoroughly satisfied with the accounts, an abstract of which is given below:—

<i>Income.</i>	<i>Expenditure.</i>
Subscription from the Members ... 39 12 0	Jungle cleaning ... 20 0 0
Grant from District Board ... 68 0 0	Road repairing ... 82 8 0
'Musti-Viksha' ... 5 0 0	Opening Drains ... 8 0 0
Temporary loan taken ... 70 0 0	Subscription (Newspaper) ... 7 12 0
Last year's Balance ... 20 15 9	Purchasing fruit plants ... 28 0 0
Rs. 203 11 9	Upkeep ... 5 0 0
	Travelling ... 1 0 0
	Miscellaneous ... 0 4 0
	Rs. 152 8 0
	Cash in hand ... 51 3 9
	Total Rs. 203 11 9

Bhubandanga. The population of the village was 345 of whom 99 (in 23 families) are members of the Samiti; 8 meetings of which were held during the year. All the members belong to the so-called depressed classes.

The members worked energetically for improving sanitary condition of the village. There were other activities also which were supervised by the Santiniketan students.

The average attendance in the Girls' Night School was 14, and in the Boys' Night School 25. Sick nursing was given to about 45 patients. Charka and Takli were introduced in many families.

The funds were chiefly raised by the Santiniketan students themselves and through occasional contributions of sympathetic visitors, and the work was supervised by the students in their spare time.

Bahadurpur. Sj. Saktipada Sarkar was in charge.

The Samiti is old and very active. The total population is 283 in 72 families, of whom 184 in 45 families are members. There were 12 meetings of the Samiti during the year under report.

At the beginning of this year the villagers concentrated on repairing roads, opening drains, clearing jungles etc. so that in rainy season they

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might be able to devote their whole energy to anti-malarial work. It was a very bad year as regards malaria. Inspite of all possible precautions that had been taken against malaria, the villagers did not escape from it; 45 persons among members and 70 persons among non-members suffered this year.

Mr. L. K. Elmhirst visited the village in February, and was very pleased to find the improved condition of the village. The District Board granted Rs. 100/- for anti-malarial work in 1930.

Benuri. Sj. Saktipada Sarkar was in charge.

The total population of the village is 165 in 72 families of whom 79 in 28 families are members of the Samiti. 12 meetings of the society were held during the year. Inspite of vigorous anti-malarial measures, 21 persons among members and 42 persons among non-members suffered from malaria.

Special attention was given this year to vegetable gardening, which has been taken up by 15 different families who were supplied with 100 Banana, 250 Papaya and 10 Lemon plants free of charge from Sriniketan Farm. These 15 families prepared their own plots, and do not any longer feel it beneath their dignity to work in the garden with their own hands. Other villagers became gradually interested and have prepared their plots for the next year crop.

Mr. L. K. Elmhirst visited the place in February and expressed his satisfaction with the work done by the Samiti.

Islampur. Sj. Adhir Kumar Majumdar was in charge.

The total population is 176 in 42 families. A Health Society was organized in May, 1930 and the total number of members of the Samiti at the end of the year was 159 from 33 families. 9 meetings of the Samiti were held during the year.

134 society members were treated with quinine regularly while 25 members refused to take quinine. During malaria season 35 members (26%) among quinine-takers and 11 members (44%) among non-takers suffered from malaria.

The Birbhum District Board granted Rs. 70/- to this Samiti for anti-malarial work. Along with the Health Society the villagers also organized one Co-operative Credit and one Co-operative Irrigation Society in this village.

Santal Village. Sj. Baidyanath Ghose was in charge.

The total population is 172 in 37 families. All the members are Santal. The members of the Samiti thoroughly repaired the main road of the village and also opened all the drains of the village during rainy season. 7 Dobas had been regularly kerosinized. The members took quinine regularly during the malaria season. But owing to the virulent out-break of malaria throughout the whole district, the malarial percentage rose very high.

Plantain and Banana plants were introduced in the Santal houses. A common plot was also selected for cotton and most of the Santal villagers tried their utmost to make it a successful one.

A credit society which had been organized in 1929 with 24 Santal members worked satisfactorily. The members of the society met 11 times during the year to discuss about the society's business. The members saved Rs. 20/7/6 in their Home Saving Boxes which were distributed by the society.

A primary school was also run by the worker in this village. The total number of students in this school was 22. Besides reading and writing, the boys were also taught weaving, nature study, observation, and gardening. A Brati-Balaka troop was organized with Santal boys.

Tape, Durry and Carpet making were introduced in 10 families. The standard of production was high, and some of the families are making a decent income out of it. 7 Charkas were also distributed among them for spinning.

Mr. G. S. Dutt, I. C. S., Collector of Birbhum, who visited the Santal School, was much pleased with its work, and gave a donation of Rs. 10/-.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION.

Santosh Bihari Bose was in charge of the Agricultural Department throughout the year. He also helped as a teacher of Botany in the Santiniketan College.

Farm.

Paddy.—In the Paddy Section green-manuring with Dhanchia at the rate of 3 seers per bigha was continued as in previous years, but was supplemented with AmmoPhos at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers per bigha, applied at the time of puddling. This had a beneficial effect on the yield of grain and straw. Instead of nine stalks to a branch normally, it tillered

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fifteen stalks to a single branch on an average. There were 153 fully developed grains to a ear on an average in the place of 121 normally.

Sugarcane.—In the Sugercane section, the CO (213) gave promising results. On an actual area of $\frac{1}{2}$ bigha harvested, an outturn of 23 maunds of fine 'Gur' was obtained and a sum of Rs. 203-9-9 was actually received by selling it. A mixture of Castor cake 3 mds. and Amphos $7\frac{1}{2}$ seers was used as manure. A noticeable feature was the complete absence of any mosaic disease; the number of arrowing of flowerheads was also extremely small.

Potato.—In the Potato section, the same manure was used as in the case of Sugarcane with similar results, so far as the yield and the prevention of Fungus diseases are concerned.

Potato Storing.—In the Potato storing section a further decrease in the total loss of weight as well as loss from damages caused by fungi and insects, and the maintenance of the colour of the skin of the tubers had been noticed. It is also gratifying to note that under the direction of the Director of Agriculture and the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Burdwan Division, our Potato seeds had been widely consumed specially for early sowing throughout the province of Bengal as well as in other provinces like Bihar and Orissa, and the United Provinces.

Agricultural Education.—Systematic classes were held both in the laboratory and in the field. The total number of students was 10, of whom 2 had read up to the B.A., 1 up to the I.Sc., and 6 up to the Matriculation Standard, and 1 was a stipend-holder from Hyderabad.

Queries from different parts of the country were attended to, and a scheme of agricultural training for college students was drawn up for the Hindu Academy, Daulatpore.

Farm Extension.—The soil of most of the plots of the newly acquired area is sandy in nature, and is deficient in organic as well as in colloid matters. About 200 acres are being laid out for the present for crops, and a few apprentices are being trained in Tractor ploughing in this area.

Cowpea was sown in all the plots, about half of which were also green-manured with Dhanchia. Heavy showers of rain in July and August hampered the growth of the crop, and practically the whole of it was destroyed by fungus disease. But whatever remained gave very fine quality of seeds, which have been kept for next year's sowing.

In certain villages early paddy seeds and plantain suckers were supplied to almost every householder, while Leghorn and Chittagong eggs and cocks were also given to them for grading purposes.

The Bengal Sericulture Department planted 500 Mulberry cuttings on an area of about 3 bighas of land.

Dairy.—In the year under review practically the whole of the old stock of cows purchased from the Calcutta market was disposed off. Only four cross-bred heifers were retained. The average yield of milk was about 3 maunds per month, *i.e.*, four seers per day, for an average period of nearly five months, that is, a total output of about 15 maunds. There was no provision for green feeds except in September, when a mixture of green Juar and Cowpea was fed in addition to usual concentrates. The total yield of the green weight of the fodder (Jaur and Cowpea) was 103 maunds on an area of about half an acre of land.

Poultry.—In this section two separate new Breeding Pens, one for Chittagongs and one for White Leghorns, have been started. Arrangements have also been made for trap-nesting these birds. Chittagongs have hitherto been considered for weight, meat and hardiness, but attempts are now being made to increase the egg-laying capacity. A system of grading of birds have been introduced in two Santal villages. In one village 'Deshi' cocks have been replaced entirely by Chittagongs, and in the other by Leghorns. About 300 White Leghorn eggs and 30 Chittagong eggs for setting purpose were supplied to about forty-two families in 3 other Santal villages.

Attempt is being made to grow different kinds of feeds in the Farm, and villagers are being encouraged to do so on their own plots. The main idea is to encourage mass production of eggs on a commercial scale, while our Breeding Pens will produce birds that will keep up the strain.

A large number of Chittagong and White Leghorn pullets and laying hens were sold this year in different parts of India, and a number of orders could not be complied with for shortage of stock.

EDUCATION SECTION.

The number of students and apprentices who have been receiving instruction during the year in the various departments of the institution is shown below:—Agriculture (9), Poultry (5), Lacquer Work (2), Tan-

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nerly (1), Village Welfare (1), Carpentry (1), Weaving (18), Girls' School (42), Siksha-Satram (32).

The Girls' School is non-residential and in the Weaving section and the Siksha-Satram there were 8 and 12 day-students respectively. The Hyderabad State has sent a scholar for training in village work.

Besides practical work, the advanced students are required to attend two periods of class work daily distributed among the following subjects: agriculture, hygiene, rural economics, Brati-Balaka movement, social and educational psychology. They have a free access to a fairly well-equipped library.

The students have formed a Chhatra-Sangha (Students' Union) which has added a great deal to the social life of the institution. Social gatherings are held every fortnight. The students assist in the sanitation and anti-malaria work of the institution. For their less advanced fellow-students, they hold regular evening classes, in which a few of the members of the staff join as visiting teachers. A Students' Fund for helping the needy has been started through their own initiative. The sports record is encouraging, the Volley Ball team defeated Serampore, Y.M.C.A., etc., and remains unbeaten hitherto.

Siksha-Satram.—There were 32 pupils of whom 12 were day-students. Coming from very poor homes and an environment where life is at its lowest ebb, neglected, repressed, misguided, on the one hand, diseased, ill-nourished and with poor vitality on the other, their mind as well as their body have been demanding our constant attention. What we have been able to offer towards their physical nourishment, though perhaps much better than what they get at home, is far from adequate. It has been our effort to make their minds alert to the environment and rouse in them initiative and sustained efforts for useful activities.

As most of the boys are below the average "mental age," emphasis is being laid on manual work. Also it is our aim to find out how far the boys can contribute towards the cost of their education and maintenance. The boys spend the whole morning in manual work. Fourteen of them are in the Weaving section working on saris, towels, carpets and tapes. Three of the boys are apprentices in Carpentry, while four of them are in the Santiniketan Press. One is making good progress in tailoring, and two of them can manage our 'Tractor.'

The manual training is supplemented with general education in the afternoon and evening. Project method is largely used thereto. The

sports record of the boys, in the last annual rally, has been promising. The boys are also helping in the sanitation of the institution.

The group consciousness is gradually emerging and we have been able to transfer a certain portion of the responsibility to the boys themselves. We are trying to keep in touch with the attainments and aspirations of the guardians in order to steer clear of the difficulties, through which the institution, in the past, has had to pass. We hope to give back to the rural communities boys healthier and more serviceable than we received from them. It is, however, too early yet to say anything regarding the results of our endeavours.

Girls' School.—The school provides free education to 42 girls from the neighbouring villages. Schooling is given up to the Upper Primary Standard, but special stress is laid on practical training in sewing, embroidery, other forms of needle work, weaving and gardening. Four girls completed the training in Weaving, and one of them obtained a scholarship in the Lower Primary examination of the district.

All the girls are day scholars, their age varying from six to twelve. Unlike most of the rural boys they are very keen on their school and most regular in attendance. They are encouraged to be free and easy, to play various games, and lead a cheerful life in school.

WEAVING SECTION.

Manindra Chandra Sen Gupta was in charge throughout the year. The work of this department has been steadily progressing.

Charka and Takli.—We have not been behind hand in taking advantage of the enthusiasm of the local people who were eager to learn spinning and weaving. In fact, at present spinning by 'Takli' and 'Charka' has so much captured the imagination of the people of the neighbouring town and the surrounding villages, and yarn is produced in such great quantity that it is difficult to cope with production. During the last few months about 150 lbs. of hand-spun yarn was received from the locality and over 40 lbs. from Burdwan and Calcutta for being woven into 'Saris' and 'Dhotis.' No charge was made for this work.

Carpets and Durries.—Attention was also paid to the production of better qualities of articles with fine cotton and silk yarn and Carpets and Durries of original designs supplied by the artists of the Kala-Bhavana.

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Training Classes.—Regular classes were held for the instruction of boys and village apprentices. The number of students in this department during the last 12 months is shown below:—

Students from Birbhum District 23; from other districts 8; Ushagram Mission, Asansol 1; Pakur Mission 6 (including 5 girls); Azimganj Co-operative Bank 1; Santiniketan Kalabhavana 6 (including 2 girls); and Sriniketan Siksha-satram 10.

Old Students.—It is gratifying to note that some of the students trained by us have obtained appointment in different Institutions in various districts of Bengal. Two of our old boys are now engaged as demonstrators in the "Swadeshi Bastra Pratisthan" in Calcutta, and one is working as the weaving teacher in the "Maha-Nirvana Matha" at Nalhati. The American Mission at Ushagram, Asansol, has engaged one of our workers. The girls from Pakur Mission after finishing their short course here are now working in the Santal Pargannas. Another girl has been engaged by Saroj Nalini Women's Association.

Extension Work.—Weaving centres started by us in different villages were regularly inspected. Five women in Santalgram and six in Surul have been producing beautiful carpets and 'saris' in their home. Yarn was also supplied to seven village weavers who worked under our direction and produced articles according to our designs. Fifteen *Charkas* were distributed in five villages on condition that the yarn produced would be sold to our department.

TANNERY.

Sachimohan Bhowmick was in charge of this section. The experiments that were started last year for the manufacture of leather articles such as handbags, sandals, portfolios, cushions with embroidery work etc. proved very successful, and found a ready market. It is encouraging to find how women from even Brahmin families in villages are now eagerly learning and actually doing leather embroidery work according to designs supplied by us, and are earning from 10 to 12 rupees per month. We have at present 11 such village workers connected with us. Three students, one from Ballavpore and the remaining two from Santiniketan and Bogra, are learning the methods of tanning raw hides.

Village tanning centres were regularly supervised, and every possible help was given to local muchis who after finishing their training here desired to start small tanneries in their own villages. Enquiries

were also received from outside regarding a suitable scheme for starting small tanneries.

CRAFTS DEPARTMENT.

P. Hariharan, who was in charge, left for Japan last March and Miss Indusudha Ghose, a girl student of Santiniketan Kalabhavana, was appointed in his place. Sachimohan Bhowmick of the Tannery Section looked after the business side and the general management of this section. Tile making and Pottery which were started last year had to be closed temporarily for want of funds.

Lacquer Work.—The work of this department suffered to a great extent due to the frequent absence of the workers on account of illness. One of them unfortunately has not yet been able to join.

Attention was given to the training of young students and the progress made was satisfactory. Most of the articles produced were of high order and found a ready market in Calcutta.

Book-Binding.—The Demand for artistic Book-binding is very limited, and in order to keep the whole-time worker of this section fully engaged we have been undertaking job work from private people. The total number of students in this section was 10, among whom 8 were boys from the Siksha-Satram.

Tailoring & Embroidery Work.—About 50 girls from the neighbouring villages who attend the Girls' School at Sriniketan are given regular instruction in cutting, sewing and embroidery. About a dozen women of the three Mahila Samitis at Ballavpore, Surul and Goalpara respectively, are also making good progress in embroidery work on silk and leather articles. The village Samitis are visited regularly and the members are helped with new designs and suggestions. The marketing of finished articles is undertaken by the institution.

WORKSHOP.

The present workshop which occupies the entire Northern and Eastern portion of the Hall of Industry has been fitted up with necessary equipments for undertaking job works, and also for imparting elementary training to boys who come for the purpose. At present there are 5 apprentices in this department.

The following courses of training are proposed to be introduced for the students of this department from the next session.

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(a) *Practical Classes.*—Carpentry, Smithy, Lathe Work, Polishing, Grinding, Fitting, Mechanical Drawing, and Surveying. Opportunities will be given to students to attend Power House, and to learn driving the Tractor, and Oil Engines.

(b) *Theoretical Classes.*—Elementary Mechanics, Elementary Physics, Library Work and Night Schools for village apprentices.

Machine Shop.—In the Machine Shop proper, the following machines have been fitted up with proper line shaft and counter shafts and all of them are now in working order:—

1 Metal Lathe; 1 Wood Lathe; 1 Drill; 1 Polishing Machine; 1 Grinding Machine; and 1 large Hack-saw Machine.

Power House.—At present we have two Oil Engines, one 8 H. P. and the other 17 H. P. The smaller one is now used daily to supply light while the installation of the bigger one has recently been completed. The two Dynamos that we possess are very old, and give trouble almost every day. In fact the smaller Dynamo (3.5 K. W.) needs thorough repair and rewinding.

Carpentry Shop.—T. Kono is looking after this department and is taking regular classes for Siksha-Satra and other boys.

Considering the financial difficulties, the department has on the whole made good progress. The workshop is now being run by Subodh Chandra Sarkar, who is an experienced foreman, with the help of a smith and a few apprentices that we have been able to secure from the neighbouring villages. The need of a good lathe mistry is keenly felt; one was practically appointed at the beginning of the year, but had to be retrenched for want of funds.

PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT.

Charuchandra Bhattacharya was in charge as Secretary, Publishing Department, throughout the year.

New Publications.—Two new books, *Vanusingher Patrabali* (a collection of letters written by the Poet), and *Gitamalika Part II* (a collection of songs with music), and a large number of reprints were issued during the year. Another book published on behalf of the Kalabhavana (School of Art), *Sahaj Path* Parts I and II, written by the Poet as an introductory primer in Bengali for children and illustrated by Nandalal Bose, has attracted considerable public notice. A notable feature of the year under review was the publication of a series of Text Books written by the Poet himself:—*Pathaprachaya* Parts II, III and IV, *Ingraji Sahaj Siksha* Parts I and II, and *Ingraji Srutisiksha*; 3 of these have been approved as Text Books by the Education Department of Bengal.

Sales.—The sale of publications has shown steady progress, the gross sale in 1929-30 amounting to Rs. 32,402-7-3 against Rs. 29,108-10-6 in 1928-29, and Rs. 27,906-10-6 in 1927-28. The direct sales from the Book-shop increased considerably and thereby a large amount of additional profit was earned. After deducting all working expenses, interest on the loan from the Kalabhavana Fund (Rs. 1,720/-), temporary loan to Kalabhavana (Rs. 248-10-10) and Royalty paid to the General Fund and others (Rs. 7,666-6-0), the net cash profit carried over to the Balance Sheet was Rs. 8,567-13-11 against Rs. 4,345-12-11 in 1928-29, and Rs. 1,826-15-4 in 1927-28. The net value of the stock has increased by Rs. 1,774-0-2 (or the retail value by Rs. 7,096-0-8).

Santiniketan Press.—The financial position of the Press remains practically unchanged. After deducting Rs. 360/- paid as interest to the Indian Studies Fund (on account of a capital loan of Rs. 6,000/-) and Rs. 525/- spent in non-recurring charges, there was a working loss of Rs. 194-8-0. This loss was mainly due to the irregular supply of electric current which interfered considerably with proper working of the press machine. It may be noted in this connexion that an oil-engine has been purchased for the Press which will not be dependent in future on any outside agency for the supply of power.

VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY.

Owing to financial stringency no provision had been made for the Visva-Bharati Quarterly in the Revised Budget Estimates adopted in

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March, 1930, and no arrangements were therefore made for its publication after the completion of Volume 7 with the issue of January, 1930. It was, however, decided at a meeting of the Samsad (Governing Body) in September that the Visva-Bharati Quarterly should not cease publication, and should continue to be supplied free of charge to all members of the Visva-Bharati. The Kárma-Samiti decided that future issues of the journal would be published in parts, four to the year reckoned from October to September in conformity with the financial year of the Visva-Bharati, and Parts I and II of Volume 8 were published in December. A definite policy of publishing systematically research studies of the Vidya-bhavana (Research Institute) has been adopted, and 4 memoirs have already been published in the Quarterly. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis has been working as the Editor from Volume 7 (1929-30)

APPENDIX A.

List of Donations received during 1929-30.

B. Earmarked Fund.

B/I. Santiniketan Trust Fund.

					Rs. A. P.
Tagore Estate	...	...	...	...	4,609 15 0
	B / 2 / 22.	Sriniketan Fund.			
Mr. L. K. Elmhirst	...	...	...	...	41,323 13 3
National Council of Education	...	...	...	...	1,000 0 0
National Fund	...	...	...	...	325 0 0
Government of Bengal	...	...	...	...	3,000 0 0

B/12/25. Zoroastrian Fund.

Through Mr. D. J. Irani 4,200 0 0

B/13/30. Cheap's Kuthi Fund.

Mr. L. K. Elmhirst 5,000 0 0

C/3/28. Friends Service Council Fund.

Society of Friends 2,132 7 10

C/4/28. President's Fund.

Mr. H. E. Wheeler 50 0 0

Mr. E. C. Benthal 10 0 0
G. W. 50 0 0

under Drosophilids

Manager, Bank of India Ltd. ... 11 8 0

dia Ltd., Amritsar ...

M. S. W. Goode 20 0 0
Collection through M. 2 0 0

S. C. Kar ...

H. H. The Rajah of Dhenkanal, Orissa 1,000 0 0

itter

Mr. A. P. Sen 500 0 0

Sir Al... 1... 7... 10...

Dr. Bhagirath Ghose

B. M. Risbith ... 10 0
Mr. N. Bakshi ... 20 0 0

... " " "

A. W. Henry 10 0 0

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			RS.	A.	P.
Mr. Srinivash Malgujar	5	0	0
Mr. Harikisen Das	20	0	0
Mr. & Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai	1,500	0	0
Seth Manuklal Masukbhai	...	...	1,000	0	0
Seth Lalbai Dalpatbhai	...	...	1,000	0	0
Sir Chunibhai Madholal	...	...	700	0	0
Seth Hiralal Tricamlal	...	...	700	0	0
Girdharidas Hariballav Das Trust Fund	...	...	500	0	0
Seth Gopal Das Mambhai	...	...	501	0	0
Seth Maranbhai Manibhai	...	...	500	0	0
Messrs. P. M. Hathising & Co.	...	...	500	0	0
Seth Sankerlal Ballavbhai	...	...	300	0	0
Dr. Ramanlal Patel	...	...	50	0	0
Mr. S. Ganguly	...	...	1,000	0	0
Mr. Saneal Bachhar	...	...	200	0	0
Mr. Chottelal B. Patel	...	...	100	0	0
Mr. D. Hora	...	...	25	0	0
Principal, St. John's College, Agra	...	...	115	0	0
Principal, Agra College	...	...	200	0	0
Mr. P. C. Mukherjee	...	...	65	0	0
Raja Said Md. Loadatali Khan	...	...	50	0	0
Rev. U. Ottama	...	...	15	0	0
H. H. Maharajah of Awagarh	...	...	9,975	0	0
H. H. Maharaja of Pithapuram	...	...	1,000	0	0
Mr. Mehta Udhadas	...	...	20	0	0
Dr. N. N. Sen	...	...	1,000	0	0
Mr. J. P. Sreevastava	...	...	1,000	0	0
„ R. B. B. Vikramajit Singh	...	...	250	0	0
„ A. Grezo	...	...	300	0	0
„ L. Rameswara Prasad Bagia	...	...	250	0	0
„ Lakshminarayan Girdharilal	...	...	250	0	0
„ Kasiram Kanuhailala	...	...	200	0	0
„ Lala Chunilal Maheswari	...	...	131	0	0
„ Nehalchand Baldeosahai	...	...	250	0	0
„ Hiralal Khanna	...	...	50	0	0
A Friend	...	...	50	0	0

					Rs.	A.	P.
Mr. S. S. Gill	...	...	...	...	51	0	0
„ Narayan Prasad Nigam	...	...	...	...	51	0	0
„ Jagadish Prasad	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
„ P. C. Kapoor	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
„ S. C. Chatterjee	...	...	...	...	71	2	3
Baroda State	...	...	...	...	383	8	0
Received through Mr. C. F. Andrews	...	...	...	...	3,500	0	0
„ „ „ S. N. Kar	...	...	...	...	110	0	0
„ „ „ Susil Kumar Ghosh	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
„ „ „ S. N. Kar	...	...	...	...	738	6	0
Jujitsu fees from Students	...	...	...	...	270	0	0
Sale of autographed photos	...	...	...	...	95	0	0
Sale of Poems & Pictures	...	...	...	...	12	8	0
Sale of Canvas	...	...	...	...	1	8	0
Interest on Investment	...	...	...	...	148	10	6
Miscellaneous Donation Collected by the Founder-President	...	...	...	...	3,375	0	6
Total...	...	...	...	...	34,666	2	9

C. General Donations.

Date.

4-1-30.	Mr. F. Armstrong	...	...	...	54	3	3
30-6-30.	Mrs. Reba Sarkar	...	...	...	50	0	0
2-7-30.	Mr. Hiran Kumar Sanyal	...	...	...	25	0	0
23-7-30.	Bansda State	...	...	...	500	0	0
24-9-30.	Miss E. Bompus	...	...	...	6	15	0
	Theosophical Publishing, Madras	...	...	...	7	0	0
	Mr. V. J. Scrutiniet	...	...	...	20	14	0
	Rabindranath Tagore	1,900	0	0
	Do. Do.	4,888	13	0
27-9-30.	Mr. Nandalal Kalidas	50	0	0
					7,502	13	3

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D. Earmarked Donations.				Rs.	A.	P.
Government of Bengal	5,000	0	0
Mr. Jagadananda Roy	125	0	0
Bhandarkar Research Institute	...	...	...	600	0	0
Malay Donation	...	...	...	7,725	12	9
Proceeds of 'Tapati'	...	...	...	3,942	0	0
				17,392	12	9

E. Annual Grants.

1-5-30. Tipperah State	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
23-7-30. Baroda State	...	...	...	6,000	0	0
				7,000	0	0

Summary.

B. Earmarked Funds	...	...	...	96,257	6	10
C. General Donations	...	...	...	7,502	13	3
D. Earmarked Donations	...	...	...	17,392	12	9
E. Annual Grants	...	...	...	7,000	0	0
				1,28,153	0	10

APPENDIX B.

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

Rabindranath Tagore, Nilratan Sircar, Hirendra Nath Dutta, Pramatha Choudhury, Surendranath Tagore, Rathindranath Tagore, Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis (*Karma-Sachiva*), Narendra Nath Law (*Artha-Sachiva*, upto 16-9-30) and Indubhushan Sen (*Artha-Sachiva*, from 17-9-30 to Dec., 1930).

APPENDIX C.

MEMBERS OF THE SAMSAD (GOVERNING BODY), 1930.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President) : Rabindranath Tagore.

Upacharya (Vice-President) : Surendranath Tagore.

Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) : Narendranath Law (upto 16-9-30).

Indubhushan Sen (from 17-9-30 to Dec., 1930).

Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) : Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis.

Santiniketan-Sachiva (Local Secretary, Santiniketan) : Pramadaranjan Ghose.

Sriniketan-Sachiva-(Local Secretary, Sriniketan) : Rathindranath Tagore.

Secretary, Publishing Board : Charuchandra Bhattacharya.

Ordinary Members.

For 1930 : Debendramohan Bose, Amal Home, Jagadananda Ray, Vidhu-shekha Bhattacharya, Nepalchandra Ray, Mrs. Kiranbala Sen.

For 1930 and 1931 : Pramathanath Banerjee, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Kshitmohan Sen, Kalidas Nag, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jitendra Mohan Sen, Sisir Kumar Mitra, Indubhushan Sen.

Members from outside Bengal (for 1930) : A. P. Sen, Ambalal Sarabhai, R. Uchida, M. R. Jayakar.

Elected under Statute 14 (i) (for 1930) : Miss Hembala Sen, Nandalal Bose, Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee, Nalin Chandra Ganguly, F. Benoit, C. F. Andrews.

Representatives.

Santiniketan-Samiti (for 1930) : E. W. Ariam, Gourgopal Ghose, Surendranath Kar.

Sriniketan-Samiti (for 1930) : Santoshbihari Bose.

For 1930 and 1931 : Kalimohan Ghose.

Co-opted Members.

For 1930 : A. C. Banerjee, Surendranath Mallik, Jatindranath Basu, Amiya Kumar Sen, Susobhan Chandra Sarkar.

APPENDIX D.

MEMBERS OF THE KARMA-SAMITI (EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE), 1930.

Ex-officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President) : Rabindranath Tagore.

Upacharya (Vice-President) : Surendranath Tagore.

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Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) : Narendranath Law (up to 16-9-30).

Indubhushan Sen (from 17-9-30 to Dec., 1930).

Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) : Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis.

Ordinary Members.

Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Debendramohan Bose, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Surendranath Kar, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Nepal Chandra Ray, I. B. Sen, Jitendramohan Sen, Rathindranath Tagore.

APPENDIX E.

MEMBERS OF THE SANTINIKETAN-SAMITI, 1930.

Rabindranath Tagore, Narendranath Law (upto 16-9-30), Indubhushan Sen (from 17-9-30 to Dec., 1930), Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Rabindranath Tagore, Pramodaranjan Ghose, Sisir Kumar Mitra, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Jagadananda Ray, Prabhat Kumar Mukherji, Satyajiban Pal, Surendranath Kar, Nagendranarayan Choudhury, Manomohan De, Hemabala Sen, Nalin Chandra Ganguly, Nepal Chandra Ray, E. W. Ariam, Gour Gopal Ghose, Tanayendranath Ghosh, Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya, Kalimohan Ghose.

APPENDIX F.

MEMBERS OF THE SRINIKETAN-SAMITI, 1930.

Rabindranath Tagore, Narendranath Law (upto 16-9-30), Indubhushan Sen (from 17-9-30 to Dec., 1930), Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Rathindranath Tagore, Pramadaranjan Ghose, Jagadananda Roy, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Sisir Kumar Mitra, Gour Gopal Ghose, Kalimohan Ghose, Santosh Bihari Bose, Jitendra Chandra Chakravorty, Dhirananda Roy, Manindra Chandra Roy, Manindra Chandra Sen, Surendranath Kar.

APPENDIX G.

MEMBERS OF THE PUBLISHING BOARD, 1930.

Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Ramananda Chatterji, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Apurva Kumar Chanda, Amal Home, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Hiran Kumar Sanyal, Rathindranath Tagore, Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya, Kishorimohan Sautra.

APPENDIX H.

MEMBERS OF THE SAMSAD (GOVERNING BODY), 1931.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President) : Rabindranath Tagore.*Upacharya (Vice-President)* : Surendranath Tagore.*Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer)* : Indubhushan Sen.

Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) : Rathindranath Tagore.

Santiniketan-Sachiva (Local Secretary, Santiniketan) : Promoda Ranjan Ghose.

Sriniketan-Sachiva (Local Secretary, Sriniketan) : Gourgopal Ghose.

Secretary, Publishing Board : Charuchandra Bhattacharya.

Ordinary Members.

For 1931 : Pramathanath Banerjee, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Kshitimohan Sen, Kalidas Nag, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jitendra Mohan Sen, Sisir Kumar Mitra.

For 1931-1932 : Debendramohan Bose, Amal Home, Surendranath Mallik, Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, Kishorimohan Santra, Amiya Kumar Sen, Susobhan Chandra Sarkar.

Members from outside Bengal (for 1931) : Atul Prosad Sen, Ambalal Sarabhai, M. R. Jayakar, Martin Bodmer.

Elected under Statute 14 (i) (for 1931) : Hembala Sen, Nandalal Bose, Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee, Nalin Chandra Ganguly, Jagadananda Ray, Jatindra-nath Bose.

Representatives.

Santiniketan-Samiti (for 1931-1932) : Surendranath Kar, Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, Nepal Chandra Ray.

Sriniketan-Samiti (for 1931) : Kalimohan Ghosh.

(for 1931-1932) : Santosh Bihari Bose.

Co-Opted Members.

For 1931 : A. C. Banerjee, Bijoy Bihari Mukherjee, Asha Adhikari.

Nominated Member.

For 1931 : G. S. Dutt, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis.

APPENDIX I.

MEMBERS OF THE KARMA-SAMITI (EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE), 1931.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President) : Rabindranath Tagore.

Upacharya (Vice-President) : Surendranath Tagore.

Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) : Indubhusan Sen.

Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) : Rathindranath Tagore.

Ordinary Members.

Promodaranjan Ghosh, Gourgopal Ghosh, Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Debendramohan Bose, Sunitikumar Chatterjee, Sudhirkumar Lahiri, Nepalchandra Roy, Jitendramohan Sen.

APPENDIX J.

MEMBERS OF SANTINIKETAN-SAMITI, 1931.

Rabindranath Tagore, Indubhusan Sen, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Gourgopal Ghosh, Promodaranjan Ghosh, Kshitimohan Sen, Sunitikumar Chatterjee, Asha Devi, Tanayendranath Ghosh, E. W. Ariam, Surendranath Kar, Nandalal Bose, Nepalchandra Roy, Jagadananda Roy, Rathindranath Tagore, Vidushekha Bhattacharya, Nalinchandra Ganguly, Hembala Sen, Kalimohan Ghosh.

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APPENDIX K.

MEMBERS OF THE SRINIKETAN-SAMITI, 1931.

Rabindranath Tagore, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Indubhushan Sen, Promodaranjan Ghosh, Gourgopal Ghosh, Kalimohan Ghosh, Santosh Bihari Bose, J. Chakravarty, Sudhirkumar Lahiri, Joytishchandra Ghosh, Jagadananda Roy, Rathindranath Tagore, Surendranath Kar, Dharendranath Roy, Manindra Chandra Roy.

APPENDIX L.

MEMBERS OF THE PUBLISHING BOARD, 1931.

Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Ramananda Chatterjee, Sunitikumar Chatterjee, Amal Home, Sudhirkumar Lahiri, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Hiran Kumar Sanyal, Rathindranath Tagore, Vidhushekha Bhattacharya, Kishorimohan Santra, Debendramohan Bose.

APPENDIX M.

**VISVA-BHARATI
BALANCE SHEET
AND
ACCOUNTS**

For the year ending 30th September, 1930.

**RAY & RAY
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS
6, Church Lane,
CALCUTTA.**

Dated the 13th December, 1930.

The Secretary,
 Visva-Bharati,
 Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

We have compiled the attached Balance Sheet and Accounts of Visva-Bharati for the year ending 30th September, 1930, from the books and vouchers presented to us and from the information and explanations supplied, and we have signed the Balance Sheet subject to the following report:—

1. *Kalabhavana Fund*.—The Kalabhavana Income and Expenditure account has been incorporated in the Santiniketan Income and Expenditure account and the deficit on this account has been carried to the General Revenue Account.

In this connexion, we think that the old deficit on this account amounting to Rs. 7,180-4-9 should be written off against the General Revenue Account, if it is now decided that no separate Income and Expenditure account need be prepared for this fund.

2. *Limbdi*.—The whole of Rs. 10,000/- of this Fund has been drawn by the General Fund, and the General Fund has allowed interest at the rate of 6% to this fund.

3. *Caution Money*.—Rs. 1,113-8-0. This amount is included in the General deposit at Santiniketan. We have not been able to verify the exact liability under this head for want of detail information. In our opinion a detailed list should be prepared containing the names of students to whom the amounts are due.

4. *Government Paper & Port Trust Debenture*.—The Government Paper and Port Trust Debenture have been shown on the Balance Sheet at their face value, except in the case of the Government Paper held on account of the Nizam's Fund, which is shown at cost and includes the interest paid for on the date of purchase.

5. *Outstanding at Santiniketan*.—This includes a sum of Rs. 7,425-3-9 being Tution Fees outstanding which we could not verify and we are not sure how far the same is realisable. In this connexion we would like to

draw your attention to our remarks under the head of Tution Fees in our previous report.

6. *General Notes (Santiniketan).*—All the departmental bills must be checked and signed by some responsible person and the work certificate duly signed by the heads of the departments before the same is passed for payment.

No voucher was produced for detail payments made by Secretary, Sanitation Committee for Sanitation work.

7. *The amount of Rs. 118-14-9* was paid to Director, Kala-bhavana as royalty by Publishing Department but has not been credited to Kala-bhavana Fund.

8. *Interest on Investment.*—Except Nobel Prize Fund no outstanding interest have been taken into the accounts.

9. *Capital Expenditure.*—We find from the budget that Capital expenditure whether at Santiniketan or Sriniketan can only be made under the authority of the General Secretary at Calcutta, but during this year Rs. 2,444-13-9 has been spent at Santiniketan for Hostel Furniture, and also Rs. 2,153-1-9 has been spent by Sriniketan out of Revenue for Capital expenditure kept in suspense for which we have seen no proper authority.

10. *President Fund.*—We have not vouched any payments or Receipts of President Fund which has been incorporated to General Account as per statement of Santiniketan and also could not verify its balance with Visva-Bharati Central Co-operative Bank. It appears that out of Rs. 3,118-2-6 shown in the Balance Sheet under Visva-Bharati Central Co-operative Bank, Rs. 425-5-6 belongs to General Fund.

Yours faithfully,
RAY AND RAY.

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BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930.

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BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.				PROPERTY AND ASSETS.			
Brought forward		A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	
SURPLUS OF FUND INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT—		... 10,47,486	0 11	10,47,486	0 11	10,47,486	0 11
Prosad Night School Fund	... 93	4	0	Brought forward	... 7,05,883	5 8	
Pestonji P. Pocha Fund	... 199	4	0	SUNDAY FUND INVESTMENTS—	... 7,05,883	5 8	
Aruna Amita Fund	... 872	13	6	WITH BENGAL PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK LTD.—	... 7,05,883	5 8	
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6	Kalabhabana (Art) ...	8,900	0 0	
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0	Indian Studies Fund ...	4,000	0 0	
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2	Prosad Night School Fund ...	1,000	0 0	
President Fund	... 2,692	13	0	Sharman History Fund ...	2,000	0 0	
LOAN TO GENERAL FUND (AS PER CONTRA)—	6,308	13	2	Library Fund ...	2,000	0 0	
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 10,000	0	0	Kalabhabana Fund (Music) ...	1,000	0 0	
Sriniketan Grant Fund	... 12,245	15	1	With IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA—	18,900	0 0	
Publishing Department	... 10,054	7	7	Pearson Hospital Fund ...	... 231	10 11	
DEPOSIT AT GENERAL OFFICE (AS PER CONTRA)—	32,300	6	8	With PATISAR KRISHI BANK—	... 231	10 11	
Pestonji P. Pocha Fund	... 204	4	0	Nobel Prize Fund ...	1,12,000	0 0	
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4	Kadoori Water Works Fund ...	5,269	9 6	
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6	Pearson Hospital Fund ...	1,291	3 4	
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6	Kalabhabana ...	14,310	7 8	
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0	IN GOVERNMENTS PAPER AND PORT TRUST DEBENTURES—	1,32,871	4 6	
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2	Nizam's Fund ...	1,01,145	1 2	
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0	Kalabhabana Fund ...	31,209	0 0	
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0	Aruna Amita Endowment ...	10,000	0 0	
Collection	... 3,680	14	6	Bai Hira Bai Fund ...	9,000	0 0	
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4	Pestonji P. Pocha Fund ...	5,000	0 0	
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6	Kalabhabana Fund to Publishing Department ...	26,000	0 0	
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6	Indian Studies Fund to Printing Press ...	6,000	0 0	
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0	Kalabhabana Fund to Publishing Department ...	32,000	0 0	
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306	2	0				
Society of Friends	... 646	5	2				
Prosad Night School Fund	... 98	4	0				
Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59	1	0				
Collection	... 3,680	14	6				
Sharman History Fund	... 0	13	4				
Aruna Amita Endowment	... 782	13	6				
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498	3	6				
Bai Hira							

VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.				PROPERTY AND ASSETS.			
Brought forward	... ADVANCE FROM GENERAL OFFICE (AS PER CONTRA)	A. P.	Rs. 10,89,776	A. P. 3 3	Brought forward LOAN TO GENERAL FUND (AS PER CONTRA)—	A. P. ... ADVANCE FROM GENERAL OFFICE (AS PER CONTRA)—	Rs. 10,000
Sharman History Fund	... 15 4 5	7,608 14 8	7,608 14 8	Sharman History Fund	... 15 4 3	7,608 14 8	10,46,231 6 3
Kalabhaavan Fund	... 3,708 6 9	3,708 6 9	3,708 6 9	Kalabhaavan Fund	... 15 4 3	3,708 6 9	
Santiniketan Trust	... 344 7 9	344 7 9	344 7 9	Santiniketan Trust	... 3,708 6 9	3,708 6 9	
Ratan Kuthi	... 8,684 10 0	8,684 10 0	8,684 10 0	Ratan Kuthi	... 344 7 9	344 7 9	
Birla Kuthi	... 3,284 15 2	3,284 15 2	3,284 15 2	Birla Kuthi	... 8,684 10 0	8,684 10 0	
Nizam Fund	... 111 9 9	111 9 9	111 9 9	Nizam Fund	... 3,284 15 2	3,284 15 2	
Kadoorji Water Works	... 28,758 4 4	28,758 4 4	28,758 4 4	Kadoorji Water Works	... 111 9 9	111 9 9	
BENGAL NATIONAL BANK LTD. (IN LIQUIDATION)—	14,972 7 0	95 11 9	95 11 9	DEPOSIT AT GENERAL OFFICE (AS PER CONTRA)—	23,758 4 4	23,758 4 4	
IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA (GENERAL OFFICE)—				Pestonji P. Pochha Fund	... 204 4 0	204 4 0	
DEPOSITS—				Sharman History Fund	... 0 13 4	0 13 4	
At Santiniketan (as per last Account)	... 2,204 9 1	2,204 9 1	2,204 9 1	Aruna Amita Endowment Fund	... 872 13 6	872 13 6	
,, General Office	... 65 11 0	65 11 0	65 11 0	Limbdi Sanatorium Fund	... 1,498 3 6	1,498 3 6	
LIABILITY—				Bai Hira Bai Fund	... 306 2 0	306 2 0	
At General Office	... 125 0 0	125 0 0	125 0 0	Pearson Hospital Fund	... 59 1 0	59 1 0	
,, Santiniketan	... 3,224 9 11	3,224 9 11	3,224 9 11	Society of Friends Fund	... 646 5 2	646 5 2	
SUSPENSE AT GENERAL OFFICE	...			Prosad Night School Fund	... 93 4 0	93 4 0	
				LOAN FROM GENERAL FUND TO PRINTING PRESS—	3,680 14 6	3,680 14 6	
				GENERAL INVESTMENTS—	14,524 15 3	14,524 15 3	
				Government Paper	... 100 0 0	100 0 0	
				Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank, Ltd.	... 1,500 0 0	1,500 0 0	
				Shares in Santiniketan Samavaya Bhandar	... 170 0 0	170 0 0	
				Shares of Co-operative Bank	... 300 0 0	300 0 0	
				Postal Savings Bank	... 16 9 7	16 9 7	
					2,086 9 7	2,086 9 7	
					11,00,282 1 11	11,00,282 1 11	
				Carried over	...	...
					11,34,258 18 11	11,34,258 18 11	

VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.						
Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.
Brought forward	...	11,34,253	13 11	Brought forward	...	11,00,282
	...			Paddy Stock at Santiniketan	...	1 11
				Stock of Manual Training Production (Santiniketan)	...	135 0
				Live Stock at Santiniketan	...	48 8
				Outstanding at Santiniketan	...	315 0
				Outstanding at General Office	...	9,019 11
				Suspense at General Office	...	3,518 9
				998 11
						6
CASH AT BANKS—						
Imperial Bank of India (Treasurers)	...			217 0	1	
Visva-Bharati Central Co-operative Bank (Santiniketan)	...			1,545 13	9	
Visva-Bharati Central Co-operative Bank	...			3,118 2	6	
CASH IN TRANSIT (SANTINIKETAN)	...			4,881 0	4	
CASH IN HAND (AS CERTIFIED BY SECRETARY)—	...			699 9	3	
General Office	...			117 11	10	
Quarterly Office	...			48 15	8	
						166 11
DEFICIT FROM INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT OF FUNDS						
Kalabhavana Fund (as per last Account)	...			7,180 4	9	
Sharman History Fund	...			15 4	3	
Santiniketan Trust	...			3,708 6	9	
Nizam's Fund	...			3,284 15	2	
				1,100	14	

Carried over

11,34,253 13 11

11 34 958 13 11

VISVA-BHARATI:

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward		...		11,34,258	13 11	SRINIKETAN—					
SRINIKETAN—				PROPERTY AND ASSETS.							
As per last Account		1,56,487	13 8	Brought forward							
<i>Add—Excess of Income over Expenditure from Income and Expenditure Account</i>		5,008	5 11	LAND AT SRINIKETAN							
<i>Add—Capital Grant from Mr. Elmhirst</i>		5,000	0 0	As per last Account ...		17,342	10 3				
<i>Add—Capital Grant from Government of Bengal</i>		5,000	0 0	Since Added ...		2,009	11 0				
LIABILITIES		...		BUILDING AT SRINIKETAN							
As per last Account		1,71,496	3 7	As per last Account ...		1,14,980	12 0				
<i>Less—Depreciation</i>		308	0 0	Since Added ...		5,600	7 6				
		...		WELL (AT CHEAP'S KUTHI)							
				MACHINERIES							
				As per last Account ...		5,392	3 11				
				Less—Depreciation ...		404	6 7				
				4,987		13 4					
				Since Added ...		693	4 9				
				LIBRARY AND MUSEUM (AS PER LAST ACCOUNT)							
				... LABORATORY							
				As per last Account ...		304	11 9				
				Since Added ...		740	7 3				
				FURNITURE AND FITTINGS							
				As per last Account ...		1,569	10 8				
				Less—Depreciation ...		78	7 9				
				1,491		2 11					
				Since Added ...		571	10 9				
				ADVANCE (AS PER LAST ACCOUNT)							
				CARPENTRY AND SMITHY							
				As per last Account ...		663	13 6				
				Since Added ...		424	14 0				
				1,088		11 6					
				Carried over							
				18,06,058		1 6					
				12,86,071		6 5					

VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		PROPERTY AND ASSETS.			
Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward	...	18,06,058	1 6	Brought forward	...
Live Stock	...			1,187	4 0
Stock (Materials)	...			1,941	3 6
Outstanding	...			1,892	2 3
Loan to General Fund	...			12,245	15 1
Suspense	...			2,153	1 9
CASH AND OTHER BALANCES	...			567	0 6
In Hand	...				
At BANK	...				
American Express Co.	...	127	8 9	493	2 9
Visva-Bharati Co-operative Bank	...	365	10 0		
Imprest to Department	...			51	14 0
		18,06,058	1 6		
				13,06,058	1 6
PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT—					
CAPITAL (LOAN FROM KALABHAVANA FUND)		Furniture	...
PROFIT (AS PER LAST ACCOUNT)	...	21,819	9 0	Stock	...
Since Added	...	8,567	18 11	Outside Publication	...
		30,387	6 11	Outstanding	...
				Loan to General Fund (as per last Account)	...
				Loan to Director, Kalabavana	...
				CASH AND BANK BALANCES	
				Cash in Hand	166 5 0
				With American Express Co.	10,297 10 10
				With Bengal Central Bank, Ltd.	699 9 9
Carried over	...				11,163 9 7
					13,62,445 8 5

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VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward	...		13,62,445	8 5	Brought forward	...		13,62,445	8 5
PRINTING PRESS—					PRINTING PRESS—				
Loan from General Fund	...		14,524	15 3	MACHINERIES	...		10,354	3 0
Loan from Indian Studies Fund	...		6,000	0 0	As per last Account	...		10,346	8 3
Advance	...		50	0 0	Less—Depreciation	...		517	5 3
								9,829	3 0
Since Added					Since Added	...		525	0 0
Outstanding					Outstanding	...		1,536	14 0
Cash in Hand					Cash in Hand	...		506	5 3
PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT					PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT	...		8,177	9 0
Previous Year's Loss					Previous Year's Loss	...		7,983	1 0
Since Added					Since Added	...		194	8 0
								13,83,020	7 8
TOTAL	...				TOTAL	...		13,83,020	7 8

We have compiled the above Balance Sheet and attached Accounts from the books and vouchers presented to us and from the information and explanations supplied. Subject to our letter addressed to the Secretary, we are of opinion that the Balance Sheet shows a true and correct view of the Society's affairs as disclosed by the books produced to us in accordance with the information and explanations received.

6, CHURCH LANE,
Calcutta the 13th December, 1930.

RAY & RAY,
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS,
Auditors.

VISVA-BHARATI.

Total Revenue Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
To Deficit from Santiniketan	...		13,298	9 11	By Donation		14,113	14 3
Deficit from Visva-Bharati	...		51 12 3	" Nobel Prize Fund (Interest) ...	7,840	0 0		
Quarterly Contribution to Visva-Bharati	...		" Royalty on Books ...	5,731	2 9			
Quarterly Contribution to Provident Fund	...		" Royalty on Outside Publication ...	4,361	2 0			
Publication	...		" Annual Grant, Tipperah State	1,000	0 0			
Audit Expenses	...		Subscription ...	862	5 0			
Rates and Taxes	...		" Life Members Fund ...	591	13 0			
Travelling	...		" Mahabharat Collation ...	600	0 0			
Postage	...		" Contribution from President ...	2,058	0 9			
Printing	...		" Sale Proceeds of Tapati ...	3,942	0 0			
Stationery	...							
Rent	...		189 2 0					
Light	...		265 15 3					
Establishment	...		124 12 0					
Sundries	...		167 12 9					
Interest	...		332 0 0					
Calcutta Exhibition	...		36 0 0					
Land Acquisition Charges	...		1,068 4 6					
Mahabharat Collation	...		467 8 0					
Annual Meeting	...		1,703 12 2					
Settlement Expenses	...		20 1 0					
Advertisement	...		1,309 9 3					
DEPRECIATION			341 5 6					
On Machinery @ 7½%	...		90 0 0					
,, Furniture @ 5%	...		125 13 0					
Old Advance Written off	...		7 8 0					
Net Surplus to Balance Sheet	...							
TOTAL	...							
							41,100	5 9

VISVA-BHARATI.
SANTINIKETAN.*Total Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.*

To NET DEFICIT AT—	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	By NET SURPLUS FROM—	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Kalabhavana	1,191	3 9	Vidyabhavana	...	...	1,471	0 6
Siksha-Bibhaga	1,984	0 6	Hostel	...	...	441	4 9
Pathabhavana	2,921	15 3	Sports	...	...	321	8 0
Sreebhavana	204	11 3	Kitchen	...	...	921	11 7
Library	2,434	1 9	ADMISSION FEE	...	2,588	8 0	
Swasthyabhavana	400	14 9	Less—Disbursement for	...			
Power House	1,933	11 0	Hostel Furniture	...	2,444	13 9	
Up-Keep	2,847	12 0	Transfer Fee and Fine	...		138	10 3
Office	2,677	15 0	" Interest from Bank	...		34	0 0
Contribution to Asram Sammilani	14	6 3	" Net Deficit transferred to Total Revenue Account	...		4	13 6
Bank Charges	15	15 0	...	...	13,293	9 11	
									16,626 10 6
TOTAL							

VISVA-BHARATI.
SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

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THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY

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To Establishment	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
," Scholarship	6,330 0 0	By Baroda Grant
," Books and Journal	360 0 0	," Zoroastrian Fund
," Zoroastrian Professor	164 5 6	," Interest from Pocha Fund
," Contingencies	3,000 0 0	," Interest from Indian Studies Fund
," Contribution to Provident Fund	140 4 0	...
," Net Surplus to Total Income and Expenditure Account	91 14 0	...
Total	1,471 0 6	Total
			11,557 8 0	11,557 8 0
<hr/>				
VIDYABHAVANA (Art)—				
To Establishment	5,508 0 0	By Tuition Fees
," Miscellaneous	376 14 9	," Hostel Fees
," Hostel Expenses	179 12 3	," Interest from Funds
," Net Surplus to Kalabhabana (Music)	187 12 3	...
Total	6,252 7 3	Total
				6,252 7 3
<hr/>				
KALABHABANA (MUSIC)—				
To Establishment	1,140 0 0	By Interest
," Scholarship	240 0 0	," Transfer from Kalabhabana (Art)
," Miscellaneous	61 8 0	," Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure Account
Total	1,441 8 0	Total
				1,441 8 0
<hr/>				
SIKSHAVIBHAGA—				
To Establishment	5,422 13 6	By Tuition Fees
," Books and Apparatus	109 11 9	," Hostel Fees
," Contingencies	120 11 0	," Sharman History Fund
," Hostel Expenses	239 1 9	," Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure Account
," History Allowance	63 1 6	...
," Contribution to Sriniketan (Laboratory fees	250 0 0	...
," for Science Students) " to Provident Fund	27 13 0	...
," Contribution to Provident Fund	6,333 4 6	Total
				6,333 4 6

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VISVA-BHARATI.
SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

PATHABHAVANA—

	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
To Establishment	...	12,701 1 6	By Tuition Fees	...
" Books and Maps	...	73 3 6	" Contribution from Hostel	...
" Weaving	...	50 0 0	" Contribution from President Fund	...
" Laboratory	...	200 0 0	" Income from Manuel Training Department	...
" Manual Training	...	144 11 6	" Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure	...
" Equipment	...	150 9 6	" Account	...
" Contingencies	...	235 13 3		
" Contribution to Provident Fund	...	167 8 0		
Total	...	13,722 15 3	Total	...
To Establishment	...	1,005 6 6	PATHABHAVANA HOSTEL—	
" Miscellaneous	...	268 4 9	" By Fees	
" Contribution to Pathabavana	...	640 0 0		
" Surplus to Total Income and Expenditure	...	441 4 9		
" Account	...	2,355 0 0	Total	...
Total	...	2,355 0 0	Total	...
To Establishment	...	1,026 0 9	SREEBHAVANA—	
" Fees to Kalabhavana	...	425 0 0	" By Tuition Fees	
" Fees to Sikshabhavana	...	497 8 0	" Hostel Fees	
" Fees to Pathabavana	...	1,769 0 0	" Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure	
" Hostel Expenses	...	428 6 6	" Account	...
" Contingencies	...	11 8 0		
Total	...	4,157 7 3	Total	...
To Establishment	...	2,032 13 0	LIBRARY—	
" Books	...	370 9 6	" Interest from Fund	
" Binding	...	55 0 0	" Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure	
" Contingencies	...	73 8 3	" Account	...
" Contribution to Provident Fund	...	27 3 0		
Total	...	2,559 1 9	Total	...

VISVA-BHARATI.
SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

	Rs.	A. P.	
To Establishment	... ...	... ...
Scholarship	6,330 0 0	By Baroda Grant	... ...
Books and Journal	360 0 0	," Zoroastrian Fund	... ...
Zoroastrian Professor	164 5 6	," Interest from Pocha Fund	... ...
Contingencies	3,000 0 0	," Interest from Indian Studies Fund	... ...
Contribution to Provident Fund	140 4 0		
Net Surplus to Total Income and Expenditure Account	91 14 0		
Total	11,557 8 0	Total	11,557 8 0
To Establishment	... ...	KALABHAVANA (Art) —	
Miscellaneous	... ...	By Tuition Fees	... ...
Hostel Expenses	376 14 9	," Hostel Fees	... ...
Net Surplus to Kalabavana (Music)	179 12 3	," Interest from Funds	... ...
Total	187 12 3	Total	187 12 3
	6,252 7 3		6,252 7 3
To Establishment	... ...	KALABHAVANA (Music) —	
Scholarship	1,140 0 0	By Interest	... ...
Miscellaneous	240 0 0	," Transfer from Kalabavana (Art) ...	... ...
	61 8 0	Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure	... ...
Total	1,441 8 0	Total	1,441 8 0
To Establishment	... ...	SIKSHAVIBHAGA —	
Books and Apparatus	5,422 13 6	By Tuition Fees	... ...
Contingencies	109 11 9	," Hostel Fees	... ...
Hostel Expenses	120 11 0	," Sharman History Fund	... ...
History Allowance	239 1 9	Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure	... ...
Contribution to Sriniketan (Laboratory fees	63 1 6	Account	... ...
for Science Students)	250 0 0		
Contribution to Provident Fund	27 13 0		
Total	6,333 4 6	Total	6,333 4 6

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VISVA-BHARATI.
SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

PATHABHAVANA—

	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
To Establishment	12,701	1 6
,, Books and Maps	73	3 6
,, Weaving	50	0 0
,, Laboratory	200	0 0
,, Manual Training	144	11 6
,, Equipment	150	9 6
,, Contingencies	235	13 3
,, Contribution to Provident Fund	167	8 0
TOTAL	...	18,722 15 3	TOTAL	...
To Establishment	1,005	6 6
,, Miscellaneous	268	4 9
,, Contribution to Pathabhabana	640	0 0
,, Surplus to Total Income and Expenditure Account	441	4 9
TOTAL	...	2,355 0 0	TOTAL	...
To Establishment	1,026	0 9
,, Fees to Kalabhavana	425	0 0
,, Fees to Sikshabhavana	497	8 0
,, Fees to Pathabhabana	1,769	0 0
,, Hostel Expenses	428	6 6
,, Contingencies	11	8 0
TOTAL	...	4,157 7 3	TOTAL	...
To Establishment	2,032	13 0
,, Books	870	9 6
,, Binding	55	0 0
,, Contingencies	73	8 3
,, Contribution to Provident Fund	27	3 0
TOTAL	...	2,559 1 9	Total	...

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VISVA-BHARATI.
SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

SWASTHYABHAYANA—		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
To Establishment	...	2,068 11 3	By Students' Fees
" Drugs	...	336 3 9	" Fees from staff
" Sick Diet	...	185 6 3	" Sale of Medicine
" Segregation Ward	...	13 4 0	" Net Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure
" Contingencies	...	83 8 6	" Account
" Contribution to Provident Fund	...	1 4 0	
Total	...	2,688 5 9	Total
SPORTS—		1,045 12 0	2,688 5 9
To Sporting Goods, etc.	...	724 4 0	By Fees
" Net Surplus to Total Income and Expenditure	...	321 8 0	
Total	...	1,045 12 0	Total
KITCHEN—		1,045 12 0	1,045 12 0
To Establishment	...	1,878 1 6	By Fees from Students
" Food	...	16,634 1 8	" Boarding charges from Staff and Others
" Utensils	...	78 3 3	" Dairy Income
" Contingencies	...	98 9 6	
" Light and Water Supply	...	172 0 0	
" Dairy	...	577 10 0	
" Net Surplus to Total Income and Expenditure	...	921 11 7	
Total	...	20,360 5 6	Total
POWER HOUSE—		20,360 5 6	20,360 5 6
To Establishment	...	1,695 0 0	By Students' Fees
" Fuel	...	2,195 14 9	" Fees from Staff and Others
" Repairs	...	1,141 10 9	" Charges from Department
" Kerosene Oil	...	231 10 9	" Workshop Income
" Contingencies	...	68 8 9	" Net Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure
Total	...	5,352 13 0	Total

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VISVA-BHARATI.
SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

	UP-KEEP—			Rs. A. P.
To FARM—	Establishment	Maintenance of Bullocks	Miscellaneous	By Rent from Staff and Others Farm and Garden Produce Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure
” Establishment
” Materials
” Labours
				226 12 6
To REPAIRS—				
” Establishment	480 0 0
” Materials	670 12 6
” Labours	1,154 5 3
				2,305 1 9
To GARDEN—				
” Establishment	288 0 0
” Miscellaneous	47 10 0
				335 10 0
To NIGHT WATCH—				
” Watchmen	395 8 0
” Miscellaneous	18 2 0
				413 10 0
To SANITATION—				
” Sweepers	480 0 0
” Miscellaneous	72 7 0
				552 7 0
Total	3,833 9 8
To ESTABLISHMENT—				
” Postage and Telegram	1,797 14 6
” Stationery and Printing	440 10 6
” Contingencies	224 10 9
” Travelling	144 11 3
				70 0 0
Total	2,677 15 0
				2,677 15 0

VISVA-BHARATI.
SRINIKETAN.

Total Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

VISVA-BHARATI.
SRINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

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VISVA-BHARATI.
SRINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)
AGRICULTURE.

BROUGHT FORWARD.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
To FARM (EXTENSION)—								
Labour	...	120 12 9	2,182	9 6	By INCOME FROM DAIRY DURING THE YEAR—	...	...	...
Seeds and Manure	...	99 12 0	,,	,, INCOME FROM POULTRY DURING THE YEAR—	...	1,655	2 6	
Contingencies	...	11 5 0	,,	,, CLOSING LIVE STOCK—	...	352	10 3	
Oil and Fuel	...	743 15 9	431 6 0	Dairy ...	...	1,187	4 0	
Establishment	...	378 12 6	378 12 6	Poultry ...	...	330	0 0	
Repairs to Tractor	...	396 9 6	396 9 6	Farm ...	...	357	4 0	
Experiment	500	0 0	
 , DAIRY EXPENSES—								
Opening Stock	...	520 0 0	1,895	6 9	, NET DEFICIT TO TOTAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT	...	9,710	5 3
Establishment	...	192 0 0						
Feeds	...	1,039 3 9						
Contingencies	...	144 3 0						
 POULTRY EXPENSES—								
Opening Stock	...	205 0 0	2,114 15 9					
Establishment	...	1,056 0 0						
Feeds	...	356 2 3						
Incubator running	...	27 10 6						
Extension Work	...	304 6 6						
Repairs and Contingencies	...	165 12 6						
TOTAL	...		13,890	9 3	Total	...	...	13,890 9 3

VISVA-BHARATI.
SRINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

INDUSTRY.

VISVA-BHARATI.
SRINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

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VISVA-BHARATI.
SRINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

UP-KEEP.

	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
To Establishment	By Rent 0 0	To Establishment	... ...
Repairs	„ Net Deficit to Total Account	Income and Expenditure	... ...
Light	Expenditure	... ...
Tube Well Running	Total	... ...
Road Repairs and Cleaning	Income	... ...
Disinfectant	Expenditure	... ...
Contingencies	Total	... ...
Contribution to District Board for Road Repairs	Income	... ...
New Road	Expenditure	... ...
TOTAL	Total	... ...
			3,696 2 3	3,696 2 3

OFFICE.

	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
To Establishment	By Sale of Stationery	... ...	... ...
Stationery and Printing	„ Exhibition	... ...	... ...
Postage and Telegram	„ Miscellaneous	... ...	... ...
Travelling	„ Net Deficit to Total Account	... ...	... ...
Publication
Anniversary and Festival
Guest Entertainment
Exhibition
Contingencies
Contribution to Provident Fund
Advertisement
Law Charges
TOTAL	4,402 7 6	4,402 7 6

**VISVA-BHARATI.
PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT.**

Trading and Profit and Loss Accounts for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

VISVA-BHARATI.
PRINTING PRESS.

Profit and Loss Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
To Opening Stock (Paper)	... 583 4 0	By Printing
" Establishment	... 3,159 6 9	" Binding
" Electric Power and Light	... 272 0 0	" Loss transferred to Balance Sheet
" Contingencies	... 496 12 0	...
" Paper	... 35 13 0	...
" Interest on Loan	... 360 0 0	...
" Depreciation (on Machinery @ 5%)	... 517 5 3	...
" Contribution to Provident Fund	... 14 10 0	...
Total	... 5,439 3 0	Total
		... 5,439 3 0

VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY.

Profit and Loss Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
To Printing	... 947 10 0	By Subscription
" Paper	... 450 0 0	" Contribution from General Fund
" Binding	... 139 2 0	" Cash Sale
" Establishment	... 332 14 6	" Net Loss transferred to Total Revenue Account
" Postage	... 436 9 9	...
" Contingencies	... 172 15 9	...
" Stationery	... 35 9 0	...
" Advertisement	... 30 0 0	...
Total	... 2,544 18 0	Total
		... 2,544 18 0

VISVA-BHARATI.
PERMANENT FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930

A-1/14, Nobel Prize Fund.

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs.	A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs.	A. P.
... 1,12,000 0 0			FIXED DEPOSIT WITH PATSAR KRISHI BANK	... 1,12,000 0 0	

A-2/20, Prosad Night School Fund.

CAPITAL (as per last Account) ...	1,000 0 0	Deposit with Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank Ltd.	1,000 0 0
Excess of Income over Expenditure as per Fund	93 4 0	General Office	93 4 0
Profit and Loss Account ...	...		...
Total	1,093 4 0	TOTAL	1,093 4 0

A-3/22, Indian Studies Fund.

CAPITAL (as per last Account) ...	10,000 0 0	Deposit with Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank Ltd.	4,000 0 0
		Loan to Printing Press	6,000 0 0
Total	10,000 0 0	TOTAL	10,000 0 0

A-4/24, Pestonji P. Pocha Fund.

CAPITAL (as per last Account) ...	5,005 0 0	G. P. Notes	5,000 0 0
Excess of Income over Expenditure as per Fund		General Office	204 4 0
Profit and Loss Account ...	...	...	...
Total	199 4 0	TOTAL	5,204 4 0

A-5/25, Sharman History Fund.

CAPITAL (as per last Account) ...	2,000 13 4	Deposit with Bengal Provincial Co-Operative Bank Ltd.	2,000 0 0
Advance from General Fund	15 4 3	General Office	0 13 4
		Excess of Expenditure over Income from Fund	...
Total	2,016 1 7	Profit and Loss Account ...	15 4 3

**VISVA-BHARATI.
PERMANENT FUNDS**

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

A-6 / 25, Library Fund.

Rs.	A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS with Bengal Ltd.	Rs.	A. P.
2,000	0	Deposit Bank	2,000	0
...

A-7 / 27, Aruna Amita Endowment Fund.

A-8/27, Nizam's Fund.

TOTAL

1,04,430 0 4

VISVA-BHARATI.
PERMANENT FUNDS.

Income and Expenditure Accounts for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

A-1/14, Nobel Prize Fund.		
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
To Transfer to Total Revenue Account ...	... 7,840 0 0	By Interest ...
To Transfer to Fund Account ...	... 93 4 0	By Balance Fund ...
	... , Interest ...	
Total ...	... 93 4 0	Total ...
		... 93 4 0
A-3/22, Indian Studies Fund.		
To Transfer to Vidyabhavana Revenue Account ...	... 657 8 0	By Interest ...
A-4/24, Pestonji P. Pocha Fund.		
To Transfer to Vidyabhavana Revenue Account ...	... 250 0 0	By Balance Fund ...
, , Fund Account ...	... 199 4 0	, Interest ...
Total ...	... 449 4 0	Total ...
A-5/25, Sharman History Fund.		
To Balance ...	... 15 4 3	By Interest ...
, Transfer to Siksha Vibhaga Revenue Account ...	... 125 0 0	, Balance to Fund Account ...
Total ...	... 140 4 3	Total ...
A-6/25, Library Fund.		
To Transfer to Fund 125 0 0	By Interest ...
		... 125 0 0

VISVA-BHARATI.
PERMANENT FUNDS.

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Income and Expenditure Accounts for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

A-7/27, Aruna Amita Endowment Fund.

To Expenditure	... ,, Excess of Income over Expenditure ..	... ,, , Interest	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
... Total	... Total	... Total	475 12 6 872 13 6	By Balance ,, Interest
			1,348 10 0	

A-8/27, Nizam's Fund.

To Balance , Expenditure	... ,,	... ,,	5,083 1 11 5,384 5 3	By Interest ,, Excess of Expenditure over Income .. ,,	... ,,	... ,,	... ,,

Total	...	...	10,467 7 2	

**VISVA-BHARATI.
EAR-MARKED FUNDS**

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930.
B-3/22, Kalabkhavana Fund.

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	
CAPITAL—(As per last Account) ...	
ADVANCE FROM GENERAL FUND—	
As per last Account ...	
Since Added ...	
TOTAL ...	
 CAPITAL—	
As per last Account ...	
Add Balance as per Fund	
Revenue Account ...	
TOTAL ...	
 CAPITAL—	
As per last Account ...	
Advance from General Fund ...	
TOTAL	

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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VISVA-BHARATI.
EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	
<u>CAPITAL—</u>		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	
As per last Account ...		... 20,000 0 0		... As per last Account ...		... 23,551 0 0		Rs. 28,684 10 0	
Advance from General Fund ...		... 8,684 10 0		Since Added ...		... 5,133 10 0			
Total ...		28,684 10 0		Total ...		... 28,684 10 0			
<u>B-6/23, Birla Kuthi Fund.</u>									
<u>PROPERTIES AND ASSETS.</u>		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	
Buildings—		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	
As per last Account ...		... 20,000 0 0		As per last Account ...		... 23,551 0 0		Rs. 28,684 10 0	
Advance from General Fund ...		... 8,684 10 0		Since Added ...		... 5,133 10 0			
Total ...		28,684 10 0		Total ...		... 28,684 10 0			
<u>B-7/24, Limbdi Sanatorium Fund.</u>									
<u>Fund.</u>		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	
As per last Account ...		... 10,000 0 0		Loan to General Fund		... 10,000 0 0		Rs. 10,000 0 0	
Excess of Income over Expenditure ...		... 1,498 3 6		Deposit with General Office		... 1,498 3 6			
Total ...		11,498 3 6		Total ...		... 11,498 3 6			
<u>B-8/24, Kadoorji Water Works Fund.</u>									
<u>Fund.</u>		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	
As per last Account ...		10,747 10 0		Cost of Tube Well—		As per last Account ...		Rs. 4,586 0 6	
Excess of Income over Expenditure, as Per Fund Revenue Account ...		... 894 6 9		Since Added ...		... 1,898 0 6		Rs. 1,898 0 6	
Advance from General Fund ...		... 11,642 0 9		Deposit with Patisar Krishi Bank		... 5,269 9 6		Rs. 5,269 9 6	
Total ...		11,753 10 6		Total ...		... 11,753 10 6			
<u>B-9/25, Bai Hira Bai Fund.</u>									
<u>Fund.</u>		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	
Buildings—		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	
G. P. Notes and Port Trust Debentures		... 15,200 0 0		... 306 2 0		... 306 2 0		... 306 2 0	
Deposit at General Office		... 306 2 0		Total ...		15,506 2 0		15,506 2 0	
<u>CAPITAL—</u>									
As per last Account ...		... 9,000 0 0		... 9,000 0 0		... 6,200 0 0		... 6,200 0 0	
Excess of Income over Expenditure as per Fund Revenue Account ...		... 306 2 0		... 306 2 0		... 306 2 0		... 306 2 0	
Total ...		... 9,000 0 0		... 6,200 0 0		... 306 2 0		... 306 2 0	

VISVA-BHARATI.
EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

B-10/25, *Kalabhavana Fund (Music)*.

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.

PROPERTY AND ASSETS.

	Rs.	A. P.		Rs.	A. P.
CAPITAL (as per last Account)	1,000 0 0	Deposit with Bank Ltd.	Bengal	Provincial Co-Operative
					1,000 0 0
B-11/25, Dormitory Fund.					
CAPITAL (as per last Account)	10,000 0 0	Buildings	... ...	... ...
					10,000 0 0
B-1, Santiniketan Trust Fund.					
Advance from General Fund	3,708 6 9	Balance of Loss as per last Account Less Excess of Income over Expenditure as per Fund Revenue Account ..	... ...	3,898 1 6
					184 10 9
		3,708 6 9			3,708 6 9
B-13/30, Cheap's Kuthi Fund.					
CAPITAL	5,000 0 0	Cost of Well (at Sriniketan) Deposit with General Fund ..	... ...	1,372 4 0 3,627 12 0
		5,000 0 0			5,000 0 0
C-3/28, Friends Service Council Fund.					
Balance from Fund Revenue Account	646 5 2	Deposit with General Office ...	... ...	646 5 2

VISVA-BHARATI.
EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

Income and Expenditure Accounts for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

VISVA-BHARATI.

EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

B-1, Santiniketan Trust Fund.

	Rs.	A. P.		Rs.	A. P.
To Establishment	...	...	By Endowment and Trust Properties	4,609	15 0
,, Light	2,130	4 0	,, Local Income during Poush Utsab	378	11 0
,, Guest Entertainment	310	11 6	...	...	...
,, Contingencies	169	4 3	...	...	...
,, Equipment	83	13 0	...	...	...
,, Repairs	86	9 3	...	...	...
,, Rent and Taxes	297	2 6	...	...	...
,, Poush Utsab	1	11 6	...	...	...
,, Excess of Income over Expenditure	1,724	7 3	...	...	...
	...	184 10 9	...	...	...
Total	...	4,988 10 0	Total	...	4,988 10 0

C-4/28, President Fund.

To Expenditure	...	...	33,552	5 3	By balance	...	...	1,578	15 6
,, Transfer to Fund Account	...	...	2,692	13 0	,, Donation	...	...	34,666	2 9
Total	...	36,245	2 3					86,245	2 3

PROCEEDINGS OF THE VARSHIKA PARISHAT, 1930.



The Varshika Parishat (Annual General Meeting) of the Visva-Bharati for the year 1930 was held at Santiniketan at 8 a.m., on Wednesday the 24th December, 1930.

Agenda.

1. Address by the Acharyya or other persons authorized by the Acharyya.
2. Annual Report and Audited Accounts.
3. Election of the Artha-Sachiva.
4. Election of the Karma-Sachiva.
5. Election of Members of the Samsad (Governing Body).
6. Appointment of Auditors.
7. Scheme for granting lease of land at Santiniketan to members of the Visva-Bharati.
8. Recommendations from the Samsad.
9. Confirmation of Rules.
10. Confirmation of Bye-laws.
11. Notified Resolutions, Amendments, if any.

Bijoy Bihari Mukherjee to move:—

“Resolved that a Committee of five members be appointed with Srijut Ramananda Chatterji as President to examine if any further steps can be taken to put before the public the work that is being done in the Visva-Bharati and secure help and co-operation for continuous progress of its aims and ideals.”

12. Interpellations, if any.
13. Appointment of Committee for confirmation of Proceedings.
14. Miscellaneous.

Present.

The following members of the Visva-Bharati were present:—

SURENDRANATH TAGORE, Vice-President (*in the Chair*).

Adhikari, (Miss) Asha.	Mukherjee, Bijoy Bihari.
Phanibhusan.	Provat Kumar.
Banerjee, Mohitkumar.	Ray, Nepal Chandra.
Bhattacharya, Vidhushekha.	„ Saradindu Narain.
Bose, Debendramohan.	Santra, Kishorimohan.
„ Nandalal.	Sanyal, Hiran Kumar.
„ Santosh Bihari.	Sarkar, Sushobhan Chandra.
Chatterjee, Ramananda.	Sen, Amiya Kumar.
Chattpadhyaya, Jnanendranath.	„ (Miss) Hembala.
Ghosh, Gourgopal.	„ Kshitimohan.
„ Jyotish Chandra.	„ (Mrs.) Kiranbala.
„ Promodaranjan.	„ Tajes Chandra.
Ganguly, Nalin Chandra.	Tagore, Dinendranath and others

Prasantachandra Mahalanobis (*Karma-Sachiva*).

Affirmation of Ideals.

1. The proceedings opened with the chanting of the following Vedic hymn:—

तमीश्वराणां परमं महेश्वरं
 तं देवतानां परमश्च दैवतम् ।
 पतिं पतीनां परमं परस्तात्
 विदाम देवं भुवनेशमीड्यम् ॥
 न तस्य कार्यं करणश्च विद्यते
 न तत्समश्चाभ्यधिकश्च दृश्यते ।
 परास्य शक्तिविर्विधैव श्रूयते
 साभाविकी ज्ञानबलक्रिया च ॥
 न तस्य कश्चित् पतिरस्ति लोके
 न चेशिता नैव च तस्य लिङ्गम् ।
 सकारणं करणाधिपाधिष्ठो
 न चास्य कश्चिज्जनिता न चाधिष्ठः ॥
 एष देवो विश्वकर्मा महात्मा सदा जनानां हृदये सन्निविष्टः ।
 हृदा मनीषा मनसाभिकृतो य एतद्विदुरमृतास्ते भवन्ति ॥

2. Surendranath Tagore, Vice-President, then proceeded with the Samkalpa-Vachana (Affirmation of Ideals) as follows:—

READER :

ओं स्वस्ति भवन्तोऽधिग्रुवन्तु ।

RESPONSE (by members) :

ओं स्वस्ति स्वस्ति स्वस्ति ॥

READER :

ओं ऋद्धिः भवन्तोऽधिग्रुवन्तु ।

RESPONSE :

ओं ऋध्यताम् ऋध्यताम् ऋध्यताम् ॥

READER :

अथेयं विश्वभारती ।

यत्र विश्वं भवत्येकनीडम् ॥

प्रयोजनम् अस्याः समासतो व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

एष नः प्रत्ययः—सत्यं होकम् ॥

पन्थाः पुनरस्य नैकः । विचित्रैरेव हि पथिभिः

पुरुषा नेकदेशवासिन एकं तीर्थमुपासर्पन्ति—

इति हि विज्ञायते ॥

प्राची च प्रतीची चेति द्वे धारे विद्यायाः ।

द्वाभ्यामप्येताभ्याम् उपलब्धव्यमैक्यं सत्यस्याखिल-

लोकाश्रयभूतस्य—इति नः संकल्पः ॥

एतस्यैवैक्यस्य उपलब्धिः परमो लाभः परमा शान्तिः

परमं च कल्याणं पुरुषस्य

—इति हि वयं विजानीमः ॥

सेयमुपासनीया नो विश्वभारती विविधदेशग्रथिताभि

र्विचित्रविद्याकुसुममालिकाभिरिति हि

प्राच्याश्च प्रतीच्याश्चेति सर्वेऽप्युपासकाः सादरमाहृयन्ते ॥

तदिदमनुज्ञायताम्, तदिदमनुमन्यताम्,

तदिदमनुष्टीयताम् ॥

RESPONSE :

इदमसामिरनुज्ञायते, इदमसामिरनुमन्यते,
 इदं च वयमनुतिष्ठाम् यावच्छक्यं यथाज्ञानं च ॥
 तदिदं सृष्ट्यताम्, तदिदं समृष्ट्यताम् ॥

Greetings to the Pratisthata-Acharyya.

3. Resolved that the members of the Visva-Bharati in Varshika Parishat assembled wish with all reverence Godspeed to the Pratisthata-Acharyya (Founder-President) during his present tour in the West and send him their respectful greetings.

(Proposed from the Chair and carried unanimously).

Annual Report.

4. Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Karma-Sachiva, placed before the Parishat the Annual Report for 1930, and the Audited Accounts for 1929-30 (printed copies of which were circulated among members present).

Resolved that the Annual Report for 1930 be adopted and published with such additions and alterations as may be considered necessary by a Committee consisting of Surendranath Tagore, Debendramohan Bose with Prasantachandra Mahalanobis as its Secretary.

Proposed by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH.

Seconded by—BIJOY BIHARI MUKHERJI. (Carried nem. con.).

Audited Accounts.

5. The Audited Accounts for 1929-30 were than taken into consideration.

Resolved that the Audited Accounts and the Balance Sheet for 1929-30 be adopted and published.

Proposed by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH.

Seconded by—BIJOY BIHARI MUKHERJI. (Carried nem. con.).

Election of the Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer).

6. The Chairman announced that Indu Bhushan Sen of Calcutta had been elected Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) of the Visva-Bharati for a term of three years—1931-1933.

Election of the Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary).

7. The Chairman announced that Rathindranath Tagore of Santiniketan had been elected Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) of the Visva-Bharati for a term of three years—1931-1933.

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Temporary Arrangements.

8. In view of the fact that Rathindranath Tagore is out of India at present resolved further that Prasantachandra Mahalanobis do continue to act as Karma-Sachiva until he is relieved by Rathindranath Tagore.

Proposed by—NEPAL CHANDRA RAY.

Seconded by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH. (Carried nem. Con.).

Election of the Members of the Samsad.

9. The Chairman announced that the following persons had been elected members of the Samsad :—

(a) Elected from among members resident in Bengal for 1931-32.

Debendramohan Bose, Amal Home, Surendranath Mallik, Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, Kishorimohan Santra, Amiya Kumar Sen, Sushobhan Chandra Sarkar.

(b) Elected from among members resident outside Bengal for 1931.

Atul Prosad Sen, Ambalal Sarabhai, M. R. Jaykar, Martin Bodmer.

(c) Representatives from Santiniketan for 1931-32.

Surendranath Kar, Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya, Promodaranjan Ghosh, Nepal Chandra Ray.

(d) Representative from Sriniketan for 1931-32.

Santosh Bihari Bose.

Appointment of Auditors.

10. Resolved that the best thanks of the Parishat be conveyed to Messrs. Ray & Ray, Chartered Accountants, for auditing the Visva-Bharati Accounts for 1929-30, and that Messrs. Ray & Ray be reappointed Auditors for the year 1930-31.

Proposed by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH.

Seconded by—PHANIBHUSAN ADHIKARI. (Carried nem. con.).

Land Settlement Scheme.

11. Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Karma-Sachiva, placed before the Parishat the draft scheme for granting lease of land at Santiniketan to life-members of the Visva-Bharati forwarded by the Samsad.

Resolved that the scheme for granting lease of land at Santiniketan to life-members of the Visva-Bharati be approved generally and the Samsad be authorized to take necessary action in the matter.

Proposed by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE.

Seconded by—PHANIBHUSAN ADHIKARI. (Carried nem. con.).

Rules and Byelaws.

12. Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Karma-Sachiva, placed before the

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Parishat departmental Rules and Bye-laws as framed by the local Samitis and approved by the Samsad.

(Recorded).

Publicity Committee.

13. Bijoy Bihari Mukherji moved the resolution of which he had given notice under Regulation 8 (v). Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Karma-Schiva, stated that he had placed the resolution before the Samsad, which had fully approved of the above proposal, and had suggested that Bijoy Bihari Mukherji be requested to act as Secretary to the proposed Committee.

The resolution was seconded by Jyotish Chandra Ghosh.

Resolved that a Committee consisting of Ramananda Chatterjee (*Chairman*), Asha Adhikari, Nalin Chandra Ganguly, Amiya Chakravarti, Rathindranath Tagore, Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis with Bijoy Bihari Mukherji as its Secretary and with powers to co-opt members be appointed to examine if any further steps can be taken to put before the public the works that is being done in the Visva-Bharati and secure help and co-operation for continuous progress of its aims and ideals, and be requested to submit an early report to the Samsad.

Committee for Confirmation.

14. Resolved that in accordance with Regulation 8 (viii) a Committee consisting of Surendranath Tagore (*Chairman*), Debendramohan Bose, Hirankumar Sanyal, Amiya Kumar Sen, and Prasantachandra Mahalanobis (*Karma-Sackiva*) be appointed to draw up and authenticate the proceedings of the Varshika Parishat, 1930 for confirmation.

Proposed, by—KISHORIMOHAN SANTRA.

Seconded by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH. (Carried nem. con.).

15. The proceedings terminated with the chanting of the Shanti-Vachana.

(Sd.) SURENDRANATH TAGORE (*Chairman*).
 " DEBENDRAMOHAN BOSE.
 " HIRAN KUMAR SANYAL.
 " AMIYA KUMAR SEN.

(Members, Confirmation Committee).

(Sd.) P. C. MAHALANOBIS,
Karma-Sachiva.

Confirmed in accordance with Regulation 8 Clause (viii) at a meeting of the Karma-Samiti (by circulation) on the 5th June, 1931.

(Sd.) P. C. MAHALANOBIS,
Karma-Sachiva

VISVA-BHARATI

PRESIDENT: RABINDRANATH TAGORE



MEMORANDUM OF ASSOCIATION

Objects.

"To study the Mind of Man in its realisation of different aspects of truth from diverse points of view."

"To bring into more intimate relation with one another, through patient study and research, the different cultures of the East on the basis of their underlying unity."

"To approach the West from the standpoint of such a unity of the life and thought of Asia."

"To seek to realise in a common fellowship of study the meeting of the East and the West, and thus ultimately to strengthen the fundamental conditions of world peace through the establishment of free communication of ideas between the two hemispheres."

"And with such ideals in view to provide at Santiniketan aforesaid a centre of Culture where research into and study of the religion, literature, history, science, and art of Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Islamic, Sikh, Christian, and other civilisations may be pursued along with the culture of the West, with that simplicity in externals which is necessary for true spiritual realisation, in amity, good fellowship and co-operation between the thinkers and scholars of both Eastern and Western countries, free from all antagonisms of race, nationality, creed or caste, and in the name of the One Supreme Being who is Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam."

Membership. "The membership of the Visva-bharati and of its Constituent Bodies shall be open to all persons irrespective of sex, nationality, race, creed, caste, or class and no test or condition shall be imposed as to religious belief or profession in admitting or appointing members, students, teachers, workers, or in any other connexion whatsoever."

The Society is at present maintaining the following institutions:—Patha-Bhavana (School), Siksha-Bhavana (College), Vidya-Bhavana (Research Institute), Kala-Bhavana (School of Arts and Crafts) at Santiniketan and Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Suri and at Calcutta. The Society manages its own press and publishing department.

The supreme control is vested in the Parishat, the Members in General Meeting assembled. The Governing Body is the Samsad, consisting of members elected by the Sadasyas and the representatives of the different departments.

Life-membership Rs. 250. Annual subscription for ordinary members Rs. 12.
Persons desiring to become members of Visva-bharati should fill up a Form Application and send it to the Visva-bharati office.

Treasurer

Indu Bhushan Sen

General Secretary

Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis

210, CORNWALLIS STREET, CALCUTTA; OR SANTINIKETAN, I.

